

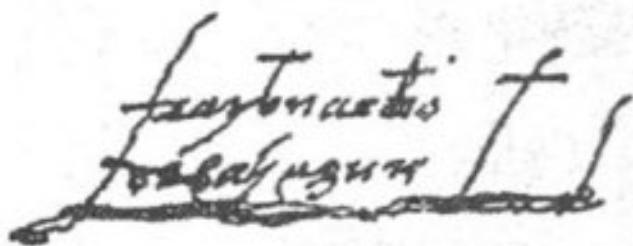
# *Florentine Codex*

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ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON  
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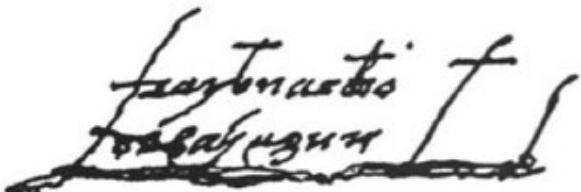
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# *Florentine Codex*

## **General History of the Things of New Spain**

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "fray bernardino de sahagún". The signature is written in a cursive style with some variations in letter height and stroke thickness.

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# *Book 6*

## *Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy*

Translated from the Aztec, with notes and illustrations

*By*

CHARLES E. DIBBLE  
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ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON  
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IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART VII

*Chapter heading designs are from the Codex*

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*Dedicatorily page following Sumario del libro sesto  
in the Florentine Codex*

Integerrimo Patri Fratri Roderico de sequera, generali comissario omnium occidentalis orbis terrarum, uno dempto Peru. Frater Bernardinus de sahagun, vtrāq[ue] felicitatem optat.

Habes hic admodum obseruande pater, opus regio conspectu dignum: quod quidem acerrimo, ac diutino marte comparatum est: cuius sextus liber hic est: sunt et alij sex post hunc: quj omnes duodenarium numerum complent. In quatuor volumina congesti. Hic sextus omnium maior, cum corpore tum vi: grandi tripudio iubilat: te sibi ac fratribus suis, tantum inueniens patrem: vt pote nullatenus dubitans, tuis auspicijs ad summam felicitatem una cum fratribus perueniens. vale, et vbiq[ue] prosperrime agas, vehementer affecto.

## BOOK SIX-- RHETORIC AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

Libro sexto, de la Rethorica,  
y philosophia moral, y theologia:  
de la gente mexicana: donde  
ay cosas muy curiosas tocan  
tes a los primores de su len  
gua: y cosas muy deli  
cadas tocantes, a  
las virtudes mo  
rales.

## *de la Rethorica y philosophia moral*

HERE BEGINNETH THE SIXTH BOOK, IN WHICH ARE TOLD THE VARIOUS WORDS OF PRAYER WITH WHICH THEY PRAYED TO THOSE WHO WERE THEIR GODS; AND HOW THEY MADE FORMAL CONVERSATION, THROUGH WHICH THEY DISPLAYED RHETORIC AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY, AS IS EVIDENT IN THE DISCOURSES.<sup>1</sup>

NICAN VMPEOA: INJC CHIQUANCEN AMUXTLI, VNCAN MOTENEAOA IN TLATLA-TLAUHTILIZTLATOLLI: INJC QUJNTLA-TLAUHTIAIA INTEVAN CATCA: YOAN IN JUH TECPILLATOVAIA, INJC QUJMATA RE-THORICA, IOAN IN PHILOSOPHIA MORAL: IN JUH NEZTICA IN JPAN TLATOLLI.



**First Chapter.** Here are told the words which truly issued from their hearts when they spoke, at the time that they supplicated him who was their principal god, the one [who was] Tezcatlipoca, or Titlacauan,<sup>2</sup> or Yaotl,<sup>3</sup> at the time that a plague prevailed, that he might destroy it. Those who so prayed were the priests who were their guardians of the gods. They acknowledged that he was the all-powerful, the invisible, the untouchable one. Highly admirable are the figures of speech, the metaphors.

Thus did they speak:

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh,<sup>4</sup> O night, O wind,<sup>5</sup> now in truth I come to appear before thee, to reach thee. Before thee I come jumping over ridges, I come sidling up<sup>6</sup>—I who am a commoner, unrighteous, evil. Let me not meet thy

Ic ce capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tlatolli in vel in-jollo intech qujcaia: in qujtoaia: in jquac qujtlauhtiaia, in vei inteuh catca, in iehoatl tezcatlipuca: anoço titlacaoa: anoço iaotl: in jquac cocoliztli momanaia, injc qujpopoloz. Iehoantin ic tlatlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque, in jnteupixcaoā catca: iuh quimocujtiaia in ca ixquich iveli, amo ittalonj, amo matoconj: cencu maviçauhquj in machiotlatolli in metaphoras:

ynjc tlatoaia.

Tlacatle totecue, tloquee, naoaquee, iooalle, checatle: a ca nelle ca axcan, mjxpantzincos njqujztiujtz, mjxpantzincos nacitujtz, mjxpantzincos njtlacueiac-xolujtujtz, njtlavilteciujtz: in njmaceoalli anânj-qualli, in âjiectli, amaço melletzin, maço moçomal-

1. Extreme formality, floridness, ceremoniousness, effectiveness in command of figures of speech and recourse to parallelism, balance, and repetitions in most of the first forty chapters contrast with the colloquialisms found in the last three chapters. Book VI, then, represents mostly the prayers, discourses, exhortations of the high levels of society. In translating, we have attempted a rational compromise between literalness and looseness. For the most part, the constantly used forms called "reverential" by the ancient grammarians have been ignored unless the context suggested otherwise, and narrative or explanatory passages in the present tense in the original have in translation often been put in the past tense for easier reading.

2. Name of sorcerer identified with Tezcatlipoca; meaning doubtful. "Aquel cuyos esclavos somos" (*ti-tlacahuani*) is suggested by Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del náhuatl* (second edition; Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1961; henceforth referred to as Garibay, *Llave*), p. 309.

3. "Enemy," one of the names given the god Tezcatlipoca.

4. *Tloque nauaque*. Angel María Garibay K.: *Historia de la literatura náhuatl* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1954; henceforth referred to as Garibay, *Historia*), Vol. II, p. 408: "dijfrasismo en que se expresa al ser divino, bajo este circunloquio: el dueño del cerca y del junio, o sea, más cercano a nuestra mentalidad; el que está junto a todo y junio al cual todo está. Se refiere al Sol, a la Tierra, etc., pero es especial designación del numen en general. Por esto los misioneros a veces usan esta frase para designar a Dios." Cf. also Miguel León-Portilla: *La filosofía náhuatl*, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie de Cultura Náhuatl, Monografía 10 (third edition; Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1966), p. 392.

5. *Youalli, checatl*. "Noche, viento: invisible, impalpable. Dijfrasismo aplicado a la divinidad suprema" (*ibid.*, p. 396). As Tezcatlipoca, vide *infra*, Chap. 43.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "será la manera de mí hablar, como quien va saltando camellones, o andando de lado." A similar passage in Chap. 10 equates *njtlacueiacxolhvia* with *yendo a saltos de rana*; in Garibay, *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 430, "el orador se aleja de la real presencia temeroso de haber ido como rana, a saltos."

annoyance, thy wrath. And do thou dispose as thou wilt dispose. In truth now thou inclinest thy heart,<sup>7</sup> thou disposest. And it was ordained above us, it was arranged in the land of the dead,<sup>8</sup> in the heavens, that we have been forsaken. In truth now thy annoyance, thy anger, descendeth; it gathereth; thou who art the lord of the near, of the nigh. Castigation,<sup>9</sup> pestilence<sup>10</sup> grow; they increase. For the plague is reaching the earth.

"O master, O our lord, truly now already the common folk go; they already perish. Already there is havoc, already the common folk, the vassals,<sup>11</sup> are destroyed. Already the babies, the children are [as if] crushed, shattered. They are those who know nothing, those who pile up earth [and] potsherds; those on the ground, who lie on the board, stretched out on the board. For already are destroyed the infants,<sup>12</sup> the eagle-warriors, the ocelot-warriors, the old men, the old women, the middle-aged women, the middle-aged men, the mature unmarried men. For already thy city is destroyed.<sup>13</sup>

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, indeed thy wrath, thy anger, already taketh glory, enjoyeth, taketh pleasure, delighteth in the castigation. It is absolutely true that there remaineth placed, implanted, pestilence upon [thy people]<sup>14</sup> even as thou sprinklest, scatterest, the dew of the reed upon them. And so thou castigatest them with icy water, with nettles, with curved fangs.<sup>15</sup>

"And here, in truth, now, O master, O our lord, O night, O wind, O Moyocoyatzin,<sup>16</sup> O Titlacauan,

tzin, ipan nja: auh manoço xicmonequijlti, in quenjio tocommonequijltiz: a ca nelle axcan, ca tlacaona in moiollotzin, ca ticmonequijltia: auh ca itoloc in topan, ca oiocoloc in mjctlan, in jlujcac: ca otimaca oaloque, a ca nelle axcan ca temo, ca momana in meleltzin, in moqualantzin: in titloque, in tinaca que: ca ueia, ca vecapanjvi in quaujtl, in tetl: in temuxtli, in checatl: ca tlapán aci in cocoliztli.

Tlacatle totecujoie, a ca nelle axcan: ca ie iauh, ca ie poliuj, in maceoalli, ca ie xaxamaca, ca ie ixpoliuj im maceoalli, in cujtlapilli, yn atlappalli: ca ie xamani, ca ie teinj in piltzintli, in conetzintli: yn aia quijmo machitia in tlalli, in tapalcatl cololoa: in tlalli ijxco ca, in quaujc onoc, in quauhtentoc; ca ie ixpoliuj in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli, in quauhtli in ocelotl: in veve, in jlama: in jiolloco cioatl, in jiolloco oquichtli, in jiolloco tlapaliuj: ca ie ixpolivi in matzin, in motepetzin.

Tlacatle totecujoie: tloquee, naoacae: ca ie quijmaloa, ca ie quijmotlamachitia, ca ie quijmocujltona: auh ca ie quijtlamachitia, in quavitl, in tetl, in moçomaltzin, in moqualantzin: in nelli mach in pôpocatoc, chichinauhtoc: in jtech ticmottalilia, in jtech ticmopachilvia: inje ipan ticmopixaluja, in jpan ticmotzetzelia: in acatl in aoachio: auh inje itech ticmopachiluja, in atl cecec, in tzitzicaztli in tlancoliuhquj.

Auh iz nelle axcan, tlacatle totecujoie: iooalle, ehecatle, moiocoatzine, titlacoane: quen quinequij in

7. *tlacaona in moiollotzin*: Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana*, ed. Julio Platzmann (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), fol. 115v, gives: "otorgar o conceder algo." Cf. also Andrés de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 226.

8. We have consistently translated *mictlan* as "land of the dead." It might also be rendered as "place of the dead" or "region of the dead." Cf. Garibay, *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 195, for an extended discussion. The phrase *in topan in mictlan* also designates "the other side," "the beyond." See León-Portilla, *op. cit.*, pp. 327, 394.

9. *in quaujtl, in tetl*: *quaujtl*, tree, wood, or stick; *tetl*, stone; meaning castigation, punishment, correction. In Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 88r: "Quaujtl test nictetoxia, reprehender, corregir, y castigar a otro." Cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-14. To the many metaphorical phrases found throughout Book VI, we have given the meaning of the metaphor or a literal translation, according as the context seems to require.

10. *in temuxtli, in checatl*: enfermedad o pestilencia. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 98r (*temoxtli*).

11. *in cujtlapilli, yn atlappalli*: see Chap. 43.

12. *in tlatqujtl in tlamamalli*: "the thing carried, the thing carried on the back." It may refer to a child, a people, a city, a government. For reference to child or infant, see Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

13. *in matzin, in motepetzin*: corresponding Spanish text: "ya se asuela, y destruye nuestro pueblo, y sâa gente, y nuestro cuadal." *Atitl*, *tepeil*, or *altepeil* (water, mountain) is the metaphor for city or settlement. In the context of Book VI it more frequently refers to its inhabitants, the people. Sahagún uses the term *pueblo*, which refers correctly to both the city and its people.

14. Corresponding Spanish text: "El huego de pestilencia muy encendido, esta en nuestro pueblo: como el huego en la caña, que se ardiendo, y humeando, que ninguna cosa dexa enhiesta, ni sana...."

15. *itech ticmopachiluja, in atl cecec, in tzitzicaztli*: "Despertar a alguno con castigo, o corregirle." Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

16. *Moyocoyatzin*: "el que se inventa a sí mismo" (León-Portilla, *op. cit.*, p. 385). In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Angel María Garibay K., ed.; Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1956; henceforth referred to as Sahagún, Garibay ed.), Vol.

how can thy heart wish it? How canst thou wish it? Hast thou already abandoned thy vassals? Is this perchance all? It is perchance this way? Will perchance the common folk go, perish? Will the governed come to an end? Will emptiness, darkness prevail in the city? Will it not be? Will thy miserable city choke with trees, fill with stones? And thy places for holding vigil, where thy mounds, thy pyramids are located, will they fall to pieces, will they break up?

"Is this perchance to be no more? Is this to be all? It is perchance this way? Will the castigation abate no more, will thy annoyance, thy anger be reversed? Will thy wrath, thy annoyance, no more be placated? Have we perchance just been forsaken? Hath it perchance been ordained above us in the land of the dead — hath it perchance been declared? Perchance no longer is there castigation with icy water?<sup>17</sup> Perchance no longer is there castigation with nettles? Perchance in truth now there will be darkness forever? Wilt thou no longer look back upon the common folk?<sup>18</sup>

"For — ah! — thus are they destroyed, those who are restless in sickness, who toss from side to side, who nowhere can do anything; whose teeth, whose mouths [are filled with] dirt. For darkness is fallen; all are as if drunk; they just fall somewhere. And this [people] is as if destroyed, for nevermore is there knowledge of one, for deep darkness prevaleth, for no longer doth one concern himself for another, for the trainable ones, the teachable ones, the children, the suckling babies, those who are unlearned, already starve. It is nothing but truth: mothers, fathers have abandoned them; the filth of the aged ones envelopeth them.

"Alas, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O compassionate one: verily, now<sup>19</sup> may thy rage have passed. May the vassals, the common folk, have enjoyed, have benefited from castigation. And thy city thou hast taken by the ear, thou hast tugged at the flank;<sup>20</sup> it hath been punished with icy water, with nettles; for truly now the reprobation of one, the confronting of one, the curved fang, have

moiolotzin, quecin tocommonēnequjltia: cuix ie oticmomacaujlli in mocujlapil, in matlapal: cuix ie ixqujch, cuix ie iuhquj, cuix ca iaz? cuix ca poliujz, in maceoalli: cuix tlamiz in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli? cuix cauhimanjz, cuix iooatimanjz in atl, in tepetl: cuix aoccan iez, cuix quappachiujz, cuix tetemjz, in mocnoauh, in motepeuh: auh in mochialoca: in motetel, in motzaqual imanca, cuix xiniz, cuix moiaoaz?

cuix ca aocmo? cuix ca ie ixqujch, cuix ie iuhquj: cuix aocmo ilotiz, in quaujtl, in tel: cuix aocmo cuepiz, in melleltzin, in moqualantzin: cuix aoc tle ic ceujz in moçomaltzin, in melleltzin? cuix ca otimacaoaloque: cuix oitoloc in topan, in mjctlan, cuix omjto, cuix aocmo çan, atl cecec: cuix aocmo çan tzitzicatzli, cuix nelli axcan: cemmaian tlaoooaz? ca aocmo monacaztitlanpatzinco ticmottiliz in maceoalli?

a ca yvin mopoloa y, in motzontlaujtzoa, in auje motlaça, in acan veli quijchiao: a in jtlanco, in jcamac tlalli: a ca otlaoac, ca iuhquj in oivintioac, ca ca can vetzio: auh ca quen mopoloa o, ca çan njman aoc temachizcamamanj, ca ouellaioouac, ca aocac teca: ca çan ie mapizmjqujlia in oapaoalonj, in jzcaltilonj, in conetzintli in chichiltintli: in aia qujomachitia. Ach atel ie nelli, a ocōcavili in nantli, in tatli: ha vevecujtlatl in qujtzqua.

Hiyo tlacalte totecujoe: tloquee, naoaquee, icnooacatzintle: aviz nelle axcan, manoço omelleltzin qujz: manoço omocujtono, ma omotlamachti in quaujtl, in tel, in mocujlapiltzin, in matlapaltzin in maceoalli: auh in matzin, in motepetzin: a ca oinacaztech ticmanjli, ca oijomotlan timopilotzino: ca oitech pachiu, in atl cecec, in tzitzicatzli: a ca onelle axcan, ca ocontlamachti, in tetzicunolti, in tecujtiuetz, in

IV, p. 344, "Dominador, tirano, arbitrario." Cf. also Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: Ascher und Co., 1902-23), Vol. III, p. 349.

17. Cf. Chap. 43.

18. Corresponding Spanish text: "Es posible: que este açoete, y este castigo no se nos da para nuestra corrección, y emienda? sino para total destrucción, y aislación? y que no a más de resplandecer el sol, sobre nosotros? sino que estemos en perpetuas tinieblas, y en eterno silencio: y que nunca más nos aueys de mijrar, con ojos de misericordia, ni poco, ni más?"

19. *aviz*: possibly *auh iz*. See the phrase *auh iz nelle axcan* starting the fifth paragraph of this chapter.

20. *oinacaztech ticmanjli, ca oijomotlan timopilotzino*: see Chap. 43.

brought one benefit, even as the dew of the reeds hath sprinkled, showered, scattered upon one.<sup>21</sup>

"O master, O our lord, the city is as a baby, a child. Perhaps it hath heard, perhaps it hath exhorted itself, perhaps of its own accord it hath tugged at its flank, at its ear. Perhaps it hath reflected upon as much. Perhaps of its own accord it hath punished itself, castigated itself, perhaps it hath chidden itself, exhorted itself, so that in thy hands they animate one another, they encourage one another, they chatter.<sup>22</sup>

"May this yet be all, O master, O our lord, O precious nobleman, O precious person; may it [have reached] its end. Conclude it, stem it. May thy annoyance, thy anger, abate, be reversed; may thy wrath, thy fury, be placated; may thy annoyance pass. Doth not death prevail? Where indeed is there to go, in vain? For our tribute is death; [it is] awarded us in common as merited. And on earth there prevaleth the coming to pay the tribute of death. For there will be the following after, the approaching to thy progenitor Mictlan tecutli, Cueçalli, Tzontemoc, who remaineth unsatiated, who remaineth coveting. He remaineth thirsting there for us, hungering there for us, panting there for us.

"O master, O our lord, consider yet those who lie on the board, those who are on the ground, those who know nothing, the poor, the miserable, the useless, those who rejoice not, the discontented, those who never have the necessities of life,<sup>23</sup> those never comfortable of bone, of flesh—those who all together live suffering great pain, great affliction of heart. Perchance somewhere thou wilt require the eagle warrior, the ocelot warrior; perchance he will go there to the house of the sun. Perchance he will follow Quauhtleuanitl,<sup>24</sup> the blotched one, the brave warrior. Perhaps he will provide drink, will provide food above us, in the land of the dead, the heavens.

"May this be all; cease amusing thyself, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O lord of the earth, O Moyocoyatzin, O Titlacauan! May

tlancoliuhquj: a ca oipan ompixauh, ca oipan vivi, xauh, ontzetzeliuh in acatl aoachio.

Tlacatle, totecoe, in mahan piltontli, conetontli, in atl, in tepetl: aço oquijcac, aço omononotz: aço oinoma yiromtolan inacaztech man: aço oconmoluj in quexquijch: aco oinoma quavil, tetl quimomacac quimotoc: aço omaoac omononotz: inje momatzinco mociauhpouhtoc, in mociauhquetztoc, in tlaltecoc:

Manoçoc ixquijch tlacatle, totecoe, tlaçopille, tlaçotlacatle: manoçoc centel, ma oc itlaiecol: ma oc xicmopantili, xicmoteteuhili: manoço iloti, ma cuepi in melleltzin, in moqualantzin: ma ceuj in moçomaltzin, in motlaveltzin: ma omelleltzin quijz. Cujx tel amjcovaz, campa çan ie nel nen onviloaz, ca totequjuh in mjquijztli, ca techcenmâceuh: auh ca mjquijztequijtihaco in tlalticpac: ca ontocoaz, ca itech onaxioaz, in motechiuhcauh: in mjctlan tecutli, in cueçal, in tzontemoc: in acan veli quijchiuhtoc, in oallamatatacatoc, in techoalamjctoc, in techalteciuhtoc, in techoalneneneciuhhtoc.

Tlacatle totecoe, ma oc iehoatl xicmottili, in quauj onoc, in tlalli ixco ca, in aia quijmomachitia: motolija in jcnotlacatl, in nentlacatl, in aauja, in avellamat: auh in aic tottonja, in aic iamanja: auh in aic vellamati, in jiomjo, in jnacaio: in çan cen tötoneoatinemj, in çan cen chichichinacatinemj in jiollo: aço cana ticmonequijltiz, in quauhtli in ocelutl: aço vmpaiaz in tonatiuh ichan: aço quijtocaz in quauhtleojntjl, in cujcujiuyc, in tiacauh: aço teatlitz, tetlamacaz, in topa in mjctlan, in jlamic.

Manoço ie ixquijch, ma otimaviltitzino: tlacatle, totecue, tloquee, naoaquee, tlalticpaquee, moiocoatzine, titlacaoane: ma quijça in poctli in aiavil: ma

21. Corresponding Spanish text: "pues ya es ansi, que vivo castigo, y viva indignacion: se a enseñoreado, y a gloriosamente preualecido, sobre estos vros siervos, sobre esta pobre gente: bien asi como las gotas del agua, que despues de auer llorido sobre los arboles, y cañas verdes: tocan doles el ayre, caen sobre los que estan debajo de los arboles, o cañas."

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "por uentura ya esta gente pobre, por razon de vro castigo, lloran, y sospiran, y se reprehenden a si mismos: y estan murmurando de si mismos, en vña presencia se acusan, y tachan en si sus malas obras, y se castigan por ellas." For aco oinoma quavil, etc., read aço, etc.

23. in aic tottonja, in aic iamanja: cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

24. Quauhtleuanitl: "the ascending eagle" or "the soaring eagle." Garibay, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 402, defines the term as "Aguila que alta el fuego, nombre del sol en su estadio del orto al cenit." "Der aufsteigende Adler," in Eduard Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 276. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, "The Ceremonies," Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14 (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1951), p. 47.

the smoke, the cloud [of thy ire] cease; may the fire, the blaze [of thy rage] be extinguished! May the earth be at rest! May the roseate spoonbill,<sup>25</sup> the troupial<sup>26</sup> sing; may they preen themselves. May [thy people] call to thee, supplicate thee, know thee!

"This is all. Thus I fall before thee, I throw myself before thee; I cast myself into the place whence none rise, whence none leave, the place of terror, of fear. May I not have aroused thy annoyance; may I not have walked upon thy fury. O master, O precious nobleman, O our lord, perform thy office, do thy work!"

cevi in tletl in tlachinolli: ma momanan tlalli, ma tlato ma moçoçooa in quechol, in çäquan: ma mjtz-notza, ma mjtzatlauhti, ma mjtziximati.

Ca ixquijchtzin injc mjxpantzinco njvetzi, injc mjx-pantzinco njnomaiauj, njnotlaç in anequetzaloian, in aquijxooaian, in temauhtican in maviziocan: ma melleltzin njcquetz, ma motlaveltzin ipan nja. Tlacatle, tlaçopille: totecue ma ximotlacotili, ma ximo-tequjtili.

25. Quechol: *Ajaia ajaja* (Linnaeus) in Herbert Friedmann, Ludlow Griscom, and Robert T. Moore: "Distributional Check-List of the Birds of Mexico," *Pacific Coast Avifauna*, Nos. 29, 33 (Berkeley, Calif.: Cooper Ornithological Club, 1950, 1957; henceforth referred to as Friedmann et al.), Pt. I, p. 35.

26. Çäquan: *Gymnostinops monstzuma* (Lesson), in ibid., Pt. II, p. 276. Both Friedmann et al. and Emmet Reid Blake, in *Birds of Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 506, identify the çäquan as *Gymnostinops monstzuma* (Lesson) or *Montezuma oropendola*. While troupial is not strictly exact (representing, rather, a term applicable to a number of species), we have ventured to use the term for convenience's sake.



**Second Chapter.** Here are related the words which truly issued from their hearts as they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, whom they named the night, the wind, as they asked riches, so that they would not be poor. Those who so prayed were the priests. And they indeed acknowledged that it was he who gave one riches, repose, and consolation, and happiness; for he gave one all wealth.

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O thou by whom we live, O night, O wind, O our lord, O Titlacauan, O Yaotzin, now in truth I arise before thee, I arrive before thee, thou who art lord of the near, of the nigh. In one word, or two, I call to thee, I cry out to thee for — on behalf of — the vassals, the useless; the ignorant; the vagabonds; those who sleep, who arise to no purpose; those who waste thy day, thy night.

"Ah, thou understandest, thou hearest that the common folk endure suffering, endure fatigue, live in want on earth. Poverty, misery, uselessness prevail.<sup>1</sup> Destitute are they whose tatters hang from their necks, their hips. There the wind cometh, there it carrieth them off, there it whippeth them about, there it taketh them away. They escape nowhere; indeed, they are in dire need as they go seeking sustenance,<sup>2</sup> going through all the forest, all the desert. And here, in truth, they glory in their thin intestines; their viscera go stuck to their sides; go rumbling. Verily they go skin and bones, like a skeleton.

"And behold, somewhere at one's house entrance he offereth old chilis, salt cakes. And when nowhere he succeedeth in selling, somewhere by one's enclosure, in a corner, by someone's wall, he is saddened;<sup>3</sup> he is dry-mouthed; he moisteneth his lips, he cheweth his fingernails. He just continueth looking at the people, just looking at their mouths.<sup>4</sup> And, O master,

Ic vme capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in tlatolli in vel iniollo intech quijcaia: injc quijtlatlauhtiaia tezcatlipuca: in quijtocaiotiaia iooalli, ehecatl: injc quijtlanjliaia necujtonoliztli, injc amo motolinjzque. Iehoantin ic tlatlatlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque ioan vel quijmocujtia, in ca iehoatl, quijtemaca in necujtonoliztli, yn neceujliztli: ioan in neiollaliliztli, ioan in papaquijliztli: ca iehoatl quijtemaca in jxquijch in netlamachilli.

Tlacatle totecoe: tloquee, naoaquee, ipalnemoanje, ioalle, ehecatle, totecoe, titlacaoane, iaotzine: a ca nelle axcan mjxpantzinco njnoquetza, mjxpantzinco naci: in titloque, in tinaoaque, cententica, ac cencematica njmjtznnotza, njmjtztatzilia: in jca in jpampa, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli: in nentlacatl in aqujmatinemj, in nennemj, in nencoche, in nenmeva: in qujnenqujxtia in motlacatzin, in moiooaltzin:

a ca ticmocujlia, ticmocaquijtia: a ca tlaciavi, a ca tlaihijovia in maceoalli, vmpa onquijtinemjn tlaticpac: timalivi in jcnopillotl, in jcnotlacaiutl, in nentlacaiutl: aommonamjquj in jquechtlan, in jquezpan pilcac, in jtzotzomatzin: in vmpa oallauh ehecatl, vmpa quijtquj, vmpa quijmalacachoa, vmpa quijmana: acanjn moqujxtia, nelli mach in toxomj, in oaçomj injc quijmjaxtemolitinemj in cochcailtl, in neuhcailtl: cenquaujtl, cemjxtlavatl mantiu: aviz nelle qujtimaloa, in cujtlaxcolpitzactli: ytech moteccatinemj, itech icoiocatinemj in jcoaiotzin: nelli mach in omjcauhitinemj; in cicujliuhitinemj:

aujz nellehoatl can tequjaoatlan quijquequetza in chilçolotl, in iztatapalcatl: auh iz in acan ommaquijtia, can techinantilan, can texomolco, can tecaltech itolol, imalcoch quijchiuhtica: tençaquaoatica, itentzin qujpalotica, yiztitzin qujtoponjtica: çan avic moteijtilia, çan tecamacpa motztilitica. Auh tlacatle, totecoe: in jvetzian, in jcochian: iuhcan o, nelli mach

1. vmpa onquijtinemjn tlaticpac: timalivi in jcnopillotl. See Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 76v (*Ompa onquiça*). Cf. Chaps. 41 and 43.

2. in cochcailtl, in neuhcailtl: "Mätenimieto cotidiano" or "mätenimiento humano," in Molina, *op. cit.*, fols. 71r (*Neuhcayotl*) and 23r (*Cochcayotl*).

3. itolol, imalcoch quijchiuhtica: in Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 224, the meaning is given as "Ando triste, angustiado, y fatigado." Cf. also Chap. 43.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "y ellos las andan a vender de puerta, en puerta, y de casa en casa: y quando estas cosas, no se les venden: asientanse muy tristes, cerca de algun seto, o de alguna pared, o en algú rincon: alli estan relamjendo los beços, y royendo las uñas de las manos, con la hambre que tienen: alli estan mirando a una parte, y a otra, està mirando a la boca de los que passan: esperando que los digan alguna palabra." Cf. also Chap. 43.

O our lord, his reclining place, his sleeping place is such as verily where he endureth suffering, he endureth fatigue. He hath only tatters which he throweth over him, and in this manner he stretcheth out, in this manner he throweth himself down.

"And those whom they rear, whom they nourish, thy creations, are all blanched, all trembling in fear. Only [rags] hang from their hips. And in truth they endure hunger; they become all thin; they continue all to run about. They go about weeping, sighing. Truly they go about in great affliction. The entire day, the entire night they are ranged about the fire.

"O master, O our lord, O night, O wind, grant perchance that thou mayest bless, have mercy, take compassion, acknowledge thy common folk, the poor, those who go sighing toward thee, who call out, who cry out to thee, who seek thee, who do what they can in thy sight.

"O master, O our lord, O master of the necessities of life, who hast sweetness, fragrance,<sup>5</sup> riches, wealth: show mercy, have compassion for thy common folk. May thou honor them, show them a little of thy freshness, thy tenderness, thy sweetness, thy fragrance, for in truth they struggle, they work for it. May they a little through thy grace raise their heads. May they through thy grace know repose for a little time. Through thy grace may the common folk have what is necessary for their bones, their bodies. May they through thy grace dream, may they see in their dreams. May they for yet a little time keep it for thee. Perhaps it will be taken, removed and hidden, concealed; that which was only for a little time, even as the flower which one hath smelled, hath marveled at.<sup>6</sup>

"If perhaps they should become arrogant, if perhaps they should become presumptuous, if perhaps they should become offensive — should keep for themselves thy property, thy possessions; if perchance because of it they should become perverse, heedless, thou wilt give it to the truly tearful, the sorrowful one, the truly sighing one, the truly miserable, the truly poverty-stricken one, the truly poor — those who enter by thee, near thee, the meek, those who prostrate themselves, who go saddened on earth;

in quihijovia, nelli mach in qujciavi achchi in tzomatzin in ipan quoallaça: auh iuhquj ommotlaç,

Auh in quoapaoa, in qujmjzcaltia in motlachinal, tzitzioan: tlacujtlaticeoa, tlacuecuechca: achchi in jnquezpan pilcac: auh nelli mach in cujtlaxcolpi, tzactli qujiecoa, tlacicicujliu, tlaiaiauh: mochoqui, litinemj, melciciujtitinemj: nelli mach in jnellen, acitnemj, ceiooal, cemjlvtl in tlepan moteca,

Tlacatle totecoe: iooalle, checatle, manoço tlaca in moiollotzin, ma xicmocnoittili, ma xicmotlaocili, ma xicmjximachili in momaceoaltzin: motolinja in movictzinco elciciuhtinemj: in mitzmonochilis, in mjtzmotzatzililia, in mjtzmotemolia: in movic, tzinco nentlamati.

Tlacatle totecoe: totonque, iamanque, tzopelique, aviaque, necujltonolle, netlamachtille: manoço xicmocnoittili, ma xicmotlaocili, ca momaceoaltzin: manoço achitzin qujmaviço, manoço achitzin xicmottitili in motzmolinca, in mocalica, in motzopelica in maviaca: ca nelli mach in qujhiiouja, in qujciuji: manoço achitzin mopaltzinco oalmotzonconacocuj: manoço achica cavitl, mopaltzinco ontlacacotlamati: manoço achitzin cavitl, mopaltzinco ontotonja, onjamana: in jiomjo, in jnacaio in maceoalli: manoço mopaltzinco ontemqquj, oncochitleoa: ma oc achica caujtl mjtzonmotlapialili: hat ocommocujliz, hat ocommjquanjliz: auh at ocommotlatiliz, hat ocommailiz, in oachica caujtzintli: in mahan xuchil in oconjneu in oconmaujco

in at oncuecuonotiz, in at onatlamatiz, in at ijxco, icpac queoaz, qujmanaz, in maxcatzin, in mocococatzin: in aço ic ommjtonjz, in aço ic ommamanaz: hat ocommomaqujlij, in nelli chocanj, tlaocoianj, in uel elciciujnj in nelli icnotlacatl, in nelli icnopilli, in nelli motolinja: in motloctzinco in monavactzinco mocalaqujanj, in mopiloanj, in mopechtecanj, ynitol, in jmalcoch, qujchiuhtinemj tlalticpac: in nelli qujtoa, in nelli mjtzmomaqujlia in jniollo:

5. in motzopelica, in maviaca: see Chap. 43.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "suplicoos les deis dias de vida prosperos, y pacificos: quando fuerdes seruido, les podeys quitar, y auconder, y tiempo se marchita."

who truly dedicate, who truly give their hearts to thee.

"But if perhaps the people I now present before thee should become arrogant, these very same will discover, will earn as their reward, their merit, torment, pain, misery and blindness, paralysis. They will not be esteemed; will not be glorified; and they will be incapable on earth.<sup>7</sup> Truly this thou wilt have in store for them. And that is also the time when they will sob, they will be terrified; punishment will appear — torment, pain of heart, of body, when they will discover, reflect on what is done. And are perhaps [the blessings] still there? For they have abandoned them, have erred, have strayed, have gone amiss from thy presence.

"And now, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, may thou incline thy heart, that by thy grace for yet a while they see in dreams, know in dreams. May thou yet let this humble person, N., smell thy property, thy treasure, which falleth from thee, that which is sweet, fragrant, the necessities of life, thy freshness, thy tenderness: for already, for some time, the common folk go sighing unto thee, go in affliction. They strike themselves, they crack their finger joints, they are in dire need, they suffer torment, pain, in heart, in body. [They are] the poor, the useless, the unhappy, the discontented, the anguished.

"For thus was [thy] city;<sup>8</sup> for already in truth it is so that no one is verily the possessor of reward, no one is to say he is the possessor of merit; for it is only thou who showest compassion to one, who selectest one, for thou takest one, extractest one from excrement, from filth;<sup>9</sup> thou cleansest, thou bathest one. And thou humblest one. In the forest, in the grasslands thou takest, thou comest upon thy friend, thy acquaintance.

"O master, O our lord, may thy heart desire whatsoever thou mayest desire. This is all. Thus I cast myself, I throw myself before thee, I who am a commoner, a field hand. But perchance I may thereby stir thy fury, thy anger; I may thereby arouse, increase thy annoyance; I may thereby solicit, I may seek my destruction, my exaltation. Perchance I

auh in at oncuecuenotiz, in axcan mixpantzincō njcquequetza: ha conjtaz, hat oconmottitiliz in nelli vel iehoatl, ijlujl, imâceal, in toneviztli in chichinaqujztl, in jcnoiotl: auh in jxpopoiotl, in cōcotztli, acommaviçoz, auh acontimaloz: auh havmpa onqujçaz in tlalticpac, anelli mach in toconmotlatlachialtiliz: auh hano iquac tzicunoz, ha iquac mocujtiuetziz in ie cecec itech eo, in ie toneoa in ie chichinaca in jiollo, in jnacaio; a iquac motlattaz, a iquac motztimotlaliz: auh ie cujx oc vncan? ca oconcauh, ca otlatlaco, ca omjxpantzincō tlacolo, tlaujtec.

Auh in axcan tlacalte, totecoe: tloquee, naoaquee, manoço tlacaoa in moiollotzin, manoçoc achitzinca mopaltzinco oncochitleoa, ontemiclamati: ma oc xoconmjnecujlti in maxcatzin, in mocococatzin, in motechcopatzincō vitz: in tzopelic, in aviac, in totonquj, in iamanquj, in motzmolinca in mocelica: in iehoa in jcnolacatl in. N. ca ie ixquijch cavitzintli, y, in movicpatzinco elciciuhtinemj, in nentlamattinemj in maceoalli, in motzotzona, in mocacapanja, in toxomj, in hoacomj, in toneoa, in chichinaca in jiollo, in jnacaio: in jcnolacatl, in nentlacatl, in aavia in avellamat, in cococ in teopuhquj qujmati:

a ca iuh catca atzintli ca ie nelli ca iuhquj, ca aiac nelli iluje, aiac qujtoz: maceoalle, ca çan timoteicnoittilia, ca çan timotepepenjlia: ca cujlatitlan, ca tlaçultitlan timoteanjlia, timotequjxtilia, timotepapajlia, timoteahaltilia: auh çan timoteicnomachitia, quauhtla çacatla in ticmanjlia, in ticmonamjqujlia in mocnjuh in motlaiximach.

Tlacalte, totecoe: manoço qujnequj in moiollotzin, in quecin tocommonequjltiz: ca ixquijchtzin, y, injc mixpantzincō ninotlaçā, ninomaiavi, in njmaceoalli in njlapaliuj: auh anoço ie ic njcolinja, in motlauetzin in moqualantzin, aço ic nicçoneva, aço ic njcucapana in melleltzin, aço ic njcnjciujtilia, aço ic njctemoa in nopoliju, in nacoqujçaia: anoço ic

7. *havmpa*: "inabil, o el que haze la cosa al reves" in Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 6v (*Aoompa*). Chap. 43 explains that "Este refran se dice: de vnos bobos o tontos que nj entiendē a derechas lo que les mandan." Cf. also n. 1, above.

8. *atzintli*: *tepetzintli* is understood.

9. *ca cujlatitlan, ca tlaçultitlan timoteanjlia, timotequjxtilia*: cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

thereby raise up, I stir up castigation; for I merely speak, I merely raise myself in thy presence. For it is a place of awe, a place of fear; for there is a torrent, a protruding crag, a cliff, a precipitous crag which standeth ash-colored, standeth chili-red. And things slip, things slide,<sup>10</sup> no one escapeth thy presence.<sup>11</sup> And I, even I myself cast myself, throw myself into the water, into the cave, from the crag, into the torrent. And here I come to contract, to acquire blindness, paralysis, rottenness; the old maguey fiber cape, rags. For I have taken, I have assumed whatsoever I have as reward, as merit, I who am a commoner, a field hand. Perform thy office, do thy work, O our lord, O night, O wind. May I not reject thee, may I not falter before thee, O our lord."

njcacoleoa, aço ic njcolinja in quavitl, in tell: ca çan in njtlatoa, cā çan in njnoquetza, in mjxpantzinco: ca tlamaviziocan, ca maujzpan, ca atoiatl ca, tepexitl qujqujzticac, ca texcalli ca tepexitl viujtecticac, nē, nexeoaticac chichileoaioticac: auh tlaalaoa, tlapetzcavi, aiac onqujzca in mjxpantzinco: auh ca neboal, ca njxcoian, ca nonoma nonnotlaça nonnomaiavi: in atlan in oztoc, in tepexic in atoiac: auh njcan njcoij-co njcanaco in jxpopoiotl in cocototztl, in palanjilz-tli, in aiaçulli, in tatapatl: auh ca onoconcuje, ca onoconmama in quenamj in nolujlti, in normaceoal in njmacechoalli, in njtlapaliuj: ma ximotlaconlli, ma ximotequjtili totecoe: iooalle, checatle, ma njmjtznotlaxili, ma njmjtznotecujnjli totecoe.

10. *tlaalaoa, tlapetzcavi*: see *ibid.*, p. 220. Cf. also Chap. 41, and Chap. 43.

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "bien se que estoy en un lugar muy emjnente, y hablo con una persona de gran magestad, en cuya presencia, corre un rio: que tiene una barranca profundissima, y preziosa, o taiada: y asimismo esta en vuestra presencia un resbaladero donde mas se despeñan: no ay nadie, que no yerre delante vuestra magestad...."



Third Chapter. Here are related the words which they uttered from their very hearts as they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, whom they named Yaotl, Necoc yaotl,<sup>1</sup> Monenequi,<sup>2</sup> to request aid when war was waged. Those who so prayed were the priests. Very good are the metaphors, the figures of speech, with which they spoke. And from them it is quite apparent how they really believed that all those who died in war went there to the house of the sun, there to rejoice forever.

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O night, O wind, O Moyocoya, O Monenequi, O Titlacauan, O Yaotl, verily warfare<sup>3</sup> now taketh form, is born, stirreth, is inflamed, is bored with a firedrill.<sup>4</sup> For Tlaltecutli openeth his mouth, parteth his lips,<sup>5</sup> and there appear the eagle vessel, the reed tube, the ritual feathering, the incomparable.

"And behold, verily the sun, Tlaltecutli, will now be gladdened. And [the warrior] will give one drink, offerings, food above us, in the land of the dead. And as many as are above us, in the land of the dead, in the heavens, already lie watching, already lie beholding him who will obtain merit, the humble eagle warrior, the humble ocelot warrior, and the noble one<sup>6</sup> who will attain the lap, the bosom<sup>7</sup> of the sun, Tlaltecutli. [The warrior] will gladden him, and

Ic ey capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in tlatolli in vel iniollocopa qujtoia, injc qujtlauhtiaia tezcatlipuca: in qujtocaiotiaia iaotl necoc iaotl, monenequ: injc qujtlanjliaia in tepaleujiliztli, in jquac iaoiutl muchioaia. Iehoantin ic tlatlatlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque: cenca quaqualli in metaphoras, in machio-tlatolli injc tlatoaia: ioan vel itech neci in quenjn vel qujneltocaia, ca in jxquijchtin in iaomjquja: vmpa viia in tonatiuh ichan, injc cemjcac vmpa mocujl-tonozque.

Tlacatle, totecoe: tloquee, naoaquee, ioalle, eche-cate, moiocoiatzine, monenequje, titlacavane iao-tzine: a ca nelle axcan, ca ioli ca tlacati, ca molinja, ca mopitzca momamali in teuatl, in tlachinolli: a ca camachalaoa, ca tentlapanj in tlaltecutli: auh ca oalmomana in quauhxicalli, in quappiaztl in tlaponjlli in anemjuhquj:

aviz nelle axcan, maviltiz in tonatiuh in tlaltecutli: auh teatlitz, tetlamacaz, tetlaqualtz in topan in mjctlan: auh ca ie oalitztotoc ie oallachialotoc in topan in mjctlan, in jlvicac in quezquj: auh in aqujn in tlacnopilvz in jcnoquauhtli, in jcnoocelutl: auh in tetzon, in teizti, in texillan in tetozcatlan actiaz, in caujltiz: auh in catlitiz, in qujtlamacaz in tonatiuh in tlaltecutli, yn jxtlaoacan, in jxtlaoatl inepantla, in jtlic in mopopoiauhtoz, in mopopoiaoaz: in

1. Necoc yaotl: "the enemy from both sides."

2. Monenequi: "obra como se le antoja," in León-Portilla, *op. cit.*, p. 385. Angel María Garibay K., in *Veinte himnos sacros de los nahuas*, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie de Cultura Náhuatl, Fuentes, 2 (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1958; hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Veinte himnos*), p. 181: "'mostrarse rehacio.' También remedar o fingir lo que no se es.... Se usa para calificar al numen máximo: Monenequini, el arbitrario, el que hace su antojo, aquel a quien nadie puede poner restricción ni obstdculo."

3. in teuatl, in tlachinolli: teuatl—the real water, the divine water, or the sea; tlachinolli—the conflagration. Sahagún (see Chap. 43) explains the phrase as "El mar o la chamusqujna.... Por metaphora se dice: de la pestilencia o guerra...."

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "es cosa muy cierta, y ameriguada, que comienza a fabricarse, ordenarse y formarse, y concertarse gran guerra."

5. Ibid.: "el dios de la tierra, abre la boca, con hambre de traguar la sangre de muchos, que muriran en esta guerra...."

6. in tetzon, in teizti: literally, "one's hair, one's fingernails." As explained by Sahagún (see Chap. 43), "Por metaphora se dice. Del que es noble o generoso o de linaje de señores hñbre o muger." It thus means nobleman or the offspring of noblemen. We shall translate it variously, according to the context.

7. in texillan in tetozcatlan: literally, "in one's abdomen, in one's throat." According to Sahagún (see Chap. 43), texillan, tetozcatlan oqujz means: "Salio de las entrañas y de la garganta. Y por metaphora qujere decir. Persona generosa que viene de personas ylustres: qujere decir tambien. La platica o oracion que haze el orador que le sale de las entrañas y de la garganta." Angel María Garibay K., in "Huehuetlatolli, Documento A," *Tlalocan*, I, 1 (1943; hereafter referred to as Garibay, "Huehuetlatolli"), pp. 45, 50, offers several translations ranging from the more literal to the more metaphorical.

will provide him drink; will provide him offerings. On the desert, in the midst of the desert, within it, he will be brave, valiant.<sup>8</sup> There he will be undone, scattered, cut to pieces. Then and there he will breathe his last.

"The mother, the father, the parent, the parent of the nobleman, the old men, the old women know not yet of it, nor do any of the kinsmen — one's aunt, one's uncle — know yet in what manner the begotten one may perish, nor the mother who gave him strength, the one by whose side he was lulled to sleep, the one who had placed him on her thigh, and the one who with her milk had indeed strengthened him.<sup>9</sup>

"However, for the little that was done in order that he be strengthened, grow, develop, the father suffered want.<sup>10</sup> In truth he consumed his strength. In truth he endured anguish in going in search for sustenance and for that which hangeth upon us, that which we hang on our hips, about our necks.

"Do they yet perhaps know in what manner their begotten one may perish? Perhaps he will be captured or perhaps then and there his mission will end. May [our lord] receive him peacefully and gently. May he go to rest in the lap, the bosom, the embrace of our mother, our father, the sun, the lord of the earth.

"Be not mistaken about them, for they have been dedicated [on earth], there promised, born at this time, sent to such a place to provide drink, to provide food, to provide offerings for the sun, for the lord of the earth. And do not school thyself concerning it, for there [on the plain] rest, there lie scattered the sons of noblemen, the precious green stones, the bracelets, the precious items: for there like necklaces, like precious feathers thou placest them, arrangest them in order, recordest their names there.

"O master, O Yaotl, O Titlacauan, O Tezcatlipoca, O night, O wind: may there be peace, repose, for whomsoever is brought unto the lap, the bosom [of the god]. And as many as thou hast rewarded [with death], may they in peace, in repose attain the sun, which endureth, shineth; the resplendent one, the ascending eagle, the well-blotted one, the ashen one, the eagle, the ocelot, the valiant warrior, the

vncan xixitinjloz, momoiaaloz, in tzatzaianaloz, in njman vncan yhiiot quijçaz:

a mach oc commati in nantli, in tatli, in tlacachiovale, in tzone, in jzte, in veve, in jlama: auh in çä noço, ac teoaniolcatzin in teauijtzin, in tetlatzin: mach oc commati in quen poliuj in tlacachioalli: anca quen oquijmotetzavili in tenantzin, in jtlan ocochiaiaticatca, in jmetzpan quijtlatlaliticatca: auh in jmemeialotzin, quemeca ic oquijmotetzaujli,

quen achi muchiu, injc otetzauc, injc oalmozcalti, injc ooapaoac: in tetatzin ovmpa onqujz, nelli mach in oontla itlapaliviz, nelli mach yn oiiellelacic injc oquijxtemotinen in cochcautl, in neehcautl: auh ie iehoatl, in totech vmpilcac, in toquezpan, in toquechtlan tocompiloa:

cujx oc commati in quen poliuj in jtzacachioal, in cujx calaqujloz, in cujx noço njman vncan vettiz tequjtl: ma çan ivian, ma çan iocuxca quijvalmanjiliz, ma ixillan ma itozcatlan, ma imacochco, ommotecatiuh in tonan, in tota, in tonatiuh in tlaltecultli:

ca amo ticmotlanevilia, ca vncan pouhquj, ca vncan itauhquj ca ipan motlacatili, ca iuhcan oaliualoc, in catlitiz, in quijtlaqualtziz, in quijtlamacaz in tonatiuh in tlaltecultli: auh ca amo ica timomachtitzinoa, ca vncan onoque, ca vncan xamantoque, in tepilhoan, in chalchiuhtin, in maqujztin, in tlaçoti ca vncan cozcateuh, quetzalteuh timotemanjlia, timotevapanjlia: vncan timoteicujvila.

Tlacatle iaotzine, titlacaoane, tezcatlipucae, ioalle, ehecatle: manoço ivijan, iocuxca texillan, tetozcatlan maqujltiaz in ac iehoatl: auh in quezquj oticmomeaceujli, manoço ivian, iocuxca itech onaciz in tonatiuh in manje in tlanexti in totonametl, in quauhleooanjtl, in vel cujcujiu in nexeoac in quauhli in ocelutl, in tiacauh, in oquijchtli, in javmjcquj in xipilli: auh manoço yvian, iocuxca intech onaciz in

8. in mopopoiauhloz, in mopopoiauax: in Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 216, "Persona valiente o esforzada."

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "y afines, y las amas que los criaron quando nños, y los dieron la leche, con que los criaron."

10. ovmpa onqujz: "persona muy pobre y necesitada" — Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 76v (*Ompa onquiça*). Cf. also vmpa onqujçan tlalnicpac, Chap. 41.

brave warrior, the one who died in war, the turquoise prince. And may they in peace, in repose, arrive among the valiant warriors, those who died in war, the noblemen, Quitzicquaquatzin, Maceuhcatzin, Tlacauerpantzin, Ixtlilcuechauac, Ihuitl Temoc, [and] Chahuacuetzin;<sup>11</sup> and all, all the several eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors who are in the heavens where they gladden the sun, the turquoise prince, the valiant warrior, the one who died in war — they cry out to him there.

"And there, always, forever, perpetually, time without end, they rejoice, they live in abundance, where they suck the different flowers, the fragrant, the savory. In this wise the valiant warriors live in joy, in happiness. It is as if they live drunk [with joy and happiness], not knowing, no longer remembering the affairs of the day, the affairs of the night, and no longer giving heed to one year, to two years. Eternal is their abundance, their joy. The different flowers they suck, the choice ones, the flowers of joy, the flowers of happiness: to this end the noblemen go to death — go longing for, go desiring [death].

"And now, O master, O our lord, O Titlacauan, may they rest peacefully, calmly in the lap, in the bosom, in the embrace of our mother, our father, the sun, the lord of the earth. May he take [them], may he admit [them]!

"And thou dost thy labor, thou dost thy duty, O master, O our lord. All the different eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, those who suffer pain, who suffer torment in their hearts, who are anguished, those who call upon thee, who cry out to thee, those who put no value upon their heads, upon their breasts, those who hurl missiles against, who press upon [the enemy] as they wish for death: concede them the little that they desire, that they long for, the chalk, the down feathers.<sup>12</sup> Assign them to the mother of the sun, the father of the sun that they may provide drink, provide food, provide offerings to those above us, those in the land of the dead, in the heavens.

tiacavan in iaomjque, in tepilhoan: in Quitzicquaquatzin, in Maceuhcatzin, in Tlacavepantzin, in Ixtlilcuechaoac, in Hivitl temoc in Chahoacuetzin: auh in ie muchintin, in ie ixquijchtin, in quauihi in ocelo, in jlvcatl itic, in vmpa caujltia in tonatiuh, in xippilli in tiacauh in iavmjcoquj yn vmpa coiouja:

auh in vmpa motlamachtia mocujltonoa, in cemjcac in muchipa in cemanquj, in acan tlanquj in quichichina in nepapan xuchitl, in aviac: in velic injc pactinemj, injc auxxtinemj in tiacahoa: injc iuhqujma ivintitinemj, in aqujmati in aoc qujlnamjquj in tlein cemjlvtl, in tlein ceiooal: auh in aoc qujximati in cexiu, in oxiuh in çan cemanquj in jnnecujltonol, in jnnetlamachtil, in quichichina nepapan xuchitl, in aiectli in paqujlxzuchitl, in ahaujalizxuchitl, in jpan mjctiuj, in qujcolitiuj in tepilhoan in queleujtiuj.

Auh in axcan tlacatle, totecoe: titlacaoane, ma ivian, iocoaxca yxillan, itozcatlan, imacochco ommoteca in tonan, in tota, in tonatiuh in tlattecutli: ma quoalmanjli, ma quoalmocelili:

auh ca timotlacotilia, ca timotequjtilia, tlacatle totecoe: in ie ixquijch nepapan quauihli ocelutl: in toneoa, in chichinaca in jiollo, in nentlamati in mjtzmonochilia, in mjtzmotzatzililia: in amo qujtlacotla in jtzonteccon in jelchiqujuh, in teca qujmotla, in teca qujtepachoa in mjqujznequj: manoço achitzin xicmottitili in qujnequj, in queleuja, in tiçatl, in jvitl: manoço xicmomachiotili in tonatiuh inan, in tonatiuh ita, in teatlitz, in tetlaqualtiz, in tetlamacaz in topan in mjctlan, in jlvcac:

11. Quitzicquaquatzin, etc. These were famous warriors during the reign of Motecuzoma Xocoyotzin (about 1494). They were memorialized in song. See Antonio de Peñafiel: *Cantares mexicanos* (copy of the Biblioteca Nacional de México MS, 1904), fol. 65r. For a translation, see Angel María Garibay K.: *Panorama literario de los pueblos nahuas* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1963; hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Panorama*), p. 46.

12. *in tiçatl, in jvitl*: on p. xxvii of *Poesía náhuatl*, II, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie de Cultura Náhuatl, Fuentes, 5 (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965; hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Poesía II*). Angel María Garibay K. notes: "Lit. 'greda y pluma fina.' En sentido de víctima para el sacrificio...." On p. 145 of *Poesía náhuatl*, I (same series and publisher, Fuentes 4, 1964; hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Poesía I*), he calls attention to "El sacrificado... adornado con plumas blancas y con rayas de tiza o gis."

"And those who will guard the eagle mat, the ocelot mat,<sup>13</sup> those who will govern, those who will be Tlacaateccatl, those who will be Tlacochealcacatl, make them mothers, make them fathers of the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors who travel all the forest, all the plain, of those who seek out the cliff, the gorge.

"In their hands will rest the eagle vessel, the reed tube, the ritual feathering. And they will enrich thee, they will enrich and will honor [others] with the shield, the device, the lip pendant, the head band, the ear plug, the ear pendant, the wristband, the band for the calf of the leg, the breech clout, the cape, the vestment.<sup>14</sup> And they will enrich those whose desert, whose merit it is, who will obtain, who will gain as merit the precious green stones, the precious turquoise, the precious feathers, and the gold which are thy freshness, thy tenderness, thy sweetness, thy fragrance which cometh from thy body.

"And may all, the eagle warrior, the ocelot warrior, merit a little; may [the warrior] be covered with chalk, with down feathers. Show him the marvel. May his heart falter not in fear. May he savor the fragrance, the sweetness of death by the obsidian knife.<sup>15</sup> With his heart may he gladden Necoc tene, the ritual feathering, [the goddess] Itz-papalotl. May he desire, may he long for the flowery death by the obsidian knife. May he savor the scent, savor the fragrance, savor the sweetness of the darkness, the din of battle, the roar of the crowd. Take his part; be his friend.

"And as thou art Necoc yaotl, as thou art Moyocoyatzin, as thou art Moquequela,<sup>16</sup> so that none be at thy borders, intoxicate our foes; inebriate them, make them drunk. May they cast themselves into the hands of, may they deliver themselves to, may they come unaware upon our humble eagle warriors, our humble ocelot warriors, who rejoice not, who are discontent, who live in torment, who live in pain on earth.

"Incline thy heart, O master, O our lord, O god, O Teimatin, O Techichiuani, to arrange, to order

auh in quipiaz in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl, in quipachoz, in tlacateccatiz, in tlacochcalcatiz: ma xicmonantili, ma xicmotatili in quauhtli, in ocelutl, in cenquaujtl, in cemjxtlaotl mantiu: in quijmocititia in texcalli, in atlauhtli:

in jmac manjz in quauhxicalli, in quappiaztli in tlapotonjlli: auh in mjtzmotlatotonjlliz, in qujtotonjz: auh in qujtimaloz in chimalli, in tlavitztli, in tençacatl, in tlalpilonj, in nacochtli, in cuecueiochtli, in matemecatl, in cotzeoatl, in maxtlatl, in tilmatl, in quemjtl: auh in qujtotonjz, in jlvtiz, in jmacceoaltiz, in qujcnopilvz, in qujmaceoaz in chalchiuhtli, in teuxiujtl, in quetzalli: auh in teucujtlatl in motz-molinca, in mocelica in motzopelica, in maviaca: in motechcopatzinco vitz, in monacaiotzin:

auh in ie ixquijch in quauhtli, in ocelutl: manoço achitzin qujenopilvi, ma achitzin itech matilivi in tiçatl, in jvitl, ma xicmottitili in tlamaviçoll, macamo mavi in jiollo, ma cauijacamat, ma qujtzopelicamat in jtزمjqujiliztli, ma ica in jiollo cavilti, in necoc tene, in tlapotonjlli, in jtzpapalotl, ma qujnenequi, ma quehelevi in jtزمjqujzxuchitl, ma qujuelicamat, ma cauijacamat, ma qujtzopelicamat in iooalli, in tlacocomotzaliztli, in jcavaqujiliztli: ma xicmoviviti, ma xicmocnjuhiti.

Auh injc tinecoc iautzin, injc timoiocalatzin, injc timoquequeloa, injc aiac motenpan: ma xicmotla-oantili, ma xicmjvintili, ma xicmoxocomjtili yn toiaouh, ma imac oalmotla, ma qujoalmomaca, ma ica oalmomotla in tocnoquauh, in tocnocelouh, in aiavia, in avellamat, in toneoatinemj, in chichinacatinemj in tlalticpac.

Ma tlacaoa in moiollotzin tlacatle, totecoe, teutle, teimatinje, techichivanje: ma ximotlatlatlalili, ma

13. *in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl*: Sahagún expands the meaning thus (Chap. 43): "Asíetos y estrados ay de tigres y agujas. Por metáfora quiere decir. Ay en este pueblo o en esta ciudad gente de guerra soldados y hombres valientes que la guardan que murirán por su defensa."

14. Corresponding Spanish text: "y también a de estar en su mano, el distribuir vuestras dignidades: que son los oficios, y armas de la guerra, como son ruedas...."

15. *jtزمjqujzxuchitl*: in Garibay, Poesía I, p. 142, "muerte florida a la obsidiana"; p. 145, "muerte en la guerra, muerte en el sacrificio."

16. *timoicalatzin* is the spelling of the Florentine Codex; *moquequela*: "the mocker."

things, to establish the people. May the realm be rich, prosperous; may it grow, may it increase. May it gain ferocity, glory in war. May the eagle warrior, the ocelot warrior, endure, live — he who is the gladdener, the servant, of the sun. Somewhere, sometime, thou wilt grant that they will follow the sun, Tlaltecuhli.

"They will arrive among, will belong with the valiant warriors, those who died in war, the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors who receive, who gladden the resplendent one, the turquoise prince. And they suck the different flowers; in the heavens, the home of the sun, they honor him.

"This is all with which I address thee, with which I speak unintelligibly to thee, O our lord."

ximotlatecpanjli, ma ximotemamanjli ma necujtlnolo, ma netlamachtilo, ma veia, ma vecapanjvi in quappetlatl, in ocelupetlatl: ma motequaiotl, ma motleioti in teuatl, in tlachinolli: ma ioli, ma tlacati in quauhtli, in ocelutl, in tonatiuh iteavilticauh, in jtetlamacacauh, in çan canjn, in çan quēman in tictomamacaviliz in contocaz in tonatiuh in tlaltecuhli:

in jntech onaciz, in jntech vmpoujz in tiacaoan, in iavmjcoque, in quauhtin ocelo: in quijnamjquj, in caujltia in totonametl in xippilli: auh in quichichina nepapan xuchitl, in quijtlamachlia in jlamicatl itic, in tonatiuh ichan.

O ca ixquijtzin ic njmitznotza: ic njmjtzpōpōlotza totecujoce.



**Fourth Chapter.** Here are related the words which came from their very hearts when they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, whom they named creator of men,<sup>1</sup> knower of men,<sup>2</sup> seer into men's hearts and men's thoughts, as they asked help in behalf of the ruler who had been installed, who had been chosen, in order that he might exercise well the office of ruler. Those who so prayed were the priests. Very subtle sentiments are here expressed.

"Now, already at this very time, the sun hath shined, hath dawned, hath come to appear.<sup>3</sup> It hath become day. The precious green stone, the bracelet, the precious turquoise have been cast, have been perforated. The torch, the light which will guard the city, which will assume the task, the burden, hath formed, been born, budded, blossomed, come to establish itself. [The new ruler] is the one who will then serve as substitute, will then help bear the responsibility, for those already gone beyond, for those who recently, a little while ago, came to assume thy troubles for thee in thy world, and who came to be, came to pass by thy principal place of authority, who came to keep watch for thee for a little time,<sup>4</sup> for but a day; who departed leaving, left standing the large bundle, the large carrying frame, intolerable, insupportable, heavy.

"Verily, now, how hath the commoner, the stupid one,<sup>5</sup> N., looked to thee—he who briefly, for yet a little while, will bear afflictions for thee on thy reed mat, thy reed seat?

"O master, O our lord, art thou perchance in need of men, in need of friends? For thy friends are formed, are born. Innumerable are thy friends. But how hath this commoner looked upon thee? Is it

Ic navi capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in tlatolli, in vel iniollo itech quijcaia, in jquac quijtlatlauhtiaia tezcatlipuca, in qujtoaia: teiocaianj, teiximatinj, quijtanj in teiollo, ioan in tetlalnamjqujiz: injc quijtlaniliaia tepaleviliztli, in jpampa tlatuanj in otlaliloc, in opepenaloc, injc vel quijchioaz in jtlatocatequjuh. Iehoantin ic tlatlatlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque, cenza ohovi in sentencias in vncan moteneoa.

In axcan: at ie nellaxcan otonac, otlathujc, omo-manaco in tonatiuh otlanez: ca opitzaloc omamallioac in chalchiuhtli, in maquijztli, in teuxiujtl: oiol, otlacat, oxotlac, ocuepon, omoquetzaco in ocutl, in tlavilli in apiaz in tepepiaz: in tlatqujz, in tlammaz, in qujn quijmjlpatlaz, in qujn quijmlceviz: in ie nachca mantivi, in oc uel achic, yn oachitzinca mjtzmotaamanjlilico in motlalticpactzinco: auh in moperlaquac, in mocpalquac ooieco, oonquijcaco, in omjtzmotlapielilico, in achica cavitl, in cemjlvitl: in oconcauheteoaque, in oconquetzteoaque in vei quijmilli, in vei cacaxtli in aiehoaliztli, in aixnamjqujiztli in etic.

1. *teiocoianj*: "creator of men." See Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), p. 171 (*yocoya*); cf. also Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, p. 230, and León-Portilla, *La filosofía náhuatl*, p. 389.

2. *teiximatinj*: "knower of men." See Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 194 (*iximati*).

3. The phrase relates to the account of the creation of the sun. See Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, Book VII, "The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years," Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14 (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1953), p. 4.

4. *achica*: cf. Garibay, *Llave*, p. 67.

5. *aommati, in jxco, in jcpac*: cf. *Aōmati ijjco, icpac*, Chap. 43.

possible that thou hast confused him with another? Wilt thou perhaps seek one wherewith [to replace] the commoner, the disobedient one who understandeth things backwards and who is impulsive, who is useless, who liveth in vain on earth?<sup>6</sup>

"Thou hast already inclined thy heart, for already thou knowest the inner nature of things, so that thou hast already disposed accordingly. May thy will be done according as thy heart desireth. Perhaps for a little while, perhaps for a day, perhaps for a little time, he will assume thy troubles for thee. Perhaps he will be stupid; perhaps he will constantly steal; perhaps he will pilfer; perhaps he will keep his own counsel; perhaps in secret he will cook things up for himself; perhaps he will be rude, will seize the government;<sup>7</sup> perhaps he will be quarrelsome; perhaps he will belittle others, will be precipitate, perverse. Accordingly, already thou knowest within thyself how thou wilt determine for him how [he will be] in a few days. For verily on earth thou art merely amused, thou art only made to laugh.<sup>8</sup>

"Accordingly his debility will destroy [his office]; he will lose it [by] his sleep, for thou knowest, thou understandest, the things within the wood, the rocks; he will lose it [by virtue of] his thoughts. Thou wilt cast him into the dung heap, thou wilt cast him into the refuse heap; he will gain as his deserts, as his merit, blindness, paralysis, tatters, rags. And thou wilt trample him underfoot; thou wilt destroy him.

"And this, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O night, O wind, O thou by whom we live, O Teyocoyani, O Teimatini, O our lord: incline thy heart; show mercy, illuminate the poor one, the commoner, the sightless one, the blind one. Reveal to him the torch, the light, the splendor for whatsoever he performeth, for whatsoever he doth, for whatsoever way he followeth. Thou knowest, accordingly, in what manner thou wilt desire, in what manner thou wilt dispose—in what manner the night, the day, the daytime will result, will take form.

"O master, O our lord, incline thy heart. Is it perhaps man's doing if he indulgeth himself in something, if in something he goeth astray, goeth amiss

molia in maceoalli, in amo tlacamati, in avmpa cheoa: auh in aihivia, in nentlacatl, in çan quipic, tinemj tlalticpac.

Oieh tlacauhquj in moiollotzin, ca ie tehoatzin tocommomachitia, anca ie ticmjmachilia, anca ie qujnequj in moiollotzin, in quecin ticmonequjltia: aço achica, aço cemjlvtl, aço achica cavitl mtzmo-tlaamanjliliz aço onjxtotomaoaz, aço ontlacujcuji-uetziz, aço monelchioaz, aço itic tlatoz, aço itic motlaxqujz: aço ixco, icpac queoaz, qujmanaz in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiotl, aço onmâmaçovaz, aço teixco, teicpac onnemijz, aço onjcicatinemijz, aço mjtonijz: anca ie tehoatzin, tocommomachitia, in quen tocommonequjltiz, anca quen macujl, matlac: ca nel çan taujtilo, çan titlavevetzqujtilo in tlalticpac:

anca ijcic conpoloz, anca icochiz concaviliz, ca quavitl, ca tetl, itic timotlamachiltia timotlacajuita, ca itic itlatoliz in concaviliz, tiqualmotlaxiliz cujtlatitlan, tlaçultitlan, tocommotlaxiliz, conjcnopilvz, commomaceviz in ixpopoiotl, in cocototzli, in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli: auh tocommocxipachilvz tocommotlatiliz.

Auh injn, tlacatle totecoe: tloquee naoaquee, iooallc, checatle, ipalnemoanje, teiocoianje tehimati-nje totecoe: ma tlacaaoa in moiollotzin, ma xicmoc-nelili, ma xicmotlavilili: motolinja in maceoalli, in ixtepeta, in jxpopoiotl, ma xicmottitili in ocutl, in tlavilli in tlanextli: in catlehoatl onaiz, in catlehoatl conchioaz, in catlehoatl contocaz: tehoatzin tocommomachitia, anca quen tocommonequjltiz, anca quen ticmjmachiliz, anca quen qujtlâçaz, qujqujxtiz in iooalli in tlacatli, in cemjlvtl.

Tlacatle, totecoe: ma tlacaaoa in moiollotzin, cuij onmotlacaiocoia intlan oc itla qujmavilti, intla itla ic mjxpantzinco tlacolo, tlaujitequj in petlapán, in

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "es por uertura que le aueys puesto prestado, entre tanto que buscays otro, que lo haga mejor, que este ruñido, y indiscreto, y desatendido, y hombre sin prouecho, y hombre que biue en este mundo por demas."

7. *in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiotl*: see Chap. 43.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "vuestra magestad sabe, a que se a de inclinar desde aquí a pocos días: porque nosotros los hombres, somos vuestro expectaculo, o nuestro theatro, de quien vos os reys, y os regozijays...."

before thee in the realm there where people are washed, there where rest the dark blue, the yellow waters? There is being bathed thy progenitor, the mother of the gods, the father of the gods, Ueueteotl, who is set in the navel of the earth, who lieth in the turquoise enclosure, who is [enclosed] with the waters of the lovely cotinga, enclosed with clouds.<sup>9</sup>

"Verily, that which a man will do, that which he will perform to attract thy wrath, thy anger, thy annoyance, to stir up castigation is not his doing. Open his eyes, open his ears, advise him, set him upon the road, guide the commoner. Consider not only the commoner, the laborer; consider the governed. Verily, now, inspire him, animate him, for thou makest of him thy seat, for he is as thy flute. Make him thy replacement, thy image. Let him not there on the reed mat, the reed seat become proud; let him not be quarrelsome. May he in peace and calm go accompanying, leading the common folk. May he not make sport of the common folk. May he not disunite the people; may he not destroy them in vain.

"And may he not blemish,<sup>10</sup> not besmirch the reed mat, the reed seat — thy reed mat, thy reed seat; thy glory, thy honor, thy rule. For he hath taken them; thou hast accorded them; thou hast favored him; he hath received compassion. For already he taketh pride, already he glorieth, in the precious, the good, the wonderful. For thou hast placed [raiment] on his arms, on his feet, in his lips, on his head; for he hath taken the peaked cap, the turquoise diadem, the maniple, the wrist band, the leather band about the calf of the leg, the lip plug, the ear plug. May they not cause him to be perverse, brazen. May he stand guard for thee in peace and quiet.

"O master, O our lord, may he in peace arrange for thee, order for thee, upon the reed mat, the reed seat, the place of honor. Determine for him; ordain for him; incline thy heart, O our lord. May he not soon do something, perform something [evil]. Go revealing thyself to him; go instructing him. And, furthermore, ordain that he belittle no one on earth. Also, concede him, let him experience, send him to the midst of the desert, to the center of the desert, to the field of battle.<sup>11</sup> May he know the home of

jcpalpan: in vncan motepapaqujlitica, in vncan manj in matlalatl, in toxpalatl, in vncan moteahaltilitica, in motechiuhcauh, in teteu innan, in teteu inta, in veveteutl in tlaxicco maqujtoc, in xiuhtetzacualco monoltitoc, in xiuhtototica mjxtzatzacujlitica:

ca amo motlacaiocoia, in tlein onaiz, in tlein conchoaz, injc commjlanjz in moçomaltzin, in moqualantzin, in melleltzin, injc conolinjz in quavil, in tetl: manoço xicmjxtomjli, ma xicmonacaztlapolvi, ma xicmotlachialtili, ma xicmohtequjli, ma xicmopatiotli in maceoalli, maca çan ie xicmottili in maceoalli, in tlalpali: ma ie xicmottili in tlatqujtl, in tlamallli: manoço nelle axcan, ma xicmjpitchili, ma itech ximjhijotitzino, ca monetlaxoniu hticmuchiujlia, ca motlatlapitzal, ma xicmoviti, ma xicmopatiotli: macanoçomo vncan ontlatlamattie in petapan, in jcpalpan, macamo onmamaçouhtie: manoço ivian ma iocoxca convicatiuh, conotlatocci in maceoalli, macamo ica ommaviltiz in maceoalli, macamo texaxamatzzaz, macamo tetlapicquaz:

auh macamo conjoloz: macamo conteuhiotiz in petlatl, in jcpan, in mopeplatzin, in mocpaltzin, in motleiotzin, in momaviziotzin, in motlatocaiotzin: ca oconcujc, ca oticmomacavili, ca oticmocnelili, ca otlaocolilic, ca ie tlamaujçoa, ca ie qujtimaloa in tlacotli, in iectli, in maviztic: ca otocõmotlatlatlalilili in jmac in jcxic, in jtenco, in jcpan, ca oconcujc in tepeiotl, in xiuhvitzolli, in matacaxtli, in matemecatl, in cotzeoatl, in tentetl, in nacochtli. Macanoçomo iehoatl qujtonjz, caquetzaltiz: manoço ivian, iocuxca in mitzommotlapialili:

tlacatle, totecoe: ma ivian mjzonmotlatlatlalilili, mjzonmotlatetequjllili in petapan, in jcpalpan, in momaviziocan: a ma noço xicmjtalvi, ma xicmonequjli, ma tlacaoa in moiollotzin, totecoe: macamo çan cuel itla onai, itla conchioa, ma ipan xioalmoqujxtitihu, ma xiqualmomachititihu: auh iequene manoço xicmonequjli, ma teixco nen in tlaticpac: ma çan noço cuel xicmomacavili, ma ie ontlamati, ma ie xoconmijvali in jxtlaoatl inepantla, in jxtlavatl itic, in teuatenpan, in tlachinoltenpan: ma ie

9. Read *xiuhtototica mixtzatzacujlitica*, as in Chap. 17.

10. *conjoloz*: cf. Chap. 43.

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y si esto no aueys de hazer: ordenad desde luego que sea aborrecido, y mal querido, y muera en la guerra a manos de sus enemigos...."

the sun; let his heart, his body go on to be the precious green stone, the precious turquoise, the bracelet which he giveth to the sun, that he not appear dishonored, [not] go being offensive. O master, O our lord, O Teimatiní, O Techichiuani, incline thy heart."

ontlamati in tonatiuh ichan ma onchalchiuhtitiuuh, ma onteuxiuhtitiuuh ma ommaquijztitiuh in jiollo, in jnacaio in commaca in tonatiuh, macamo ommjçoloteoa: auh macamo teixco, teicpac onnemj, onnen-tiuuh. Tlacatle totecoe: teimatinje, techichioanje; ma tlacaoa in moiollotzin.



Fifth Chapter. Here are related the words with which they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, whom they called Titlacauan, Moquequeloa, when the ruler died, in order that another be installed. And this discourse he who was the principal priest repeated. Here are told many good discourses.

"He hath gone. Thou hast hidden him, thou hast placed him underfoot, thou hast placed him in retreat.<sup>1</sup> He hath known our home, the place with no outlets, the place with no openings.<sup>2</sup> Already he lieth resting, for he hath known the so-called place of no fleas.

"Briefly, for a while, N. hath come to assume thy troubles for thee on earth. And truly thou hast caused him to smell, thou hast caused to pass before his lips, thy sweetness, thy fragrance. Thou hast caused him to see, thou hast caused to pass before his face, thy glory, thy wonder, the rule, the governing. For a day, for a while, he came to assume thy troubles for thee. And he came to reap reward on thy reed mat, thy reed seat; there he came to await thy spirit, thy word; there he came to sigh, he came to call out to thee in sadness.

"He knew, he hath followed our mother, our father Mictlan tecutli, Tzontemoc, Cueçalli,<sup>3</sup> who remaineth thirsting for us, who remaineth hungering for us, who remaineth panting, who remaineth coveting, who remaineth restless; by night, by day he remaineth demanding, he remaineth crying out.

1. *ca otoconmotoptemjli, ca otoconmopetlacaltemjli:* cf. *toptema, petlacaltema*, "to put away in a coffer, to put away in a reed basket." Corresponding Spanish text: "ya está en su reconocimiento...." Cf. Garibay, *Llave*, p. 116: "topco, petlaculco — en secreto — en morral y caja."

2. *in apochquaoaiocan, in atlecalocan:* we have consistently translated the *difránimo* as "the place with no outlets, the place with no openings," in part to avoid use of "chimney" or "fireplace"; cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book III, "The City of Utah, 1952), p. 39, n. 3a; also cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 147r, and Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 638 (*tlecalli*). A more literal translation would be "a place without a smoke opening, a place without a chimney (or fireplace)." Corresponding Spanish text: "donde nj ay ventana, nj luz njn-than a-tlecalocan"; likewise Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 990, Vol. III, p. 330 (where, however, *apochquiauayocan* is read for *apochquiauayocan*), translating *atle calocan* as "wo keine Gassen gibt."

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "ya se fue a donde está nuestro padre, y nuestra madre, el dios del infierno, aquel que descendió cabeza abajo al fuego...." On Tzontemoc, see Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 300 ("König der Unterwelt"), Vol. V, p. 183 ("Todesgott"). — Cueçalli 331 (*cuezalli*), "llama, color rojo vivo, pluma de ese color."

Ic macuilli capitulo, vñcan moteneoa in tlatolli: injc quijlatlauhtiaia Tezcatlipuca, in quijtocaiotiaia titlacaõa, moquequeloa, in jquac mijquja tlatoanj, injc oc ce motlatocatlaliz. Auh injn tlatolli, iehoatl quijtoiaia in vei tlenamacac catca, mijec in vñcan mote-neoa: in quaqualli tlatolli.

Ca ooiaia, ca otoconmotlatili, ca otoconmoxipachilvi, ca otoconmotoptemjli, ca otoconmopetlacaltemjli: ca oontlama in tochan in apochquaoaiocan, in atlecalocan: ca ie quijcevitoc, ca oontlama in mijtoa in atecpitla:

in ocuelachic, in oachitzinca, in omjtzommotaamanjlilico in tlalticpac in. N. auh in onellehoatl in otoconmjneçujltili, in oitentlan toconmoqujxtili in motzopelica, in maviaca, in otoconmottitili, in oixtlan toconmoqujxtili in motleio in momavizio: in tecujotl, in tlatocaiotl, in ocemjlvitl, in oachica mjtzmo-tlaamanjlilico: auh in oontlamaviçoco in mope-tla-quac in mocpalquac, in vñcan oonchiaco in mjhiyo, in motlatol, in vñcan oonelcicivico, in omjtzontla-ocolnonotzaco.

A ca oontlama, ca oontocac in tonan, in tota in mjctlan tecutli in tzontemoc in cueçal, in techoal-amjctoc, in techoalteciuhtoc, in oalneneciuhoc, in oallamatatacatoc: in acan veli qujchiuhtoc in ceioal, in cemjlvitl oallaitlantoc, in oaltzatzitoc:

"And verily now he hath approached, he hath known his great-grandfathers, his progenitors, those who had already gone beyond to reside, those who had come to establish the realm—the lords, the rulers, the lord Acamapichtli, [and] Tiçoc, Auitzotl, Ueue Motecuçoma, Axayacatl, the one who hath here followed Motecuçoma Ilhuicamina.<sup>4</sup>

"And all these lords, these rulers, came to govern, came to marvel at, and came to glory in the realm, the rulership, the government. And they ordered, they arranged things well for thee, thou who art lord of the near, of the nigh, thou who art Moyocoya, thou who art Moquequeloa.

"They departed leaving the large bundle, the large carrying frame, the great burden, the subjects— heavy, frightful, insupportable, intolerable. They departed placing it upon their shoulders, upon their backs; they departed leaving it to their offspring, to him who for yet a little while came to raise up their heads, who came glorifying them.

"Now he hath followed them; he hath come to know them—he whom thou hast hidden, he whom thou hast summoned hence. Thou hast already inclined thy heart; thou hast blessed him, for his heart, his body are relieved; for he hath gone, for he hath gone to settle in the place of no fleas; for already [thou hast] put him in repose.

"And it hath been forever; he hath gone forever; he hath left the earth completely. Hath he perhaps just gone somewhere to come back, to return, that once again the city may look upon his face? And will he still come to say: 'May this be so; may this so happen'? And will he yet again soon come to look upon the faces of the lords, the rulers? Will they perchance yet see him, yet know him? Will they perchance yet take, yet hold to his word? Will he perchance yet console them, greet them? It has been complete. He hath left completely. It is extinguished, it hath darkened; the torch is extinguished; the light, the splendor is destroyed; the city is eternally orphaned. And so in what manner will he assume the burden? Will he still concern himself, considering that the vassals will somehow perish and considering that they will somehow be destroyed?

"And the city, will it perhaps here in his absence be mocked? Will it divide? Will it scatter? Truly

auh ca nelle axcan, ca intech oonacic ca oqujmonma in jachcocolvan, in jtechiuhcaoan in ie nachca onmantivi, in oieccoco in petlapán, in jcpalpan in teteuti, in tlatoque: in tlacatl in Acamapichtli, in Tiçoc, in Avitzotl, in veve motecuçoma, in Axaiaca: in njcan onjcatiuh in Motecuçoma in Ilujcamjna,

auh in ie ixquijchtin in tetecutin in tlatoque, in otlatqujco, in otlamamaco in oqujmaviçoco: auh in oqujtimaloco in petlatl, in jc palli, in tecujotl, in tlatocaiotl: auh in ovel mjtizontlatetequjlitiaque, in ovel mjtzonmotlatlalililitiaque in titloque, in tinaoaque, in timoiocoia, in timoquequeloa:

auh in oconquetzteoaque in vei qujmjlli, in vei cacaxtli, in vei tlamamalli, in tlatconj, in tlamaillonj in etic, in temamahti in aixnamjqujliztli, in aieoaliztli in jteputzco in jcujtlapan contlaliteoaque, concauhteoaque in jntzon, in jmjzti: in ocuel achic qujmontzontecaconacocujco, in oqujmonteiotico,

in axcan, oqujmontocac, in oqujmomma: in otocommotlatili, in otiqualmotzatzilili. Oieh tlacauhquj in moiollotzin oticmocnelili, ca oceuh in ijollo in jnacaio, ca oia, ca oommotecato in atecpitla ca ie qujceujtoc:

auh ca ocenmaian catca, ca ocenmaian onqujz, ca ocen onqujz in tlalticpac: mach çan cana viloria, oalilotiz, oalmocuepaz oc ceppa ixco, icpac tlachiaz in atl, in tepetl: auh cujx oc conjtoqujuh in ma iuh ie, y, in ma iuh muchioa, y: auh oc ceppa ma ja imjxco imjcpac tlachiaqujuh in tetecutin in tlatoque, cujx oc qujttazque, cujx oc qujximatzque, cujx oc qujcuzque, canazque in jten, in jtlatol: cujx oc qujnciappovaz, cujx qujnciauhquetzaz: a ca ocen oncatca, ca ocen onqujz, a ca oceuh, ca olaiooac: ca oceuh in ocutl, ca opoliuh in tlavilli in tlanextli: ca ocenmaian icnopiltic in atl, in tepetl: anca quen tlamañanz, mach oc oalmotlamachitia, anca ç quen poliviz: auh anca ç quen popololoz in cujtlapalli, in atlapalli:

auh in atl, in tepetl, cujx yio njcan iteputzco ica necacaiaoaloz xixinjz, momoiaoz, in onelli mach

4. Thus the Nahuatl reads. Motecuçoma Ilhuicamina is an alternative name for Ueue Motecuçoma.

he came spreading his wings, his tail feathers over it; truly he spread himself over it. And doth thy city lie abandoned, lie darkened? For thou, O master, O our lord, makest it his place of desolation. And here, in truth, now, in what manner doth thy heart desire? Will the city lie abandoned, will it lie darkened? Wilt thou make it his place of desolation?

"O, the poor, the governed, who seek their mother, their father; who require their mother, their father; who desire to be governed. Truly poor are those who go in all the forests, in the grasslands; who follow the dry lands; who encounter, who search out the deserts; who seek, take, consume the plants, the wood, the sticks.<sup>5</sup>

"And here, in truth, poor is the poor eagle warrior, the poor ocelot warrior who desireth to die, who wisheth not to live, who thinketh of the desert, of the battlefield. To whom will he proclaim that among others merit hath been attained, when he hath been brought into one's lap, into one's bosom? Whom will he make his mother, whom his father? And who will weep for him? Who will sigh for him?<sup>6</sup>

"The poor one—he of filth, of vice: who will wash him, who will bathe him? Who will take, who will remove his stench, his rottenness? Who will remove it, put it aside?

"And they, the common folk who confront each other, who beat each other, who strike each other: who will quiet them? And he who goeth saddened: who will weep for him, who will dry his tears? Will he perchance correct things for himself? Will he bring about death for himself, he who is worthy of death, worthy of destruction, who in truth hath gone the way of evil? And who will establish the realm? Who will dispose things, who will order things? Who will establish, who will command the mother, the father, who will govern?

"And who will move, who will put life into the drum, the gourd rattle where war is recalled, where it is instigated, and where there is allotted the death of the unhappy, the discontented, the humble eagle warriors, the humble ocelot warriors who long for death? And who will gather the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors?

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "O pobrezitos de los mercaderes: que andan por los montes, y por los paramos, y cacatiales: y tambien de los tristes labradores, que andan buscando herbezuelas, para comer, y rayas, y leña para quemar, o para vender de que biuan."

6. The corresponding Spanish text varies somewhat from the Nahuatl: "quando tomaren algun captivo, a quien le presentaran: y si le capturaren, a quien darian noticia de su captiverio, para que se sepa en su tierra, que es captivo: a quien tomara por padre, y madre: para que en estos casos semejantes, le favorezca: pues que ya es muerto el que hacia esto: que era como padre, y madre de todos: no aura ya quien llore, ni quiebre suspirare, por los captivos: porq no aura quien de noticia dellos a sus parientes."

ipan quijocoaco in jahaz, in jcujtlapil, in onelli mach ipan mohonoltitivia: auh manoce cuel ma cactimanj, ma iooatimanj in matzin, in motepetzin, ca inen-cauhian tictmuchiivilia tlacate totocoe. Aviz nelle axcan, quen quijnequj in moiollo: cujx cactimanj, cujx iooatimanj in atl, in tepetl, cujx inencauhian tictmuchiiviliz:

a ieh motolinja in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli: ca inan, ca ita quijtemoa, ca inan ita quijnequj, ca mopachollanj: a nelle motolinja in cenquavital, in cençacatl mantiu, in teutlalli quijtoca, in jxtlaoatl quijnamjquj, in quijmjxtemolia, in quijtemoa y quijcuj, in quijtepoloa in quijlidl, in quavital, in tlacotl:

Aviz nelle motolinja in jcnoquauhtli, in jcnoocelutl in mjqujznequj, in anemjznequj in onvetzi ijollo in jxtlaoacan, in teuapan: ac itech oalmotatziliz in otehoan motlacnopilvili in texillan, in tetozcatlan maquijtitiaz, ac inan, ac yta quoalchiaoaz: auh ac conchoquijliz, ac conelciciviliz:

motolinia in teuhio, in tlaçullo ac quijpapacaz, ac cahaltiz, ac quijcujliz, ac canjliz in jhaca, in jpalanca, ac quijquanjliz, ac chico tlanaoac quijviquijliz:

auh ieehoatl in ixquatech mana, in motzotzona in movitequj in maceoalli, ac quijceviz: auh in jxaiotzin quijmatentivitz, ac quijchoquijliz, ac quijxa-iopâpachoz, cujx monomatlatlaliliz, cujx conmuchiiviliz in mjqujztli in mjqujn in polivinj, in onelli ovican ia: auh ac quijteteceaz in petlatl in jcpalli, ac tlatlatlaliz, ac tlatecpaz, ac quijtlaliz ac quijnaoatiz in nantli, in tatli, in petlatiz, in jcaltiz:

auh ac colinjz ac quijolitiz in vevel, in aiacachtli, in vncan molnamjquj, in vncan moiocoia in teuatl, in tlachinolli: auh in vncan qujmocotonjlia in jmiqujz in aavia, in avellamat, in jcnoquauhtli, in jcnoocelutl in mjqujznequj: auh ac qujnnechicoz in quauhtli, in ocelutl:

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, incline thy heart; concede, reveal, designate which one will guard for thee, will govern, will fortify, will gladden the city; which one will place the city upon his thigh, will fondle it, will dandle it?

"Concede, O master, O our lord, that N. live. Concede to him, designate him, that he may guard this. Give him as a loan for a little while thy reed mat, thy reed seat, and thy rule, thy realm. Show compassion for him; choose him. Take him from the excrement, from the filth, and glorify him, make him like a fierce animal.

"O master, O our lord, cause the sun to shine; let there be light. It is all with which I, a commoner, go astray, go amiss in thy presence. May what thy heart requireth be in the manner in which thou wilt desire it."

Tlacatle, totecoe, tloquee, naoaquee: manoço tlacaoa in moiollotzin, ma xicmamacavili, ma xicmonextili, ma xicmomachiotili in ac iehoatl, in mijzonmotlapialiliz in tlatqujz, in tlamamaz, in oneticiviz in conaviltiz in atl, in tepetl, in jmetzpan contlatlitz, in conaviltiz, in contlavivitequjtz in atl, in tepetl:

manoço xicmamacavili, tlacatle totecoe: ca onnenj in N. manoço iehoatl xicmamacavili, manoço iehoatl xicmomachiotili, ma iehoatl compia, y, ma iehoatl achitzinca xoconmotlaneuhtili in mopeatzin, in mocpaltzin: auh in motecuioitzin, in motlatocaoitzin, manoço iehoatl xicmocnoitili, xicmopepenjili: ma xicmanjli in cujlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan: auh ma xicmotleiotili, ma xicmotequaiotili

tlacatle, totecoe: ma tona, ma tlatvi xicmuchivili. Ca ixquich ic mijxpan njtlacoloa, ic mijxpan njtlavitequj in njmaceoalli: manoço qujnequj in moiollotzin, in quecin tocommonequjltiz.



Sixth Chapter. Here are related the words which, from their very hearts, they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, to request that the ruler who performed his office badly might die. He who thus appealed to the god was the principal priest, in order to invoke evil upon the ruler. The words were very good, and the metaphors were very good.

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O night, O wind: thou seest, thou knowest the things within the trees, the rocks. And behold now, it is true that thou knowest of things within us; thou hearest us from within. Thou hearest, thou knowest that which is within us: what we say, what we think; our minds,<sup>1</sup> our hearts. It is as if smoke, mist arose before thee.<sup>2</sup>

"And behold, verily now, thou art seeing how N. liveth, how he doth. And thou considerest, thou knowest which of the things give him pride, perverseness, trouble, so that no more hath he regard for others, and no more is he anywhere compassionate. He becometh crazed. Thy property, thy possession, thy freshness, thy tenderness, thy sweetness, thy fragrance which for a short time, for a little while, he dreameth of—he seeth in dreams—the rulership, the government, the realm, thy honor, thy glory—these give him perverseness, pride, trouble, make him crazed, make him besotted, make him drunk.

"So he is evermore presumptuous, evermore impudent. And so no more is he compassionate. It is just as if spiny, thorny were his face, his heart, his life; his words nowhere conform to his life, to his deeds. And certainly he becometh brazen; he wisheth to belittle things. He seemeth to act in what manner he wisheth, to live in what manner he wisheth; to think in what manner he wisheth.

"It is certainly true, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O Teimatini, O Techichi-

Ic chiquacen capitulo, vñcan moteneoa in tlatolli: in vel iniollocopa ic quijtlauhtia Tezcatlipuca, injc quijtlanliaia in macuele mjquj in tlatoanj, in amo vel quijchioa in jtequjuh. Iehoatl ic tlateunonotzaia in vei tlenamacac catca, injc quijtateunonochiliaia in tlatoanj: cenza qualli in tlatolli, ioan cenza qua-qualli in metaphoras.

Tlacatle, totecoe, tloquee, naoaquee, iooalle, ehecatle: a ca quavil, ca tetl itic, titlachia, titlamati: auh aviz nelle axcan, ca titic titlamati, titic titechcaquj, ticcaquj, ticmati in tlein titic tiqujtoa, in tiqujlnamjquj, in tix, in toollo, iuhqujn poctli, aiavil mjxpan-tzinco moquetza.

Aviz in nelle axcan, ca ticmotztilitac yn juh ie nemj, in juhquj ie quijchioa in. N. auh ticmottilia, ticmotlamachilia in dein, in catlehoatl in ie quijx-acocuj, in ie quijtonja, in ie camana, injc aiocmo teixco, teicpac tlachia: auh in aiocmo can icnoio in jollo, in ie mjxitl, in ie tlapatl mocuepa in maxcatzin, in mocococatzin, in motzmolinca, in mocelica in motzopelica in maviaca: in achica in quel achic in quijtemjquj, in quijcochitleoa in tecujotl, in tlato-caiutl, in petlatl, in jcpanlli, in momavizio, in motleio: ca iehoatl ie quijtonja, ca iehoatl ie quijxacocuj, iehoatl ie camana, mjxitl, tlapatl ie mocuepa, ie quijvintia, ie quijxocomictia:

injc aoc tlatlamati, injc aoc teixco tlachia: auh injc aocmo icnoio in ijollo, in ca iuhquj haoao, in ca iuhquj vitzio, in jx, in jollo, in jnemjiz: in jtlatal in aocan tetlacama, in jnemjiz in jtlachioal: auh ca ca nelle ie aquetza, ca oc tle ipan tlachiaznequj, mach ie on ie quecin quijchioaznequj, mach ie on ie quecin nemjnequj, ie on ie quecin momatiznequj:

ca ca nel ie melaoac, tlacatle, totecoe, tloquee, naoaquee, tehimatinje, techichioanje, teiocoianje: ca

1. *in s̄ix*: cf. Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (Mexico: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 456, *ixtli...cara, y haz, y por metaphora la vista interior...*

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "nuestras anjas, en vuestra presencia, son como un poco de humo, y de niebla: que se levanta de la tierra."

uani,<sup>3</sup> O Teyocoyani: he hath become an ingrate; already he is proud. And he hath become drunk, he hath become besotted. For because of thy property, thy possessions, which thou hast let him smell, which thou hast caused to pass before his face, before his lips, reason hath been lost. And it is certainly noteworthy that he is no longer devout, no longer a weeper, no longer a sorrower, no longer a sigher, because he hath become drunk, hath become besotted, is a vagabond, is completely crazed; he no longer understandeth at all.

"And now on thy reed mat, on thy reed seat, he dishonoreth thee. There rest the blue water, the yellow water with which thou who art the lord of the near, of the nigh, dost wash people, dost bathe people. And behold, there the common folk go saddened; there he taketh — there is allotted — their destruction, their exaltation, and there he assumeth independence;<sup>4</sup> he abuseth thy realm, thy place of honor.

"And behold, he abuseth the position of merchanthood. There is the removing from thy lap, from thy bosom.<sup>5</sup> They occupy all the forest, all the great grasslands; the poor eagle warriors, the poor ocelot warriors go weeping, go in sadness, seek thee, beg thee for thy freshness, thy tenderness, thy sweetness, thy fragrance — that which thou yieldest not, that which thou hast cherished.

"And here, verily, now, he abuseth the place of the drums, of the gourd rattles, where thou art consulted in sadness; where thy pain, thy spirit, thy word are requested of thee; where thou art called upon; where thou art prayed to. And there is determined the death of the unhappy, the discontented, those who go in torment, in pain of heart, of body.<sup>6</sup> And here he abuseth, covereth with dust, covereth with filth, and disturbeth the place where thou art gladdened, where thou hast gathered people together, where thou dost indicate one, where thou dost record one, where thou dost enter one in the traditions, among the drums, among the gourd rattles.

"And now, as thou art present, as thou knowest<sup>7</sup> what thou dost desire, even as thy heart requireth,

oicnopillavelilocat, ca ie cuecuenocivi: auh ca oivintic, ca oxocomjc, ca oic ontlapolo in maxcatzin, in moco-catzin in otoconmijnequjlti, in oixtlán, in oitentlan toconmoq'xtlili. Auh ca nel cenza izca ca aocmo tlateumatinj, ca aocmo chocanj, ca aocmo tlaocoianj, ca aocmo elcicivinj: ca nel noço oivintic, oxocomjc ca ca nennemj, ca ovellapol, ca aocmo ca njman qujmati.

Auh in axcan, mjtzmotlaavilqujxtilia in mope-lapan, in mocpalpan: in vncan manj in matlalatl, in toxpalatl injc timotepapaqujlia, injc timoteahal-tilia; in titloque tinaoaque: aviz in vncan in jxaio-tzin qujmatentiu in maceoalli, in vncan qujcu, in vncan cotonj in jpolivia, in jacoqujçaia: auh in vncan qujcu in jaztauh in jmecaxicol, tlaavilqujxtia in mope-lapan, in mocpalpan, in momaviziocan:

auh iz tlaavilquixtia in puchtecaipan in vncan moxillan, motozcatlan mamaiavi in cenquavil, in cençacatl manj in jcnoquauhtli, in jcnoocelutl in choca-tinemj, in tlaocuxtinemj, in mjtzmotemolia, in mjtzitlanjlia in motzmolinca, in mocalica, in ma-viaca, in motzopelica in aticacaoa in jpan timol-pihtoc:

auh iz nelle axcan, tlaavilqujxtia in vevetitlan, in aiacachtitlan, in vncan titlaoculnonotzalo, in vncan titlanjli in mellel, in mjhiyo, in motlatol, in vncan tinotzalo, in vncan titlatlauhtilo: auh in vncan quj-mocotonjlia in jmjqujz in aavia, in avellamat, in toneoatinemj, in chichinacatinemj in jiollo, in jna-caio: auh iz tlaavilqujxtia, tlateuhiotia, tlatlaçollotia: auh tlaitonja in vncan taujtilo, auh in vncan titene-chicoa, in vncan titemachiotia, in vncā titeicujloa, in vncan titetlillotia, titetlapalotia in vevetitlan, in aia-cachtitlan.

Auh in axcan, ca timeviltitica, ca ie teh ticmatca-tzintli tlein tocommonequjltiz, quenjn connequjz in

3. Techichiuan: Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "criador... de todos"; hence, creator. See *chius*, make or create, in the vocabularies. If the term should be derived from *chichiua*, array, the meaning would be: "he who arrays one."

4. *in jaztauh in jmecaxicol*: cf. Chap. 43 (*Naztauh, nomecaxicol*), and Simón, *op. cit.*, p. 45 (*aztatl — tlacotonililli yaztauh, ymecaxicol*).

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "que son a quienes vos confiays, mas de vuestras riquezas..."

6. *Ibid.*: "y donde los tristes, y afligidos, y pobres se esfuerzan, y consuelan, y los que son cobardes se esfuerzan, para morir en la guerra..."

7. *teh ticmatca-tzintli*: read *teh[uatl] ticmatca-tzintli*.

thy will be done. And may it so happen. However, a little later, may there be fear, may it teach one, may it be seen from him how to live. May he deserve, may he merit some reprimand, whatsoever thou wilt give him — perhaps castigation, pestilence. Perhaps thou wilt cause thy honor, thy glory to pass before the face of someone of these thy friends, the weepers, the sorrowers, for they exist, they live. Thou dost not want for friends. In all the world thy friends, thy real friends, remain awaiting thee, remain calling out to thee. And thy humble friends remain sighing unto thee.

"Take one of these; choose one of these. Let one of these guard for thee. Seek one of these to replace another.

"Which one of these things wilt thou give? Perhaps also on the one hand thou wilt incline thy heart. Perhaps thou wilt take from him, thou wilt hide from him thy heat, thy warmth. Thou art the lord of the near, of the nigh; thou art Moyocoya, thou art Moquequela. Perhaps thou wilt give it to the weeper, to the sorcerer, who calleth well to thee, who prayeth well to thee, the yet free-born.<sup>8</sup>

"Perhaps, on the other hand, he will become rich, will become prosperous; by thy rewards he will have become arrogant, presumptuous; perhaps he will experience even as the common folk experience, those who suffer affliction, those whose sustenance appeareth not, and those who encounter not that which hangeth from their necks, from their hips.

"And perchance also thou wilt give him the great castigation — the paralysis, the blindness, the rottenness.

"And perhaps also he will soon depart from the earth. Perchance thou wilt hide him.<sup>9</sup> Perchance he will know our collective home, the place without outlets, without openings. Perchance he will know our mother, our father Mictlan tecutli.

"Show him mercy. May then his heart, his body rest. May he know the land of the dead. May he know his great-grandfathers, his progenitors, who have gone to the land of the dead, who are gone to assemble [there].

"O master, O our lord, what doth thy heart desire? And even as will be thy desire, thy will be done.

moiollo, ma xicmonequjlti: auh ma iuh muchioa, iece ça ixquijtzin ma tlamauh, ma quijtemachti, ma itech itto, in juhquj ic nemj: manoço achitzin qujcnopilvi, ma qujmomacevi in atl itztic, in atl cecec: catlehoatl in ticmomacaviliz, cujx iehoatl in quavil, in tetl, in temuxtli in ehecatl: cujx oc ie ceme imjxtlan tiqujmonmoqujxtiliz in momavizio, in motleio, in mocnjoa in chocanj in tlaocoianj, ca onovac ca nemoa, camo timocnjuhtolinja, ca mjtzhixtoque, ca mjtztzatzilitoque in cemanaoac in mocnjoa, in vel mocnjoa: auh in mocnoicnjoa, movic elciciuhtoque:

ma oc ie ceme xiquinmanjli, ma oc ie ceme xiqujmopepenjli, ma oc ie ceme mjtzonmotlapialilican, ma oc ie ceme inca xommotlatemoli.

Catl no cehoatl in ticmomacaviliz: cujx noço cuelchoatl, cujx tlacaoaz in moiollotzin, cujx toconmocujliz, cujx toconmotlatiliz in mototonca, in moiamanca: in titloque, tinaoaque, in timoiocoia, in timoqueueloa: cujx tocommomaqujiliz in chocanj, in tlaocoianj, in vel mjtznnotza, in vel mjtztlatlauhtia in oc itztica ijollo, in oc iolxoxouhquj:

cujx cuellehoatl mocujltonoz, motlamachtiz, in motlachichioaltzin in ocuecuonot, in oatlama: cujx conjttaz, in juhquj qujitta maceoalli in cococ, in teupouhquj, in aoalnecinj in jcochca, in jneuhca: auh in aommonamjquj in jquechtlan, in jquezpan pilcac.

Auh cujx noço njman iehoatl, ticmomacaviliz, in vei quavil, in vei tetl, in cocototzli, in jxpopoiotl, in palanaliztli.

Auh cujx noce, ça ie cuel tlatlalcaviz in tlalticpac: cujx ticmotlatiliz, cujx ontلامات in tocenchan in apuchqujaoaiocan, in atlecallocan, cujx conmatiz in tonan, in tota in mjctlan tecutli:

manoço xicmocnelili, ma ie cuel cevi in ijollo, in jnacaio: ma ontلامات in mjctlan, ma qujmommati yn jachcôcolvan, in jtechiuhcaoan in oiaque mjctlan, in omotecato.

Tlacatle, totecoe: tlein connequjz moiollotzin, auh quecin tocommonequjltiz, ma xicmonequjlti:

8. *in oc itztica ijollo, in oc iolxoxouhquj*: see Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 174 (*yollo*) — "yollo itztic ou xoxouhqui, libre, né de parents libres...."

9. *ticmotlatiliz*: "thou wilt hide him"; that is, "thou wilt bring about his death." The corresponding Spanish text reads: "por uentura soy seruido de sacarle deste mundo por muerte corporal...."

Perhaps it is not in joy over another's misfortune and not in mockery of another that I cast myself before thee; and so it is only the robbery of the city; but it is only the well-being of the earth. May I not arouse thee to thy fury, thy anger; may I not stir up thy wrath, thy anger. And may I, a common person, not raise up thy annoyance, for thou knowest, thou seest things within stones, within wood."

at amo teca papaqujiliztli, auh at amo teca ahavia-  
liztli injc mjxpantzinco njnotlaçä,anca çan ilacu-  
cujliloca in atl, in tepetl: auh ca çan ivelmañca in  
tlalli, ma nelli motlaueltzin, moqualantzin njmjoz-  
neujlili, ma njcolinj in mocumaltzin, in moqualan-  
tzin: auh ma melleltzin njcquetz in njmaceoalil-  
chialtia.



**Seventh Chapter.** Here is related the confession which they said or performed when they still practised idolatry. They did so only once during all the time that they lived.

"O master,<sup>1</sup> O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, thou hast taken, thou hast heard the commoner thus troubled, who hath reported before thee, who hath placed before thee his stench, his rottenness. But perhaps he hath come ridiculing thee, or he hath come going amiss, going astray in thy presence. Perhaps he himself hath come to plunge himself into the torrent, from the crag, or hath come to cast himself there. And perhaps he hath come to place himself in the thongs, the snare. Perhaps he hath come to take the paralysis, the blindness, the rottenness, the tatters, the rags.<sup>2</sup>

"Perhaps certainly now, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, perhaps he hath come really to bind himself. Perhaps he hath retracted, swallowed, suppressed a word or two; for of his own will he acteth, he mocketh himself; for thou art near, O master, O our lord, O night, O wind. He hath just come, just come to stand, to speak, to pass; for there rest the blue water, the yellow water with which thou bathest, with which thou washest the common folk.

"And perhaps he hath come to take his destruction, his exaltation.<sup>3</sup> And perhaps he hath come to do himself good: perhaps he hath come to unclothe, come to strip himself [of his faults]; perhaps he hath come to show himself to thee in all parts. What is done is done; what is performed is performed, as if he had slipped, he had tripped; as if in thy presence he had gone astray, gone amiss; and as if truly he had dirtied himself, had hurled himself into the bottomless pit, into the water, into a cave. Verily, he

Ic chicome capitulo, vñcan moteneoa: in neiolcuj-tiliztlatolli in quijtoia, manoço in quijchioaia, in jquac oc tlateutoca: çan ceppa in juh quijchioaia ixquich cavil nenga.

Tlacatle, totecoe, tloquee, naoaque: ca oticmocujli ca oticmocaquiti, ca omjxpantzincu quipouh, omjxpantzincu quijtali in jiaca, in jpalanca in maceoalli, injc hacemelle: auh anoço omocatzinco ommaviltico, anoço mjxpantzincu otlaviltequjco, oontlacoloco: aço inoma ixcoian conmoquequechilico in atoati, in tepexitl, aço oompa ommotlaçaco: auh aço oommaqujco in mecatl, in tzonvaztli, aço oconcujo in cocototztl, in jxpopoiotl, in palanaliztli, in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli:

aço onelle axcan, tlacatle totecoe, tloquee, naoaque, aço vel oommoholpico, aço cententli, aço cencamatli oqujlochi oqujtolo, oqujcamapacho, ca ixcoian njhieco, mocaiauh: ca ticmotztiliticac tlacatle, tote-coe, iooalle, checatle: cå çan in oonvitza, cå çan in oommoquetzaco, in oontlatoco, in oonquijçaco: ca vñcan manj in matlalatl, in toxpalatl ynjc ticmahalilia, injc ticmopapaqujlia in maceoalli:

auh aço oconcujo in jpolivia, in jacoqujcaia: auh anoce oommocnelico, aço oommototomaco, oommopepetlaoaco, aço onovian mjtzonmohottititzinoco: ca ie oax, ca ie oqujchiuh, in oax, in oqujchiuh: injc omallauh, injc omotepotlamj, injc omjxpantzincu tlacololo, tlaviltec: auh injc onelle motlahelnelo, injc omotlaz in anetlaxoian, in atlan, in oztoc: ca tel nel maçeoalli, ca itech ca ca quijtqujinemj in camana, in quijtonja: auh in quijtequjachoa in jomio, in jnacaio, in jx in jollo: auh ca quijqua, ca quij in quijconeoa in

1. The Spanish text begins: "Despues que el penitente auja dicho sus pecados, delante del satrapa: luego el mismo satrapa hazia la oracion que se sigue, delante de Texcatlipuca."

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "y con desacato, y grande ofensa de vuestra magestad se a arrojado en una sima, y en una profunda barranca, y el mismo se a enlazado, y enredado, el mismo a merecido ser ciego, y tullido, y que se le pudran sus miembros, y que sea pobre, y mijero."

3. Ibid.: "y si por uentura a encurrido en su perdicion, y en el abreviamiento de sus dias: o si por uentura a dicho toda verdad, y se a librado, y desatado de sus culpas, y pecados...."

is a common person; on him is—he goeth carrying with him—that which troubleth him, perverteth him, and that which afflicteth his bones, his body, his mind, his heart; and it eateth, it drinketh, it disturbeth his heart, his body. And it becometh his stick, his stone; his sighing, his fright; his wonderment. It becometh his resolution to improve his way of life.

"And thou art here. It is not the work of man. Although he hath done it, although he hath performed it, it hath been ordained.<sup>4</sup>

"And now, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, as the commoner hath troubled thee, as he hath offended thee, will perhaps thy fury, thy anger, be placated, be turned? May [the pardon] of the common person be complete, be achieved? Because he taketh fright, he sigheth when he turneth to himself, when he reflecteth upon, when he remembereh what he hath done, what he hath performed. He weepeth, he sorroweth, he eateth out his heart when he acknowledgeth how he hath offended thee, how he hath wronged thee. He taketh fright, he is terrified.

"May thy fury, thy anger yet be placated; may it yet be averted, O master, O our lord. Now, here, bathe him, wash him. May he descend; put him in the blue water, in the yellow water, in the sea, in the deep waters where thou washest one, where thou bathest one.

"And may he go. May he weep. May he be sad. May he do penance. May thy words come forth. Command of him that which thy heart will require, that which he will do, that which he will perform on earth, how he will live. And advise him how he will live."

The soothsayer, the confessor, addressed the one who confessed; he said to him: "Here thou dost hide, thou hast come to place thyself, thou hast come to pass the uninhabitable place, the place of fright, where stand the torrent, the crag. The cliff, the gorge, the crag stand sheer, stand ashen, stand reddened: the place where there can be no standing, no place of exit. And there are placed one above another, joined one to another, the cord, the snare, the trap.<sup>5</sup>

jiollo, in jnacajo: auh ca iquauih, ca iteuh ca itzicu, nol, ca inecujtivechiliz, ca ineicavil muchioa, ca inex, naoatiliz ca inenonotzaliz muchioa:

auh ca timeviltitica, ca amo motlacaiocux in maço oax, in maço oqujchiuh: ca oitalviloc.

Auh in axcan tlacatle, totecoe, tloquee, naoaque: manoço omjtzmotupovili, manoço omjxtzinco, moc, pactzinco nen in maceoalli: cujx ilotiz, cujx cuepiz in motlaueltzin, in moqualantzin: manoçoc centel, manoçoc itlaiecul in maceoalli, motolinja: ha ca tel nelleh mocujtivetzi, ca tzicunoa in ommocuepa, in commati, in conjlnamqij in tlein oax, in tlein oqujchiuh: ha ca choa, ca tlaocua, ca ijollo conqua in commati, injc omjtzmoiolitlacalvi, injc omjxtzinco, mocpactzinco nen, ca mocujtuetzi, ca mijcavia:

manoço oc iloti in motlaueltzin, in moqualantzin: manoçoc chico iauh tlacatle totecoe: ma axcan, ma njcan xicmahaltili, xicmopapaqujli: ma ontomo, ma xocommaqujli in matlalapan, in toxpalapan, in jlvi-caapan, in axoxovilco, in vncan timotepapaqujlia, in vncan timoteahaltilia;

auh ma iauh, ma choa, ma tlavcuia, ma tlamaceoa: ma qujca in motentzin, in motlatoltzin, ma xicmo- naoatili in tlein qujnequjz moiollotzin, in tlein onaiz, in tlein conchioaz in tlalticpac, in quenjn onnemjz: auh ma xicmjmachili in quenjn onnemjz

Qujnotza in tlapouhquj, in teiolmelauhquj: in omoiomelauh, qujluia Ha ca njcan, tioallatia, timoquetzaco tiqujçaco, in anemjuhcan, in temauhtican: in vncan ijcac in atoati, in tepexitl in vivitetcac in nenexoaticac, in chichichileoaticac in texcalli, in atlauhtli, in tepexitl in anequetzaloia, in aqujxoia: auh in vncan in nepantuhtoc, in moquato in mecatl in tzonvaztli, in tlaxapochtli:

4. Ibid.: "En presencia de vuestra magestad hablo, que sabe todas las cosas: y sabeyas que este pobre, no pecó con libertad entera del libert aludrio, porque fue ayudado, y inclinado de la condición natural del signo en que nació."

5. Ibid.: "as venido asimismo al lugar, donde los lazos, y redes están asidos los vnos, con los otros, y sobrepuertos los vnos a los otros: de manera que nadie puede pasar, sin caer en alguno de ellos: y no solamente lazos y redes: pero hoyos, como pojos." Cf. also Chap. 43, (Tlax- vastli, tlaxapuchli nenevixtoc in jxpan petlatl, icpalli).

"And thou hast descended, thou hast cast thyself into the water, into the cave, from the crag. Thou hast put thyself in the cords, into the snare, which let one not escape. [Thy faults] are deadly, are destroying, are savage.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps thou hast retracted or thou hast suppressed, thou hast swallowed thy stench, thy rottenness, thy blackness, thy filth; ugly, stinking, rotten, it is diffused, it is known, it goeth into the land of the dead, into the heavens. Thy stench, thy rottenness are reaching the entire world.

"And now, here, thou hast given thyself, thou hast consulted with the master, our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, who can especially be offended, who is especially wrathful, who is angered; who tomorrow, the next day will hide thee, will place thee underfoot, will send thee to our common home, the land of the dead. There thy mother, thy father, Mictlan tecutli, remaineth panting, remaineth coveting, remaineth thirsting for thee, remaineth hungering for thee.<sup>7</sup>

"And to thee he will give, on thee he will place thy desert, thy merit, which thou hast brought down, which thou hast required of our lord: blindness, paralysis, tatters, rags, the miserable cape.

"And thou shalt suffer, thou shalt endure misery; thou shalt be poor on earth. Thy heart, thy body will suffer torment, pain. Torment, pain, fatigue will reach to thy nose. And as to this: thou art here, thou hast been good to thyself, for thou hast consulted the one who knoweth, who seeth things [within] wood, within stones. And he knoweth, he seeth things within thee; he heareth what thou sayest within thyself.

"And as to this: what hast thou done, what hast thou performed? For of thy own volition thou hast put thyself in the cords, into the snare; for thou hast cast thyself into the water, into the cave, from the crag.

"Thou wert good, thou wert fine when thou wert sent here, when thy mother, thy father, Quetzalcoatl, made thee, created thee. Thou wert cast, thou wert perforated [as] a precious green stone, a bracelet, a precious turquoise. Thou hast sprouted, blos-

auh ca otontemoc, ca otonmotlaz in atlan in oztoc, in tepoxic, ca otonmaquj in mecatl, in tzonvaztli in atequixtia, in mjcoanj in polioanj in tequanj: aço ocententli tiqujlochi, aço cencamatl ticcamapacho, otictolo in mjiaca, in mopalanca in motliltica, in mocatzaoaca, in temamahti yn jiac, in palanquj: in ömolonj, in ommachizti, in onjaia in mjctlan, in jlvicac: in cemanaoac aciticac in mjiaca, in mopalanca.

Auh in axcan ca njcan oticmomaqujli, oticmononochili in tlacatl, in totecujo, in tloque naoaque, in machê iolitlacolonj, in mache çomale, qualane, in çan muztla viptla mjtzonmotlatiliz, in mjtzonmocxipachilviz, in mjtzonmjoaliz in tocenchan in mjctlan, in vmpa oalneneciuhtoc, in vmpa oalamatatacatoc in monan, in mota mjctlan tecutli, in mjtzala-mjctoc, in mjtzalteuciuhtoc:

auh mjtzonmomaqujli, motech contlaliz in iehoatl in molvil, in momaceoal in otictemoli totecujo, in otiqujtlanjli in jxpopoiotl, in cocototztli, in tzotzomatli in tatapatli, in ajaçulli:

auh in jcnoiotl, ticciaviz, tiqujhijoviz, vmpa onqujçaz in tlalticpac: toneoaz, chichinacaz in moiollo, in monacaio, moiacacpa qujqujztiaz in tonevitzli, chichinaqujztli, in tlaihijoviliztli. Auh injn ca iz tonca, otimocneli: ca oticmononochili in quavitl, in tetl itic tlamatli, tlachia: auh in titic tlamatli, tlachia in qujmati, in qujcaquj in titic tiqujtoa:

Auh injn tle otax, tlein oticchiuh: ca monoma otommaquj in mecatl, in tzonvaztli, ca otimotlaz in atlan, in oztoc, in tepoxic:

Ca tiqualli, ca tiiectli in tioaliualoc, in mjtzchiuh in mjtzicux in monan, in mota in quetzalcovatl: ca ticalchivitl, ca timaqujztli, ca titeuxivitl, in tipitzaloc, in timamalioac: ca ticalchivitl, ca titeuxivitl tixotlac, ticuepon, in tiiol in titlacet:

6. Ibid.: "estos sô tus pecados, que no solamente son laxos, y redes, y pojos en que as caydo: pero tambien son bestias fieras, que matan, y despedazan el cuerpo, y el anjma."

7. Ibid.: "adonde esta tu padre, y tu madre el dios del infierno, y la diosa del infierno, abiertas las bocas, con deseo de tragarte a ti, y a quantos ay en el mundo...."

somed, come to life, been born [as] a precious green stone, a precious turquoise.<sup>8</sup>

"But just of thy own volition thou defilest thyself, dishonorest thyself, dirtiest thyself; thou livest, thou castest thyself into excrement, into filth, into that which thou dost, into that which thou performest. That in which thou dost roll, in which thou dost play — the bad, the evil, the filth — hath dishonored one, dirtied one. Of thy own volition thou hast swallowed in filth, in refuse. Even as if thou wert a baby, a child, who playeth with the dung, the excrement, so hast thou bathed thyself, rolled thyself [in filth].

"And as to this: now thou hast given it, thou hast manifested it to the lord of the near, of the nigh. Thou hast consulted, thou hast revealed it to the bather of people, the washer of people. Perhaps it is not in jest, perhaps this is no little thing, for thou hast descended where the blue waters, the yellow waters, the deep green waters rest, where the lord of the near, of the nigh, washeth one, batheth one.<sup>9</sup>

"Thou hast just come; thou hast just come to emerge, thou hast come to appear; for thou hast descended into, thou hast beheld the land of the dead, the heavens. Now our lord hath caused the sun to shine, hath caused the dawn to break. Now thou causest the sun to appear, to come forth.<sup>10</sup> Now once again thou art rejuvenated, thou emergest as a child. Once again thou becomest as a baby. Thou becomest, thou art hatched a young parrot, a precious green stone, a precious turquoise. Once again, newly, thou dost sprout, thou art hatched, thou art born on earth.

"And go in peace and quiet; go softly. Yet try thy feet out. For a few days thou wilt vex our lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind. Behave yet humbly, sadly, modestly. Live in this way; live so doing. And give thyself exclusively to thy weeping, thy sorrowing; go calling to our lord in sadness.

"Do not presume. Our lord of the near, of the nigh, heareth thee, knoweth of things within thee, heareth within thee when thou hast offended him.

auh ca ça mijxcoian in timotlahelneloa in timijçoloa, in timocatzaoa, in cujlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan timonemjia, in timotlaçia: in tlein tonai, in tlein toconchiao: in tlein timoneloa, in ticmaviltia in aqualli, in aiectli in tlahelli in teiçolo, in tecatzauh: ca mijxcoian in teuhtica, in tlaçultica timjlacatzaoa: in mauihquj tipiltontli, ticonetonli in xixtli, cujlatl, ticmaviltia: injc timaltia timoneloa.

Auh injn, in axcan: ca oticmomaqujli, ca oticmotili in tloque naoaque: ca oticmononochili oticmotlaixpantilili in teahaltianj, in tepapacanj: hacaçomo çan avilli, hacaçomo çan itla, yn, ca otontemoc in vncan manj in matlalatl, in toxpalatl, in xopaleoac atl, in vncan moteahaltilia, in vncan motepapaqujlia, in tloque, naoaque:

ca çan in otovitza, ca çan in otonquijaco in otimquetzaco ca mjctlan, ca ylujac in otontemoc, in otontlachix: ca axcan tona, tlathuj qujmuchivilia in totecujo, axcan tiqualmana, tiqualquijxtia in tonatiuh, axcan oc ceppa tipilquijça, ticonequijça: oc ceppa iuhqujn tipiltzintli timuchioa in titoztli, tichalchivitl, titeuxivitl timuchioa, ticueponj: oc ceppa iancujcan tixotla, titlapanj, titlacati in tlalticpac.

Auh manoço ivian, manoço iocuxca, manoço xommjattiu, ma oc xommocxiieheccotiu, yn oc quezquijlvitzintli toconmotlaamanjliliz totecujo, in tloque naoaque, in ioalli checatl, ma oc motolol, ma oc momalcoch, ma oc mopilol xoconchioa, ic xonnemj, xoconchiuhtinemj: auh ma oc mochoqujz, ma oc motlaocul xoconjxcavi, ma oc xoconmotlaoculnonochilitinemj in totecujo:

maca tle mijtic xiqujto, mijtzcaquj mijtic tlamat, mijtic tlacaquj in tloque naoaque: in otoconmelleaxitili, tleh mopan ianj, tleh motlaanca, tleh moncl-

8. *Ibid.*: "te formo como una piedra preciosa, y como una cuenta de oro de mucho precio, y quando naciste eras como una piedra preciosa, y como una joya de oro muy resplandeciente, y muy polida."

9. *Ibid.*: "porque de verdad as entrado en la fuente de la misericordia, que es como una agua clarissima, con que lava las suziedades del alma, nuestro señor dios amparador, y favorecedor de todos, los que a el se conjurten."

10. *Ibid.*: "agora nueuamente comienzas a bajar, agora nueuamente te da libre, y nuevo sol nuestro señor dios...."

What is happening to thee? What are thy beginnings? What are thy roots? [Our lord] will wish for thee that which his heart will determine.

"Will he, perchance, here in the world, show thee the invisible, the frightening, the painful, the torment, the affliction?"<sup>11</sup> And perhaps he will hide thee, put thee underfoot, send thee to our common home, the land of the dead. Where thou awaitest the word of the lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind, himself, the earth will crumble, the place will be made excrement. And he will determine in the manner he will desire; he will ruin, burn, break up, scatter the earthen structure, the reed enclosure, the mound of earth which in vain thou hast put together.

"And as to this: be yet careful; stand forth; pay attention. Be not as thou art. May thy heart be otherwise. May thy manner of life be otherwise. Take utmost care. May thou not falter again in something. Be ever cautious. And canst thou, perhaps, as a human being, behold the lord of the near, of the nigh, the youth, Moyocoya, Titlacauan, Tezcatlipoca?<sup>12</sup> For he is the night; he is the wind.

"Sweep; clean; arrange, order things. [Otherwise] thou wilt reject, offend the master, the youth, who goeth appearing among us; who liveth everywhere, who findeth his amusement, and worketh, and goeth seeking his friend.

"And as to this: do thou go, especially to the sweeping. Take care of the cleaning. And now thou art to clean things; thou art to clean thyself, thou art to bathe slaves; thou art to dance, thou art to sing. And behold, thou art to castigate thyself; thou art to fast, thou art to fast for a year. And thou art to draw blood.

"And because thou hast found pleasure in filth, in vice, thou art twice [daily] to pass twigs, once through thy ear [lobe], once through thy tongue, especially because of adultery, and because at some time thou hast hurt, thou hast harmed, thy neighbor with thy words.

"And because at some time thou hast depreciated the things of our lord, hast failed to provide food, thou wilt provide, wilt offer as thy duty, the paper, the incense.

vaio: ca mopan qujoalmonequjltiz in tlein iehoatzin ijollo tlamatiz,

cujx nican tlalticpac mjtzmottitiliz in aittonj, in temamauhti, in tecoco, in tonevitzli, in chichinaqujtzli: auh noce mjzonmotlatiliz, mjtzomocxipachilviz, mjzonmjaliz in tocenchan in mjctlan: tlalli tetepeuhiez, vncan nexixaloz in vncan ticmotlatolchilia, in iehoatzin tloque naoaque, in ioalli, checatl, inomatzi: auh qujoalmonequjltiz, in quecin qujoalmonequjltiz, commopolviz, commotlatiliz, commoxixiniliz, commomomoaviliz in tlaleoalli, in acatzaqualli, in tlachcujtetelli in onen tieçaçalo.

Auh ynjin, tla oc moiolic tla oc ximoquetza, tla oc xtlachia: tlacamo çan tiuhquj, in tiuhquj: tla oc centel in moiollo, tla oc centel in monemjiliz, cencal tleh ticma: ma ie no cuel itla ic tommotecujnj, oc nen xommjmattinemj. Auh cujx tictlacaitta in tloque naoaque: in telpuchtli, in moiocoia, in titlacava in tezcatlipuca: ca iooalli, ca checatl:

xochpana, xitlacujcuj, chico, tlanavac xitlavica, xitlateca: tictlaçaz, tictecujnjz in tlacatl, in telpuchtli: ca topan moqujxtitinemj, ca novian monemjitia, ca ieletzin qujqujça: auh ca motequjtilia: auh ca qujtemotinemj in jcnuh.

Auh ynjin, tla xijauh: cencal ieh in ochpanalli, ipan xitlato, in tlacujcujliztli: auh in axcan titlapopoaz, timopopoaz, titealtiz, titlatotiz, ticujcujcaz. Auh izcatquj in motech pachiviz, in atl cecec, in tzitzicaztli: timoçavaz, timocexiuhçavaz: auh timjçoz:

ah in jpampa in teuhtli, tlaçulli oticmavilti: titlacoqujxtiz oppa, ceppa monacazco, ceppa monene-pilco: oc cencal ipampa in tetlaxincail, ioan ica ipampa in motentica, in motlatoltica, ica otimocapanj, oica timoquavitec in mocotonca, moviltecca:

ah in jca in jpampa in oticlanempolvi totecujo, in oticlanenquali: ieh in amatl in copalli in motequjuh in ticchioaz, in ticmanaz.

11. *Ibid.*: "por ventura ensenarte [sic] a aquellas cosas con que atormenta, y con que aflige: para que las veas con tus ojos en este mundo? no por cierto: porque los tormentos, y trabaxos espantables, con que atormenta en el otro mundo, no son visibles, no las puedas [sic] ver los que bien en este mundo...."

12. *Ibid.*: "y es mancebo de perfecta perfección, y sin tacha...."

"And see to him who thirsteth, who hungereth; who goeth moistening his lips, chewing his fingernails; who goeth skin and bone, who goeth like a skeleton. Take from thy mouth the morsel; share it; offer it.

"And clothe him who goeth naked, who acquireth not that which to hang from his neck, from his loins. For thy body is also as his, especially the sick one, for he is the image of the lord of the near, of the nigh.

"Be careful; be yet careful. Pay close attention. May the lord of the near, of the nigh, recreate thee. This is all; take thyself hence."

It is said that all worshipped Tlaçolteotl as a goddess — all who called themselves Mexicans; especially the Mixteca, the Olmeca guarded her as their true goddess. For it is said of them, the Mixteca, when yet in the time of their idolatry, that when one of them was to die, he summoned the soothsayer, the advised one. Before him he told, before him he placed all that which he had done, all that which he had performed — his faults, his [pretended] good to others, his harming of others. Perhaps he had stolen, perhaps he had taken something from someone. He told all, concealed nothing, hid nothing. And the soothsayer or the physician commanded the sick one to make restitution to one, to return to one his property, his goods.

And as for the Huaxteca, it is said that they specifically worshipped [the] Tlaçolteotl goddesses.<sup>13</sup> However, they did no penance before them, nor did they confess, because they did not consider lust as a wrong.<sup>14</sup>

[As for] the people of Michoacan, who, placed last, dwelt to the west, the old men knew not whether Tlaçolteotl was worshipped.

And neither did the Chichimeca worship [Tlaçolteotl], because only one was their god, whose name was Mixcoatl. They guarded his image. But the god whose image they guarded not — they only guarded their anticipation of him — his names were Yoalli, Ehecatl, Tloque nauaque, Opoche, Itzcaque, Ipalnemoani, Moyocoya, Moquequeloa.

Auh xoconjotta in mamjqujitia, in moteucivititia in jtentzin qujpalotinemj, injztitzi qujtoponjtinemj, in omjçauhtinemj, in cicujliuhtinemj: oc mocamacpa xicana in tlapancatzintli, xictlapanj xictlamaca:

auh in petlauhtinemj in aommaci in jquechtlan, in jquezpan pilcac, xictlaquēti: ca monacaio ca no te, in ie: oc cenza iehoatl in cocoxcatzintli, ca ixiptla in tloque naoaque.

O ma çan moiolic, auh ma oc moiolic: tleh ticmati, ma mjtzicoli in totecujo in tloque, in naoaque: ca ie ixquich ma ximovicatiuh.

In tlaçulteutl, qujl muchintin qujmoteutiaia, in jxquijchtin momexicaitoa: oc cenza: iehoan in mjxteca, in olmeca: vel intehu, iehoan qujpiaia. Ca qujl in iehoantin mjxteca: yn oc ipan intlateutoqujiliz, in jquac ie ceme mjqujznequj: qujnotza in tlapouhquj in nonotzquj, ixpan muchi qujtoa, muchi ixpan qujtlalia, in tlein oax, in tlein oqujchiuh in jtlapilchial, in jnequal, in jnequivitec: in at ichtec, in at itla qujtecujli, muchi qujtoa: atle qujtlatia, atle qujnaia. Auh in tlapouhquj, in manoço ticitl: qujnaoatia in cocuxquj in tetlaxtlaviliz, in qujtecuepiliz in teaxca in tetlatquj.

Auh in cuexteca; qujl cenza vel qujnmoteutiaia in tlaçulteteu: çan amo imjxpan tlamaceoia, amo no moiolcuitiaia: ipampa amo qujtlatlaculmatia in avilnemljzjotl.

In mjchhoaque, in jcce iaticac tonatiuh icalaqujampa onoque: amo vel qujmati in vevetque, in aço qujmoteutiaia in tlaçulteutl.

Auh in chichimeca, amo no qujmoteutiaia: ipampa ca çan ce in jnteouh catca, itoca Mixcoatl, in qujpialiaia ixiptla: auh in amo qujpialiaia ixiptla in teutl, in çan jio ichial qujpialiaia itoca Iooalli checatl, tloque naoaque, opoche, itzcaque, ipalnemoanj, moiocoia, moquequeloa.

13. The plural is used because the goddess Tlaçolteotl was also named Ixquina and Tlaelquani. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book I, "The Gods," Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14 (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1950), p. 8.

14. Corresponding Spanish text: "porque la luxuria, no la tenjan por pecado."



Eighth Chapter.<sup>1</sup> Here are told the words which they uttered from their very hearts when they prayed to Tlaloc, to whom they attributed the rain. They said that he governed Tlalocan, which they considered as an earthly paradise. Still other gods lived there, called Tlaloque, and one who was their older sister called Chicome coatl. She was like Ceres. And the priests thus prayed when it was a time of heat, to ask for rain. Highly admirable are the discourses; there, many of the follies of ancient times are apparent.

"O master, O our lord, O Tlamacazqui,<sup>2</sup> O Xoxouhqui, O lord of Tlalocan, O lord of incense, O lord of copal: verily, now, the gods, the Tlamacazque, the lords of rubber, the lords of incense, the lords of copal — our lords — have taken refuge;<sup>3</sup> they have hidden for themselves [that which is as] the precious green stone, the bracelet, the precious turquoise; they have taken with them their older sister Chicome coatl, the sustenance, and the red woman, the chili.

"And here, verily, now already the sustenance lieth suffering, the older sister of the gods lieth outstretched. The sustenance already lieth covered with dust, already it lieth enclosed in a spider web, already it endureth fatigue, already it suffereth.

"And the common folk, the vassals, here already perish; the eyelids are swollen; they become dry-mouthed; they become bony, become twisted, become [as if] scraped [thin]. Thin are the lips, blanched are the throats of the vassals. Of pallid eyelids are those who are given sustenance — the babies, the children, those who totter, those who crawl, those who spend their time piling up earth [and] pot-

Ic chicuei capitulo, vncan mjtoa in tlatolli: in vel injollocoa quijotaia in jquac quijtlauhtiaia in tlaloc: in jtech quijtlamjaia qujavitl: iuh quijotaia ca iehoatl vmpa tlatocatia in tlallocan in juhq'ma parayso terrenal ipan quijmatia: in vmpa nenza in oc cequjn teteu, in jntoca tlalloque, ioan ce inveltiuh itoca chicome coatl yn juhqujma ceres catca. Auh iehoantin ic tlatlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque in jquac tonalmanja inje quijauhtlatlanja: cenza maviçauh-quj in tlatolli, mjec in vncan neztoc in ie vecauh netlapolotiliztli catca.

tlacatle totecoe: tlamacazque, xoxouhque, tlalocatecutle yiauhioe, copalloe a ca nelle axcan ca omotoptenque, ca omopetlacaltenque in teteu in tlamacazque in olloque, in iauhioque, in copalloque in totecujoan: a ca ocommotlatilique in chalchivitl in maqujztl, in teuxivitl: a ca ocommoviqujlitiaque in jnveltioatzin yn chicome covatl in tonacaiutl: auh in tlatlauhquj civatl in chiltzintli.

Auh iz nelle axcan ca ie tlajhijovitoc in tonacaiutl, ca ie ma vilantoc in teteu inveltiuh: in tonacaiutl ca ie teuhpachiuhtoc, ca ie tocatzaalqujmliuhtoc ca ie tlaihiiovia, ca ie tlaciavi.

Auh iz in maceoalli in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli: ca ie ixpolivi ca tlaixquatolpôpoçaoa, tlatençaquava, tlaomjçavi, tlacoloivi, tlachichiqujliv: ça tlatenpitzaoa, tlaquechticeoa in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli ixquatolçamactzin monemjtia in piltzintli, in conetzintli, in moquequetza, in movilana: in tlalli, in tapalcatl cololoa, in tlalli ixco ca: auh in quavic onoc, in vapaltentoc: ca ie muchi tlacatl commati in tone-

1. A translation by Thelma D. Sullivan may be read in *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*, V (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965), pp. 39-55.

2. Tlamacazqui: "Lit., el que dará algo. De donde dos sentidos: a) El que dará lo necesario para la vida; o sea, el Proveedor divino. En este primer sentido se aplica a los dioses, en especial a los de la lluvia. b) El que dará algo para el servicio de los dioses, y en este sentido se aplica a los ministros secundarios del culto de los antiguos mexicanos." Garibay, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 408; see also *Veinte himnos*, p. 105.

3. ca omotoptenque, ca omopetlacaltenque: cf. *supra*, Chap. 5, n. 1. The phrase in the corresponding Spanish text — "anse recogido, y ascondido en su recogimiento" — is typical of Sahagún's rendition of the Nahuatl every time the phrase occurs. We have generally adapted our translation to the idea of "taking refuge," or "being placed in retreat," or the like.

sherds, those on the ground, and those who lie on the board, those who lie on the plank. Already all people experience torment, affliction: already all people witness suffering.

"And there are none at all who are passed over; already all the little creatures suffer. The troupial, the roseate spoonbill just drag [their wings]; they are up-ended, tumbled headfirst; they open and close their bills [from thirst]. And the animals, the four-footed ones of the lord of the near, of the nigh, just go here and there; they can scarcely rise; to no purpose is the ground licked; and they go crazed for water. Already there is death, already all have perished, all are lost. The common folk and the animals already perish.

"And here our mother, our father, Tlaltecutli, is already dried up; no more can he nourish, no more can he provide food; there is nothing more with which to suckle that which germinateth, that which lieth germinating, that which existeth as nourishment of the common folk.

"And the nourishment: there is no more of it; it is gone, it hath disappeared. The gods, the Tlamacazque, carried it away, introduced it there into Tlalocan. They have gone placing in retreat their freshness, their tenderness, the *ayauhtonan*,<sup>4</sup> the *tzitziquilitl*,<sup>5</sup> the *itzmiquilitl*,<sup>6</sup> the *tepicquilitl*<sup>7</sup> herbs, all the tender, the fresh [ones]. That which fresheneth, that which is tender, that which sprouteth, that which blossometh; the plants—those which come from thee; thy flesh, thy freshness, thy tenderness, [like] the precious green stone, the bracelet, the precious turquoise, the precious thing; only the precious thing, the nourishment whereby the world remaineth alive, especially liveth, talketh, rejoiceth, laugheth: the sustenance, the plants have gone, are hidden.

"And now, O master, O our lord, O lord of Tlalocan, O Tlamacazqui, in what manner doth thy heart desire? Hast thou perhaps conceded it? Perhaps it is thus? Perhaps it is all? Perhaps there is no more? Perhaps the vassals, the common folk, will just go, will just perish? Perhaps the city will lie abandoned, will lie darkened? Perhaps it is all?

viztli, in chichinaqujztli, ca ie muchi tlacatl conjuta  
in tecoco.

Auh ca can njman aocac oncauhtica, ca ie ixquijc tlaihiovia in ioiolitzin in caquan, in quechol: ca qa tlamavilanji, ca netzitzineoalo, ca netzonjcquetzalo, tlacacamachalivi. Auh in iolquij in jxochcohcoioan tloque naoaque, ca tlaiaiauh, ca netotopaneoalo, qa nen in tlaixpapalolo tlalli: auh ie tla acuecuencivi, atica in ie mjcoa, in ie polioa, in ie tlaixpolivi: in ie polivi in maceoalli, auh in iolquij.

Auh iz in iehoatl in tonan, in tota in tlaltecutli ca ie elvaquij: aocmo vel qujoapaoa, aocmo vel quj-tlaqualtia, aocmo tle in qujchichitiz in jxoanj, in jxhoatoc: injc onoc in jnenca in jiuilca in maceoalli.

Auh ie iehoatl in iolcautli, aoc tle oia, opoliuh: oqujquique, oqujcalaquique in teteu in tlamacazque in vmpa tlallocan: oconmotoptemjlitli, oconmope-tlacaltemjlitli in jmjtzmolinca, in jncelica: in aiauh-tonan, in tzitziquilitl, in jtzmjqujlitl, in tepicquilitl, in jxqujch in celic, in jtzmolinquj, in jtzmolinjn, in celianj, in xotlanj, in cueponjn in xiuhtzintli in motechcopatzinco vitz in monacaiotzin, in motzmolinca in mocelica, in chalchiuhtli, in maqujztli, in teuxivitl, in tlaçotli: in qa ie ijo tlaçotli in jnenca in jmanca, in jiolca in cemanaoatl injc ioltimanj, in mache ioli, in tlatoa in paquj, in vetzca in tonacaiutli in xiuhtzintli ca oia, ca omotlati.

Auh in axcan tlacate, totecoe: tlacatecutle tlamacazque, quen qujnequj in moiollotzin: cujx otimomacavili, cujx ie iuhquj, cujx ie ixqujch: cujx qa aocmo, cujx qa iaz, cujx qa poliviz in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in maceoalli: cujx cauhtimanjz, cujx iovatimanjz in atl, in tepetl, cujx ie ixqujch, cujx ie

4. *Ayauhtonan*: *Cuphea jorullensis*; *Porophyllum coloratum*. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson: *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, "Earthly Things," Monographs of The School of American Research and The Museum of New Mexico, No. 14 (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1963), pp. 139, n. 23; 192, n. 4.

5. *Tzitziquilitl*: *Erigeron pusillus*. *Ibid.*, p. 136, n. 1.

6. *Itzmiquilitl*: purslane; or *Portulaca* sp. *Ibid.*, p. 134, n. 3.

7. *Tepicquilitl*: *Mesembryanthemum blandum*. *Ibid.*, p. 137, n. 6.

Perhaps it is so? Perhaps it was determined above us, in the land of the dead? Perhaps it hath been said of us. It hath been told above us.

"Yet, [concede] just a little! The poor, those who totter, who crawl, those on the ground, those who lie on the board, who lie on the plank; those who know nothing — what have they been fed? What will go to be their punishment? And they know not yet if we have caused offense in something above us, in the land of the dead<sup>8</sup> — if our stench, our rottenness have arisen, have gone to arrive above us in the heavens. Maybe it is all. Maybe it is so. Maybe at this moment it will darken, all will be devastated, all will be lost. In what manner may we speak? In what manner [would it be] to no purpose? And to whom might we complain? For it hath been declared.

"May the commoner rejoice, may he be glad. Let it be definitively disposed, for already he suffereth continual pain in his heart, in his body; for he is stretched out in the heat all night, all day; for his poor heart is burned up.<sup>9</sup>

"A frightful thing is the serpent that lieth within; it lieth slavering, lieth panting, lieth crying out. It is a frightful thing as it burneth, as it crieth, as it crackleth.<sup>10</sup>

"May it soon come to pass, to happen — that which the old men, the old women come knowing, come guarding: that that which is above us will fall in; that the demons will descend, will come to destroy the earth, will come to eat the common folk; that there will be eternal darkness on earth; that nowhere will there be people on earth. The grandfathers, the grandmothers come knowing it, come guarding it; it cometh to be their store of knowledge that it will come to happen, will come to pass, when it is already the time of the end, when it is already the end of the earth, when the earth hath become tired, when already it is all, when already it is so, when the seed of the earth hath ended, when it hath become [as] an old man, [as] an old woman, when it is worthless,

iuhquij, cujx oitoloc in topan in mjctlan, cujx otitoloque, otopan tlatoloc.

Iece ça ixquijtzin, motolinja in moquequetza, in movilana in tlalli ixco ca, in quavic onoc, in oapaltentoc in aia qujmomachitia, tle ocuel conmoqualti, tlê cuel conmotzacujlituh: auh ca aiamo iehoatl qujmomachitia intla otitlaellexitique in topan in mjctlan, intla otlecoc, intla oacitimoquetzato in topan in jlamic in tijaca, in topalanca: a ce ixquijch, a ce iuhquij, a ce imman in tlaoooaz, in tlaliooaz, in polioaz quen tiquitoanj, quen nen: auh ac tictolvianj, ca nel omjto.

Manoce cuel mocujltono, motlamachti in maceoalli: ma centlamjc qujmati, ca ie totoneoa in jiollo in jnacaio, ca ceiooal ca cemjlvitl in tlepan moteca, ca tlecujlolo in jiollotzin:

ca temamauhti in coatl in jtlic onoc in vallaztactoc, in oalneneciuhtoc, in oaltzatzitoc: ca temamauhti injc tlatla, injc tzatzi, injc hicoioaca.

Manoce ça ie cuel nelti, muchioa in qujmattijtze vevetque, ilamatque in quipixtijtze ioalpachiviz topan manj, in oaltemozque tzitzitzimj in quipoloqujvi tlalli, in quiquaqujvi maceoalli, injc cemmaian tlaoooaz tlalticpac: in acan iez tlalticpac in qujmattijtze, in quipixtijtze in cultin, in citi in jnpial ietijtze, in muchioatiuh in neltitiuh, in ie tlaltzonpan, in ie tlaltzonco in olatziuh in tlalli, in ie ixquijch in ie iuhquij in otlan in jxinach dalli, in ovevetic, in oilamatic in aioc tle inecoca, in aiocmo teatilitz, tetlamacaz: manoço cuel iehoatl totecoe, ma necujltonolo, ma netlamachtilo.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "Que an hecho los pobrezitos, porque sean affigidos y muertos de hambre? njngunas ofensas an hecho, nj saben que cosa es pecar, nj an ofendido a los dioses del cielo, nj a los del infierno: y si nosotros hemos ofendido en muchas cosas, y nuestras ofensas an llegado al cielo y al infierno...."

9. *Ibid.*: "hagase, perdamonos todos: y esto con breuedad, porque no suframos ta prolixa fatiga que mas graue es lo q padecemos, que si estuviessemos en el fuego quemandonos...." Verb forms may be taken as vettative — i.e., "May the commoner be impoverished, ruined," etc. A number of passages in Book VI may thus be open to discussion.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "cierto es cosa espantable qusir la hambre, que es assi como una culebra que con deseo de comer, esta tragando la saliva, y esta carleando demandando de comer, y esta bozeando, porque le den comida, es cosa espantable ver el [sic] agonja que tiene, demandando de comer: es esta hambre tan intensa, como un fuego encendido, que esta hechando de si chispas, o centellas."

when it will no longer provide one with drink, with food. O our lord, may there already be wealth, may there be happiness.<sup>11</sup>

"And here truly now, may pestilence seize the common folk. May it be the work, the labor,<sup>12</sup> of Mictlan tecutli. Perhaps Chicome coatl, Cinteotl will yet have them carry a little, will help them. Perhaps yet on the way to the land of the dead, she will put a little atole, a morsel into their mouths; it will be their provision.

"And may they be workers<sup>13</sup> for the sun, Quauhtleuanitl, Xippilli, the valiant warrior, the brave one, Totonametl in manic, for the commoners, the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors will be provided with glory. Within the desert, in the midst of it, they will be valiant; [their bones] will lie strewn. The hair will lie blanched, the bones, the skulls will be broken up. And already they will know the home of the sun. There the sun is gladdened, is cried out to. There the different savory, fragrant flowers are sucked. There the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, those who died in war, the valiant warriors, the brave, are glorified.

"And the babies, the children, those yet fledglings, yet tender, those who know nothing, will be made precious green stones, will be made precious turquoises, in the heavens, in the home of the sun. Their hearts are true precious green stones, true precious turquoises, true well-polished, precious turquoises, which they will give to the sun. And thy older sister, the older sister of the gods, the Tlamacazque — Chicome coatl — will cause them to carry, will insert in their entrails, will provide them with provisions, will go establishing them beyond. It is the same as our bones, our flesh; the same as our staff, our rod, the same as our girdle, our strength, which the common folk have received as collective merit.

"But this [hunger], O master, O our lord: now, in truth, the common folk, the vassals, the subjects, already witness, experience, magnify suffering, for they are really destitute; in truth, these same are destitute. In truth, these same suffer, endure [hunger]; the bones, the bodies of these same experience

Auh iz nelle axcan manoce cuculiztli quijcuj in maceoalli: ma iehoatl tequjtinj, tlacutinj, in mijctlan tecutli, açoc achi quijmotqujitz, qujpaleviz in chicome covatl, in cinteotl: açoc mijctlampa achi atolah, tlapanquj icamac actiaz ijtae ietiaz.

Auh manoce tequjtinj in tonatiuh, in quauhtle oanjtl, in xippilli, in tiacauh in oqujchtl, in totona metl in manjc: ca motitimalotiaz in maceoalli in quauhtli, in ocelutl: Ca ixtlahoatl itic, incantla mopopoiauhtoz, momoiaoatoz: in tzontli ticeoatoz, in omjtl in quaxicalli xaxamacaticaz: auh ie ontamatiz in tonatiuh ichan, in vmpa aviltlo tonatiuh in oiuojlo in vmpa chichinalo in nepapan velic, aviac xuchitl: in vmpa netimalolo in quauhtin, ocelo, in iaomjcque, in tiacaoa in oqujchtin.

Auh in piltzintli, in conetzintli in oc tototl, in oc atzintli: in aia qujmomachitia, ca chalchiuhtitaz, ca teuxiuhtitaz in ilvicac in tonatiuh ichan, vel chalchivitl, vel teuxivitl, vel teuxiuhtlamatilolli in jiollo, in commacaz tonatiuh: auh ca quijtqujitzia ca ixillan actiaz, ca ic ytaquetiaz, ca nachca conquetzatiuh in moveltioatzin, in teteu in tlamacazque inveltiuh in chicome coatl, in çan ie yio tomjo, tonacaio, in çan ie ijo topil tonetlaquechil, in çan ie ijo tonelpil tochicaoaca: in quijcemmaceuh maceoalli.

Auh injn tlacatele totecoe: in axcan ca nelli in tecoco, in ie conjita, in ie commati, in ie qujtimaloa in maceoalli, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, in jtconj, in mamalonj in tlamacazque inveltiuh in chicome coatl, in çan ie yio tomjo, tonacaio, in çan ie ijo topil tonetlaquechil, in çan ie ijo tonelpil tochicaoaca: in quijcemmaceuh maceoalli,

11. *Ibid.*: "esto los viejos lo supieron, y ellos lo dijeron, y de mano en mano a venido hasta nosotros, que se a de cumplir hacia la [sic] fin del mundo: despues que ya la tierra estuviere harta, de producir mas criaturas. Señor nuestro por riquezas, y passatiempos tendremos que esto venga sobre nosotros."

12. Possibly this phrase should be expressed as optative of verb. See Carochi, *Arte de lengua mexicana*, p. 426.

13. See n. 12.

it; suffering hath reached their very hearts. Not just once, not just twice, do they endure, do they encounter death. And thereafter [so do] the little animals.

"And now, O master, O ruler, O Xoxouhqui, O lord of rubber, O lord of incense, may it be thy will: look with affection at the common folk; for the governed are already gone, already perished, already destroyed, crushed, shattered. Already all is lost on earth; already it drieth up, it dieth. The insects, the animals are already destroyed.

"May it be thy will: grant that our lords, the gods, the Tlamacazque, the lords of incense, the lords of copal may do their labor, may do their duty on earth. May the wealth, the riches be opened up. May mist rattle boards billow;<sup>14</sup> may cloud rattle boards<sup>15</sup> shake. May they take up the rubber sandals. Help, favor Tlaltecutli with a drop, a sprinkle of rain; he raiseth, he nourisheth the people. And console that which lieth suffering, the maize, the precious prince, the older sister of the gods, who lieth stretched on the ridge, who is faint on the ridge, who is weakened.

"May the common folk rejoice, may they be glad.<sup>16</sup> May they behold, may they marvel at [that which is as] the precious green stone, the precious turquoise — the plants, the substance of our lords, the Tlamacazque, the Tlaloque, who come bringing, come sprinkling, come bearing their goods. And may the animals, the plants rejoice [and] be glad. May the roseate spoonbill, the troupial sing, flutter, sip [flower nectar].

"And may it be that the annoyance, the fury, not go on appearing for the common folk, who lie thinned by the heat. They will be afraid of it; they will take fright because of it.<sup>17</sup>

"Let there be no fury. May they take, may they strike [with lightning] only those whose gift it was to have lived, to have been born at the time of those who belong there in Tlalocan, those whose possession, whose gift it is. May they not mock the vassals who travel all the forest, all the grasslands, who fill all the desert. May they also in no manner harm

jnacaio, ie vel itech onaci in jiollo in tecoco: amo çan ceppa, amo çan oppa mijqujztl in ie quijiecoa, in ie quijta: auh niman ie ieh in iulcatzintli.

Auh in axcan tlacatle, tlatoanje, xoxouhque, olloe, yiauhioe manoço xicmonequilti, manoçoc monacaztitiianpatzinco xicmottili in maceoalli: ca ie iauh, ca ie polivi, ca ie ixpolivi, ca ie xamanj, ie xaxamaca in tlatqujtl in tlamatalli, ie tlaixpolivi in tlaltecipac ie tlaoaquj ie mijquj in tlachichinanj, in manenemj ie ixpoliu:

manoço xicmonequjli, ma xiqujn momacavili ū totecujoa, in teteu, in tlamatalli in jauhioque in copalloque: ma motlacotiliqui, ma motequjtiliqui, in tlaltecipac: ma tlapovi in necujtonoll, in netlamachilli ma molonj yiauhchicauaztli ma viujxavi in aiachquavil: ma qujmoculican in olcactli, ma centlachipinaltzin, ma centetzintli haoachtzintli ic xicmopalevili ic xicmonanamjqujli in tlaltecutli in tlacaoapaoa in tlacazcaltia: auh manoço xicmoiollili in tlaihiiovitoc in tonacaiutl in tlaçopilli in teteu inveltiuh in cuenco momavilanaltitoc, in cuenco moçotlaviltitica, in mijhiocavilia:

ma mocujtono ma motlamachti in maceoalli, ma quijta ma qujmaviço in chalchivitl in teuxivitl in quijtzintli in jnnacaiotzin totecujoa in tlamatalli in tlaloque, in quijtzetzelotivitz in jntlatquj ietiuutz. Auh ma mocujtono, ma motlamachti in iulcatzintli in xiuhtzintli: ma tlato ma papatlaca, ma tlachichina in quechol in çauan:

auh macanoçomo imelleltzin, in tlaveltzin oalmoquetzatiuh, ca tonalpitzavatoc in maceoalli qujmoauhilitizque qujmçavilizque:

macamo motlatlaveltitzinoca, ma çan iehoatl qujmanjlica, qujmovitequjlican in ie innemactzin, in jpan iol, in jpan tlacat in vmpa pouhquj tlaloca: in jmaxcatzin in jnnemactzin: macamo ica maviltizque in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, in cenquavitl, in cençacatl mantiu, in cemjxtlaoatl tētimanj. Macamo no quen qujmuhiujlican in xoxovixtoc in quavitl, in metl, in

14. *yiauhchicauaztli*: read *ayauhchicauaztli*. Cf. Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, p. 59.

15. *aiachquavil*: the term could refer to the ayochicauaztli, also a mist rattle board. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 145. The corresponding Spanish text reads, "mueuanse las sonajas de alegría que son bocculos de los señores dioses del agua...."

16. See n. 9. Though vetratives may be more literal, the affirmative appears to be more appropriate to the context.

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "y no sea esto con truenos, y rayos significadores de vuestro enojo: porque si vienen nuestros señores tlaloces con truenos, y rayos como los maceguales, estan flacos y toda la gente muy dibilitada de la hambre espantarlos an, y atemorizarlos an."

that which lieth green — the trees, the maguey, the nopal, all which lieth germinating — for they are the source, the life of the common folk, the support of the poor, the unhappy, the discontented, the forsaken, the useless, those whose sustenance appeareth not, whose intestines go stuck to their sides, go rumbling.

"O master, O precious nobleman, O Tlamacazqui, may thou incline, may thou do good in thy heart. Console the earth and all which live thereon: those which travel on the face of the earth. I call out, I cry out to ye who occupy the four quarters, ye who are the Xoxouhque, ye who are the Tlamacazque, ye who are lords of the mountains, ye who are lords of the caves. Come back; come, console the common folk. Water the earth, for the earth, the living creatures, the herbs, the stalks remain watching, remain crying out, for all remain trusting. Be diligent, O gods, O our lords."

nopalli in jxqujch ixvatoc: ca itlaanca ca ijlulca in maceoalli, ca inenca in jcnotlacatl, in nentlacatl in aiavia in avellamati in tlacnocavalli, in aoalnecinj in jcochca in jneuhca in jcoaioiotzin itech motetecati. nemj yn jtech icoiocatinemj.

Tlacatle tlaçopille, tlamacazque: ma tlacaoa ma tlacoti in moiollotzin ma xicmoiollalili in tlalli: ioan in jxqujch itech nemj, in tlalli ixco qujztinemj. A ca namechnotza, ca namechtatzilia in nauhcac antemj, in anroxoxouhque in antlamacazque, in antepecioque, in amoztoioque ma xioalmovicacan, ma xioalvia: ma xicmoiollaliliqij in maceoalli, ma ximotlaavililiqij in tlalticpac: ca onjtztoc, ca ontzatzitoc in tlalli, in ivlqij, in xivitl, in tlacotl ca muchi onmotemachitoc, ma xioalmj civiticā teteue totocoane.



Ninth Chapter. Here are told the words which the ruler spoke when he had been installed as ruler, to entreat Tezcatlipoca because of having installed him as ruler, and to ask his help and his revelation, that [the ruler] might fulfill his mission. Very many are his words of humility.

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O night, O wind, thou hast inclined thy heart. Perhaps thou hast mistaken me for another, I who am a commoner; I who am a laborer. In excrement, in filth hath my lifetime been—I who am unreliable; I who am of filth, of vice. And I am an imbecile. Why? For what reason? It is perhaps my desert, my merit that thou takest me from the excrement, from the filth, that thou placest me on the reed mat, on the reed seat?

"Who am I? Who do I think I am that thou movest me among, thou bringest me among, thou contest me with thy acquaintances, thy friends, thy chosen ones, those who have desert, those who have merit? Just so were they by nature; so were they born to rule; thou hast opened their eyes, thou hast opened their ears. And thou hast taken possession of them, thou hast inspired them. Just so were they created, so were they sent here. They were born at a time, they were bathed at a time, their day signs were such that they would become lords, would become rulers. It is said that they will become thy backrests, thy flutes. Thou wilt have them replace thee, thou wilt have them substitute for thee, thou wilt hide thyself in them; from within them thou wilt speak; they will pronounce for thee—those who will help, those who will place on the left, who will place in obsidian sandals, and who will pronounce for thy progenitor, the mother of the gods, the father of the gods, Ueueteotl, who is set in the center of the hearth, in the turquoise enclosure, Xiuhtecutli,<sup>1</sup> who batheth the people, washeth the people, and who

Ic chicunavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa in tlatolli: in qujtoia tlatoanj, in jquac omotlatocatlali ynic qujtlauhtiaia Tezcatlipuca: in jpampa in oqujtlatocatlalli, ioan injc qujtlanjliaia in jtepaleviliz ioan in jtetlanextiliz injc vel qujchioaz in jtequjuh: cencamie in jnecnomachiliztlatol

Tlacatle totecoc, tloquee, naoaquee iooalle ehecate: otlacauhqui in moiollo, aço tinechmotlanevilia in njmaceoalli in njtlapalivi: in cujtlatitlan in tlaçultitlan nonemja, in anjcemelle in njteuhio, in njtlacullo. Auh in anommati in njxco, in nocpac: tleica, tle ipampa: cujx nolujl, cujx nomaceoal in cujtlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan in tinechmanjlia? in petlapan, in jcpalpan tinechmotlalilia?

ac nehoatl, ac njnomati in jntlan tinechmjquanjlia in jntech tinechmaxitilia, in jntech tinechmopovilia in motlaiximachoan, in mocnjoan, in motlapepenalhoan in jlvileque, in maceoaleque: in çan njman juh iulque, in juh tlacatque in petlatizque, in jcpalitzque, in tiqujmjxcoionj, in tiqujnnacaztlapo: auh in tiqujxox, in tiqujmjpitz: in çan njman iuh ioco-loque, iuh oalivaloque: in jpan tlacatque, in jpan maltique: in juhcan ca intonal in tecutizque, in tlatocatizque, in mjtoa, in monetlaxonjoa, in motlapitzalhoan muchioazque, in tiqujnmonaoltiz in jmjtic titlatoz, in mjtztlatenqujxtilizque, in qujnanamjqujzque, in copuchtizque, in qujtzcactizque: auh in qujtlatenqujxtilizque in motechiuhcauh in teteu inna, in teteu inta, in veueteutl in tlexicco, in xiuhtetzqualco maqujtoc in xiuhtecutli in teahaltia, in tepapaca: auh in qujcotonjlia, in qujcavilia in jpolivia in jacoqujçaia in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in maceoalli.

I. Note comparable passages in Chaps. 4 and 17.

determineth, who concedeth the destruction, the exaltation of the vassals, of the common folk.<sup>2</sup>

"O master, O lord of the near, of the nigh, thou hast inclined thy heart, thou hast shown me mercy. Perhaps it is [because of] the weeping, the sorrowing, of the old men, the old women, those who have gone beyond to reside; perhaps it is [because of] their spines, their maguey<sup>3</sup> which they left planted deep.

"May I not regard myself. May I not consider myself worthy of the favor, may I not consider myself deserving of that of which I dream, which I see in dreams. It is the load, the burden on the back, heavy, intolerable, insupportable; the large bundle, the large carrying frame which those who already have gone to reside beyond went assuming when they came to guard for thee, when they came to reign.

"It is all, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O night, O wind, O Teyocoyani, O Teimatini, O Techichuani. Poor am I. In what manner shall I act for thy city? In what manner shall I act for the governed, for the vassals? For I am blind, I am deaf, I am an imbecile, and in excrement, in filth hath my lifetime been; and my desert, my task, is greens, is wood.<sup>4</sup>

"And here my real desert, my real merit, my real gift is blindness, paralysis, rottenness. And the tatters, the miserable cape are my desert, my merit, my gift. And I am that which should be carried, I am that which should be borne upon the back; for there are thy friends, thy acquaintances.<sup>5</sup>

"However, thou hast determined it; thou art provided with laughter on earth. May thy spirit, thy word be regarded; may they be satisfied.

"Perhaps thou mistaketh me for another; perhaps thou seekest another in my stead. Behold, thou wilt take unto thyself, wilt move unto thyself, wilt hide unto thyself thy wonder, thy glory. Thou hast become tired, thou art vexed. Behold, thou wilt give it to thy real friend, thy real acquaintance, the weeper, the sorcerer, the sigher, the deserving one.

"Do I dream? Do I see in dreams?

Tlacatle, tloquee, naoaquee: otlaauhquij in moiollo otinechmocnelili: aço inchoquijz, aço intlaocul: aço invitz, aço imjeuh vecatlan contlazteoaque in vevetque, in jlamatque in ie nachca ommantiu:

ma çan nê njnotta ma njcnolviltoca, ma njcnomactoca in njctemjquij, in njccochitleoa: in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj, in etic, in aeoaliztli in aixnamjqujiliztli: in vey qujmjlli, in vei cacaxtli, in aquijecotivi in ie nachca ommantivi, in omjtzmotlapialilico in opeltaco, yn oicpaltico.

Ça ie ixquijchtzin tlacatle, totecoe: tloquee, naoaquee, iooalle, ehecatle, teiocoianje, tehimatinje, techichioanje: ninotolinja, quen njcnochiviliz in matzin, in motepetzin: quen njcchioaz in tlatqujtl, in tlammalli, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli: ca njxpopoiotl, ca njnacatzatza, ca anommati in njxco, in nocpac: auh ca cujtlatitlan, tlaçultitlan nonemja: auh ca qujlitl, ca quavitol nolvil notequjuh.

Auh ca vnca in vel nolhvil, in vel nomaceoal, in vel nonemac in jxpopoiotl, in cocototztli, in palanalliztli: auh in tzotzomatli, in aiaçulli, ca iehoatl nolvil, nomaceoal: ca iehoatl nonemac: auh ca nehoatl njtconj, njmamalonj, ca oncate in mocnjoan, in motlaiximachoan.

Auh ca tel oticmjtalhvi ca titlavevetzqujtilo in tlaticpac: ma popouj, ma ixtlavi in mjhiotzin, in motlatoltzin:

aço tinechmotlanevilia, aço noca timotlatemolia. Ha tocommocujliz, ha tocommjquanjliz, ha tocommjnailiz in momavizio, in motleio: in otonciavic in otontzavic. Ha tocommomaqujiliz in vel mocnjuh, in motlaiximach: in chocanj, in tlaocuianj, in elcicivinj in maceoale.

A manoço njtemjquij, manoço njcochitleoa.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "y para que se conformen, con el querer del antiguo dios, y padre de todos los dioses, que es el dios del fuego, que esta en el alverque de agua [hoy is here crossed out] entre almenas [rrosas is here crossed out] cercado de piedras como rosas, el qual se llama Xiuhtecualli, el qual determina, y examina, y conclue [sic] los negocios, y letigios del pueblo, y de la gente popular: como las danzas con agua: al qual siempre acopaban, y estan en su presencia las personas generosas: arriba dichas." On the phrase, "will place on the left . . . will place in obsidian sandals," see Chap. 43.

3. *imjeuh*: read *imeuh*, "their maguey." Context and evidence here and in Chap. 25 favor this translation rather than *imyewh*, "their smoking tube."

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "y mi facultad: es buscar, y vender yerbas para comer, y traer leña a cuestas, para vender."

5. *Ibid.*: "pues que tenays muchos amigos, y muchos conocidos a q'en pudeys encomendar este cargo."

"Thou who art here, thou who art Teimatin, thou who art Teyocoyani, thou who art Techichiuan, do not conceal, do not hide thy spirit, thy word.

"For hardly are we given explanation. What is the road I shall follow? What way shall I make? Do not conceal, do not hide the mirror, the torch, the light. May I not carry things into dangerous places. May I not direct, introduce the governed into the forest, to the cliff. May I not cause one to encounter, to see the way of the rabbit, of the deer.<sup>6</sup> And may something [evil] not move upon me; may warfare not move, unfold upon me. May hunger, may famine not befall me.

"To what purpose, in what manner shall I deal with the governed? Where shall I take them? Where shall I introduce them? Wretched have I become. What can I [do], I who am untrained, ignorant?

"And may sickness not unfold upon me, not spread upon me. What will result when already thou, lord of the near, of the nigh, makest thy city a place of desolation?<sup>7</sup> What will result when already it lieth abandoned, lieth darkened? And what will result when filth, when vice have come upon me? What will result when I have ruined the city? What will result when I depart leaving the governed asleep, when I gladly leave them? What will result when I cast the common folk into the torrent; cast them from the crag?

"O master, O our lord, O night, O wind, do not depart completely. Come passing by here; know the humble reed enclosure, the mound of earth, for I await thee at thy humble home, at thy humble waiting place. I do what I can for thee, I place my trust in thee. I request, I seek, I expect, I ask of thee thy spirit, thy word, with which thou hast possessed, with which thou hast inspired thy friends, thy acquaintances, who ordered things for thee on thy reed mat, on thy reed seat, thy place of honor. It is where thou art given a proxy, where thou art replaced by another, where thou art substituted, where there is pronouncing for thee, where there is speaking for thee, where thou usest one as a flute, where thou speakest from within one, where thou makest one

A ca ie timeviltitica, in titehimatinj in titeiucoianj, in titechichioanj: macanoçomo xiqujnaia, macanoçomo xictlati in mjhiyo, in motlatol:

ca çan tequjtl titlatenqujxtlilo, catle in vtli in njctocaz, catle in njochioaz? macamo xicmjnaili, macamo xicmotlatili in tezcatl, in ocutl in tlavilli: ma nehoatl ovican njtlavica, ma quauhtla, ma texcalla njcvica, njccalaquj in tlatqujtl in tlamamalli: ma tochin maçatl yiovi njcnamjcti njqujttiti: auh ma itla nopen olin: ma teuatl ma tlachinolli nopen molinj, moiocux: ma apiztli, ma maianaliztli nopanti,

quen nen, quen njcnochiviliz, campa njcnoviqujiliz, campa njccalaqujz in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli: omuchiu onotlaueclitic, quen vel nehoapul in anjnozcalia, in anjnijmati:

auh ma nopanti ma cocoliztli nopen moman: quen mach nenti, in ie inencauhian ticmuchiilia in titloque, tinaoaque, quen mach nenti in ie cactimanj, in ie iooatimanj in matzin, in motepetzin: Auh quē mach nenti in onopan ooalla in teuhtli, in tlaçulli, quen mach nenti in onjctlaçulmjcti in atl, yn tepetl: quen mach nenti in onjccochcauh, in onjcpaccacauh in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli: quen mach nenti in onjctatoiavi, in onjctepexivi in maceoalli.

Tlacatle totecoe, iooalle, ehecatle macanoçomo cen ximovica, ma xiaoalmoqujxtiuh, ma xiqualmomachiti in icnoacatzaqualli, in tlachcujtetelli: ca njmjtznochialia in mocnocha, in mocnochialoca: ca movicpatzinco njnentlamati ca njmjtznatemachilia, ca njqujtlanj, ca njctemoa, ca njctemachia ca njmjtztlanjlia in mjhiyo, in motlatol: injc tiqujnrox, injc tiqujmjitz in mocnjoa, in motlaiximachoan in vel mjtztlatlalilitoque in mopetlapā, in mocpalpan in momaviziocan: in vncan topuchtilo, in vncan titzcajtilo, in vncan timotevivitla, in vncan timotepatillotia, in vncan titlatenqujxtlilo, in vncan titlatalvilo, in vncan timotetlatlapitzaltia, in vncan teitic titlatoa, in vncan timoteixtia, timotenacatzia, in vncan timotentia, timotecamachaltia:

6. *ma tochin maçatl yiovi njcnamjcti njqujttiti*: cf. Chap. 43; also Olmos, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17.

7. The corresponding Spanish text differs somewhat: "no permitays señor, que se leuante alguna guerra contra mí, no permitays que venga alguna pestilencia, sobre los que tengo de regir, porque no sabre lo que en tal caso tengo de hacer, ni por donde tengo de guiar, a los que llevo a cuestas..."

thy eyes, thy ears; where thou makest one thy mouth,  
thy jaw.<sup>8</sup>

"And there thou art provided with laughter; there thou selectest one, thou screenest one out; there thou livest, thou rejoicest among thy real friends, thy true acquaintances. There thou takest possession of, thou inspirist the weeper, the sorrower, the sigher, those who truly deliver their minds, their hearts to thee. And there thou dost bequeath them, there thou arrayest them with, there thou givest them the broad mirror, the two-faced mirror wherein we commoners appear. There thou givest them, thou settest up for them the thick torch, the clear one which lighteth, illumineth the world."<sup>9</sup>

"And there thou dost bequeath them, thou arrayest them with, thou placest upon them, thou honorest them, gloriest them with the peaked hat, the turquoise diadem, and the earplug, the lip plug, the head band,<sup>10</sup> the arm band, the band for the calf of the leg, the necklace, the precious feather.

"And [there] thy heat, thy warmth, thy freshness, thy tenderness, thy sweetness, thy fragrance come from thee; and there is received as merit the peace, the contentment, the peaceful life, the moment of well-being by thy grace. And there are received as merit paralysis, blindness, the miserable cape, rags. And there is demanded of thee, there is hastened thy time of destroying one, thy time of hiding one: death.

"O master, O Teyocoyani, O Teimatini, O Techichuani, is it perhaps of my own doing, I being a commoner, the manner in which I shall live, what I shall do, what I shall perform? Thou wilt determine the way on thy reed mat, on thy reed seat, thy place of honor. And howsoever thou wilt require of me, that I shall do, that I shall perform. Whichsoever road thou wilt show me, that one I shall follow; whatsoever thou wilt reveal unto me, that I shall say, that I shall pronounce.

"O master, O our lord, I leave myself, I place myself completely in thy hands, for I cannot govern myself; for I am blind, I am darkness; I am the corner, I am the wall. May thou incline thy heart;

auh in vncan titlavevetzqujtilo, in vncan timotepe-penjlia, timotetlatzetzelhoazvilia, in vncan intlan tinemj, in jntlan tipaquj in vel mocnjoan, in nelli motaiximachoan, in vncan tiqujnxxoa, in tiqujm-jpitzia in chocanj, in tlaoculanj, in elcicivinj in vel mjtzmaca in jmox, in jiollo: auh in vncan tiqujntlamamaca, in vncan tiqujnccencaoa, in vncan tiqujnma-njlia in coiaoac tezcatl, in necoc xapo, in vmpa ton-nevi in timaceoalti, in vncan tiqujnmaca tiqujnque-chilia in tomavac ocutl in apocio in cemanaoac tlavia, tlanextia:

auh in vncan tiqujnmotlamamaqujlia, in vel tiqujn-mocencavilia, in jntech timotlatlatlalilia in tiqujn-movecavilia, in tiqujnmovecapanjlvia in tetepeiotl, in xivitzolli: auh in nacochtli, in tentetl, in tlalpilonj, in matemecatl, in cotzeoatl, in cozcatl, in quetzalli.

Auh iehoatl in mototonca, in moiamanca, in motz-molinca in mocelica, in motzopelica, in maviaca in motechcopia vitz: auh in vncan maceoalo in jvian-iotl, in iocuxcaiotl, in paccanemjliotl in achitzinca in mopatzinco nevelmachiliztli. Auh in vncan maceoalo in cocototztl in jxpopoiotl, in aiaçulli in tatapatli: auh in vncan titlanjilo in vncan hicivitilo in motepolovaia, in motetlatiaia in mjqujztli.

Tlacatle teiucoianje, tehmatinje, techichioanje: cujx nonnoiocoia in njmaceoalli in quenjn nonne-mjz, in tlein nonaiz, in tlein noconchioaz in mope-tlapan, in mocpalpan in momaviziocan, in quenjn tocommonequjltiz: auh in quenjn tinechonmone-qujlliz, ca iehoatl nonaiz, ca iehoatl noconchioaz, in catle vtli tinechmottitiliz: ca iehoatl nocontocaz, in catlehoatl tinechmoiollotiliz, ca ie njqujtoz, ca iehoatl njctenqujxtiz.

Tlacatle, totecoe: ca mocemmactzinco njnocaia, njnotlalia, ca amo njnotquj, ca amo njnomama, camo njnoiocoia, ca njxpopoiotl ca njtlaiooalli, ca njxomolli ca njcaltechtli: ma tlacaoa in moiollotzin, ma

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "dónde a un lado, y a otro se sientan otros senadores, y principales, que son vuestra ymagén, y como ésta persona propia: los quales sentencian, y hablan, en las cosas de la república en ésto nombre, y usays dellos, como de éstas flautas, hablando dentro dellos, y ponjendos en sus caras, y en sus oydos, y habriendo sus bocas, para bien hablar...."

9. Ibid.: "para que vean, como en espejo de dos haces, donde se representa la ymagén de cada uno: y por la misma causa, los dyes ensa hacha muy clara, sin ningun humo, cuya claridad, se estiende, por todas partes...." Cf. also Chap. 43.

10. Ibid.: "el tlalpilonj, que es la borla de la cabeza...."

require that I deserve, that I merit a little, a bit, a firefly-flash of thy torch, thy light, thy mirror, in order that, as if in dreams, as if seeing in dreams, [I endure] for a while, a day. I shall bring about for thee the ruination of government, the laughable, the folly on thy reed mat, on thy reed seat, on thy place of honor.

"O master, O our lord, come passing by here, that I be not ruined, that I be not endangered, and that I be not murmured against.

"O master, O our lord, verily I am thy backrest, I am thy flute; not by my desert, not by my merit. I am thy lips, I am thy jaw, I am thy eyes, I am thy ears. And me, a commoner, a laborer, thou hast made thy teeth, thy fingernails. Insert, place within me a little of thy spirit, of thy word; it is that which is ever heeded and is irrefutable."

This he prayed standing, standing bowed, standing head bowed, placing the feet well together. And the very devout stood naked. Perhaps he first offered copal in the fire or offered incense. And when someone stood, cape tied on, he placed his knot in front. And when someone squatted — placed himself as a man — he placed his knot over his shoulder.

xicmonequjli ma achitzin, ma tepitzin, ma icpitacatzintli njcnopilti, nomaccoalti in mocotzin, in motlaviltzin, in motezcatzin: injc temjcteuh, cochitleuh-teuh achica cemilvitl, tlaxoxopeoaliztli, vevetzcailutl, chocholocaiutl njmjtzonnochiviliz in mopalpan, in mopalpan in momaviziocan.

Tlacatle, totecoe: ma xioalmoqujxtituh ic avel in onontlapolo, ic avel mononovitic, auh ic avel in onopan tlacaoacac:

tlacatle, totecoe, ca nel njmonetlaxonjuh, ca njmotlatlapitzal in maca nocnopil, in maca nomaccoal ca njmoten, ca njmocamachal, ca njmix, ca njmonacaz: auh ca njmotlan, ca njmoztli tinechmuchivilia in njmaceoalli, in njtlapalivi: ma achitzin njtic xicmocalaqujli, xicmomacavili in mjhiio in motlatol, in iehoati centemachtli: auh in atlacuepquj:

Injn tlatlatlauhtia moquetzticac, momalcohoticac, toloticac, vel qujnnevanmana inicxi. Auh ū cenca tlateumatinj petlauhticac, aço achtopa copaltema in tleco, anoço tlenamac: auh in aca motlalpiliticac ixpāpa qujtlalia in jnetlalpilil: auh in aca coatica moqujchtlalia yaculpan qujtlalia in jnetlalpilil.



**Tenth Chapter.** Here are told the words with which they greeted and with which they prayed to the ruler after he had been installed. And these words or prayers someone said who was a great priest, or a great nobleman, or some great dignitary, who knew the words well. These words are very admirable and the metaphors are very difficult; the sermon is very good.

"O master, O ruler, O precious person, O precious one, O valued one, O precious green stone, O precious turquoise, O bracelet, O precious feather, thou art here present; the lord of the near, of the nigh, he by whom we live, hath set thee here. Now, in truth, thy progenitors, thy great-grandfathers, have departed, have gone on to reside. Our lord hath destroyed, hath hidden those who already have gone to remain beyond — the ruler N., and the ruler N., etc. For they departed placing, they departed leaving the bundle, the carrying frame, the governed — heavy, intolerable, insupportable.<sup>1</sup>

"Do they still know of their city, which already lieth abandoned, which already lieth darkened, which our lord hath already made his place of desolation? Do they still frequent that which is already completely forest, which is already completely desert, where the governed go? And the vassals no longer possess a mother, no longer possess a father. And no longer doth the city have the able, the prudent. They are as if mute; they speak not; they talk not; they are as if beheaded.

"Behold, there came the master, the ruler, the leader N., whom, for a while, for a short time, the city borrowed. The city borrowed him; [it seemed that] it dreamed of him, it saw him in dreams, for the master, our lord, hath summoned him, hath called out for him; for the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath placed him in retreat.<sup>2</sup> For he hath come to know, hath followed, hath arrived with his great-

Ic matlactli capitulo, vncan mijtoa in tlatolli: injc quijlapaloia, ioan injc quijlatlauhtiaia in tlatoanj in qujn omotlali. Auh injn tlatolli, manaço tlatlatlauh-tiliztli quijtoiaia ce aca vei tlenamacac: anoço vei pilli, anoço aca vei tecutlato, in vel quijmatia tlatolli cenza maviçauhquj injn tlatolli, ioan cenza ohovi in machiotlatolli: cenza quaqualli in tenonotzaliz-tlatolli.

Tlacatle tlatoanje, tlaçotitlacatle, tlaçotzintle, tlaçotle chalchiuhtle, teuxiuhtle maquijztle, quetzalle: a ca tioalmovetzitia a ca njcan mijtzalmotlalilia in tloque, in naoaque in jpalmemoa. A ca nelle axcan, ca oiaque ca omotecato in motechiuhcaoan, in machco-colvan in oquijnpolo, in oquijntlati in totecujo in ie nachca ommantiuj: in tlacatl in. N. auh in tlacatl in. N. etc. ca oconquetzteoaque, ca oconcauhteoaque in quijmijlli, in cacaxtli, in tlatconj in tlamamalonj, in etic in acoaliztli in aixnamjquijliztli.

A mach oc quijvalmati in imauh in jntepeuh, in ie cactimanj, in ie iooatimanj in ie inencauhian quij-muchivilia totecujo: a mach oc oallamat in ie cen-quavitl, in ie cemjxtlaoatl mantiuh in tlatquijtl, in tlamamalli: auh in aoc nane, in aoc tate in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, auh in aoc ixe, in aoc nacace, in aoc iollo in atl, in tepetl: in ma iuh nontitica, in amo naoati, in amo tlatoa in ma iuhquj quechcotona-tica.

A ca iz onjcatiuh in tlacatl in tlatoanj, in tlacate-cutli in N. in oc uel achic, in oachitzinca ontlatlaneuh in altepetl: in oquijmotlanevi in atl in tepetl, in oquijtemjc, in oquijcochitleuh: ca oqujoalmonochili, ca oqujoalmotzatzilili in tlacatl, in totecujo: ca oconmotoptemjli, ca oconmopetlacaltemjli in tloque in naoaque. A ca oqujmomma, ca oqujmontocac: auh ca ointech onacic in jachcocolvan, in jtechiuhcaoan:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "la carga del regimiento...."

2. *Ibid.*: "porque le llamo nuestro señor, para ponerle, en el recogimiento de los otros defuncos, sus antepasados, que estan como en arca, o en cofre guardados...."

grandfathers, his progenitors; for he hath followed, he hath arrived by our mother, our father, Mictlan tecutli.

"So, wherever one hath gone, will he yet return? It is all. It is so. He hath left forever. It was once and for all. Definitively he disposeth of the city. No more will he come to emerge, to appear for a while. Forever he hath gone to his retreat. And the torch, the light, hath gone, hath disappeared, is extinguished. Already the city of our lord lieth abandoned, lieth darkened. And somehow the governed, whom he left behind as he departed, will be destroyed, will be lost.

"He departed, leaving them there; he departed, placing the bundle, the carrying frame, the governed. Peacefully, quietly, he abandoned the city. Peacefully, quietly, he concluded his work upon the reed mat, upon the reed seat. Gently he came arranging things, ordering things, for him by whom we live. And certainly he came consuming his spirit; certainly he put forth all his effort for the city; he came growing ill before our lord. He did not come inserting his hands, his feet under [his cape].<sup>3</sup>

"And now, O lord, O our lord: our lord of the near, of the nigh, causeth the sun to shine, bringeth the dawn. It is thou: he pointeth the finger at thee; he indicateth thee. Our lord hath recorded thee, indicated thee, marked thee, entered thee in the books. Now verily it was declared, it was determined above us, in the heavens, in the land of the dead, that our lord place thee on the reed mat, on the reed seat, on his place of honor. The spine, the maguey<sup>4</sup> of thy progenitors, of thy great-grandfathers — which they planted deep as they departed, which they planted, which they placed in the earth as they departed — sprouteth, flowereth.

"Yet it is thou: thou wilt take over the burden, thou wilt take the bundle, thou wilt carry the carrying frame for thy progenitors, the lords, the rulers who departed bequeathing it to thee. Thou wilt take the place of those who have gone to remain beyond. Thou art to devote thyself to the great bundle, the great carrying frame, the governed. On thy back, on thy lap, in thy arms our lord placeth the governed,

a ca ocontocac, ca oitech onacic in tonan, in tota in mjctlan tecutli:

in maca çan cana viloaia mach oc oalmocuepaz; ca ie ixquijch ca ie iuhquj ca ocen onquijz, ca oce-  
maian catca, ca centlamjc qujmati in atl in tepetl, ca  
aocmo macujl matlac onquijçaujuh, ommoquetza-  
qujuh, ca ocen motopten mopetlacalten, auh ca oia,  
ca opoliuh, ca oceuh in ocutl, in tlavilli, ca ie cacti-  
manj, ca ie iooatimanj in jatzin, in jtepetzin totecujo;  
auh anca ca quen poluijz anca quen pololoz in tlat-  
qujtl in tlamamalli in oconteputzcauhdeoac;

a ca vncan jn oconcauhdeoac, oconquetzteoac in  
qujmilli in cacaxtli, in tlatconj in tlamamalonj: a ca  
ivian, ca iocuxca in oqujmoltalcauili in atl in tepetl,  
ca ivian ca iocuxca in ooieco in petlapan, in jcpan:  
ca tlamach ocontlatatlalilico, ocontlatetequjlico in  
jpalmemoanj: auh nelli mach in oontlamjco in jhijo,  
nelly mach in oipan oalohonotia in atl in tepetl omo-  
cocoaco in xpantzinco totecujo: amo yma amo yicxi  
oitlan cahaqujco.

Auh in axcan tlacalte, totecoe, ca tona tlatvi qu-  
chioa in totecujo in tloque naoaque: a ca tehoatl  
mjtzmapilhvia, mitzmachiotia: ca omjtzicujlo, ca  
omjtzmachioti, ca omjtztlilanj, ca omjtztlapalaquj in  
totecujo: a ca nelle axcan ca oitoloc, ca oiocoialoc in  
topan in jlamic, in mjctlan: mjtzmotlalilia in tote-  
cujo in petlapa, in jcpan in jmavizic, xotla,  
cueponj in jnvitz, in jmjeuh in motechiuhaon, in  
machcocoloan, in vecatlan contlazteoaque, in qujto-  
catiaque in qujtlalaqujteoaque.

A ca oc tehoatl toneticiviz, ca oc tehoatl tiqujnq-  
mjlpatlaz, tiqujnccacaxceviz in motechiuhaon in  
tetecutin in tlatoque in mjtzmocaviliteoaque, in  
jntechpa timoqujxti, in ie nachca ommantiuj: tehoatl  
itlan tonaquj in vei qujmilli, in vei cacaxtli, in tlat-  
conj, in tlamamalonj: tê mocujtlapan, tê mocue-  
xanco, tê momamaloazco qujtlalia in totecujo, in

3. *Ibid.*: "no ascondio sus manos, ni sus pies, debajo de su manta con pereza, sino que con toda diligencia trabajó por el bien de su reino."

4. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "brotado a la raíz de vuestros antepasados, que poseían muy profunda y plantaron de muchos años atrás." Cf. also Chap. 9, n. 3.

the vassals, the common folk, the capricious, the peevish.<sup>5</sup>

"For yet a while thou wilt fondle them as children; thou wilt rock the cradle. Thou art yet to place the city upon thy thigh, in thy embrace. Thou wilt yet for a while continue to fondle it, to dandle it."<sup>6</sup>

"O master, O our lord, O precious person, it hath been said above us, in the land of the dead. The word hath been said; it hath been determined. It is thou. Upon thee it hath fallen. Upon thee hath gone the spirit, the word of our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh; he hath pointed his finger at thee. Verily, wilt thou hide thyself? Wilt thou take refuge? Wilt thou be absent? Wilt thou flee? And wilt thou already steel thyself?

"What dost thou think of our lord? And what dost thou think of the people? What dost thou think of our lords, the lords, the rulers, the noblemen, and the inhabitants of the city, who had [the inspiration of] the lord of the near, of the nigh, those who pointed, those who decreed, those who established, those who elected; those whom our lord made speak, whose jaws he moved? Their decree fell not from man, came not from man; they spoke divinely as they made thee mother, made thee father of the city.

"Now, O master, O our lord, O my nobleman, gird thyself, screw up [thy courage], prepare thyself, put thy shoulder to the bundle, to the carrying frame. May the spirit, the word of our lord be achieved, responded to, given devotion.

"Perhaps thou canst for a time support the governed. And perhaps also for a time, for a day, the city will dream — will see in dreams — that perhaps it will borrow thee. Do not reflect upon thyself; our lord knoweth, seeth, heareth the things within the rocks, within the wood. He will know thy secrets. Soon he will dispose something upon thee, for, in truth, he acteth of his own volition; he mocketh. Thou wilt become as smut, and he will send thee into the vegetation, into the forest. And he will cast thee, push thee, as is said, into the excrement, into the refuse. And also something evil, filthy, will come upon thee. And also some filth, vice, contention, discord will develop, will move upon thee.

5. *Ibid.*: "que son muy antojadizos, y muy enojadizos."

6. In the corresponding Spanish text this paragraph reads: "vos señor por algunos años, los aueys de sustentar, y regalar como a niños, que estan en la cuna, los aueys de poner, en vuestro regazo, y en vuestros braços, a la gente popular: vos los aueys de halagar, y hazerles el son pa que duerman, el tño que viñerdes en este mundo."

latqujtl in tlamamalli, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in maceoalli in monenequijnj, in moçomanj:

oc cuel achica, oc cuel tehoatl tonpilaviltiz toncoçulvivixoz: oc tehoatl mometzpan, momacochco tocontlatlalitez in atl, in tepetl: oc tê cuel achica, achica toconaviltiz, tocontlavivitequjlijz.

Tlacatle totecoe, tlaçotitlacatle: ca omjto in topan in mjctlan, ca oitoloc ca omoquapano in tlatolli: a ca tehoatl. otê omopan vetz, ca otê mopä ia in jhijo in jlatol in totecujo in tloque, in naoaque, ca otê mjtzmapilvi cujx nel timotlatiz, cujx timjnaiaz, cujx canapa toiaz, cujx teixpampa teoaz? auh cujx no ie te timocujliz?

ac ticmati in totecujo, auh ac titemati, ac tiquimmati in totecujoan in tetecutin, in tlatoque in pipilti: auh in aoaque in tepeoaque, in tloqueque naoaqueque in otlamapilvique, in otlatoque, in otlatlalique, in otlapepenque: in oqujntlatolti, in oqujncamachalolti in totecujo, in aotlacavetz in aotlacaqujz in inten, in jntlatol in oteutlatoque: injc tehoatl omjtzantique mjtzatique in atl, in tepetl.

A naxcan tlacatle totecoe nopiltzintzine, ma aco ximolpi, ma aco ximotetzilo, ma ximuchichioa ma itlan xaquj in qujmjlli, in cacaxtli: ma tlaiciecavi ma cuepi, ma popovi in jhijo in jlatol in totecujo,

aço vel achi tictoctiz in latqujtl in tlamamalli: auh aço no achica cemjlvitl temjqujz, cochitleoaz, aço mjtzmotlaneviz in atl in tepetl. Ma ie mjtic titlato tetl itic, quavitl itic tlamatli, tlachia tlacaquj in totecujo: mjtztlamachiliz çä cuel itla mopan quojalmonequjltiz, ca nel moiocoia, ca moquequelova tonpopoitiz: auh mjtzonmjoaliz in qujltitlan, in quauhititlan: auh mjtzonmotlaxiliz, mjtzmotopeviliz in mjtoa in cujlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan: auh no ce yta teuhtli tlaçulli mopan oallaz: auh no ce mopan ioliz, mopan olinjz, itla teuhtli tlaçulli in tlaçuliaotl, in tlatoliaotl:

"In thy time there will be disunity, quarreling in thy city. No more wilt thou be esteemed; no more wilt thou be regarded. Also war will move upon thee; thou wilt be detested. And also famine, hunger, will spread over thee. How will it be when in thy time the governed will scatter? And also there will come—our lord will send—his great castigation, sickness; sickness will come appearing in thy time. How will it be when the city will become, will be made his place of desolation? How will it be when it lieth already darkened, already his place of desolation?

"And also, then, soon thou wilt hurry to thy death, at this very place, at this very time. And soon it is all for thee; the lord of the near, of the nigh, will destroy thee, will hide thee, will trample thee underfoot.

"And also the eagle warrior, the ocelot warrior go making a din in the midst of the desert, on the battlefield. There is gladdened, and there drinketh and eateth, the sun, the lord of the earth. Considerable, endless is the castigation, the punishment, of our lord—his time of stoning one, his time of beating one.<sup>7</sup>

"And this, O master, O ruler, O our lord, O my nobleman: put forth all thy effort, give all, put forth all thy spirit. Sigh; be sad; call out in sadness to our lord, to the lord of the near, of the nigh. He is not perchance seen as a man, for he is the night, the wind. Submit thyself to him; weep, sigh. And may there be peace, calm, on the reed mat, on the reed seat, on the place of honor of the lord of the near, of the nigh. Receive, speak to those who come in anguish, and those who come meeting their fate. Be not a fool. May thou not speak hurriedly, may thou not interrupt, may thou not confound. Take yet, grasp yet, arrive yet at the truth, for, it is said and it is true, thou art the replacement, thou art the image of the lord of the near, of the nigh. Thou art the backrest, thou art the flute; he speaketh within thee; he maketh thee his lips, he maketh thee his jaw, he maketh thee his ears.

"And again take thou note: also cause not embarrassment, for our lord hath made thee his teeth, hath made thee his fingernails; for thou art like the destroyer, thou art the destroyer, thou art the judge.

mopan neahanotoz, nequaqualotoz in jpan manuh motepeuh: aoc tonpoviz, aoc tle ipan tittoz. Noce mjtl, chimalli mopan olinjz ticocoliloz: auh noce maianaliztli apiztli mopan momanaz: quen nenti in omopan xitin tlatqujtl, tlamamalli: auh noce ojalaz, quoalmjoaliz in vei quauh, in jueiteuh totecujo, in cocoliztli: cocoliztli mopan momanaqujuh, quen nenti in oinencauhian muchiuhtiqujz in atl in tepetl: quenmach nenti in ie iooatimanj, quen nenti in ie inencauhian.

Auh noce njman ie çan cuel ticmjciviliz in momjqujz: çan vncan, y, çan inman, y: auh çan cuel tixqujch mjtzonmopolviz, motzonmotlatiliz mjtzonmocxipachilviz in tloque naoaque.

Auh noce onxaxamacatiuh in quauhtli in ocelutl in jxtlaoatl itic, in teuatenpan in tlachinoltenpan in vncan aviltilo: auh in vncan atli, tlaqua in tonatiuh, in tlaltecutli: ca ixachi ca acan tlanquj in jalcececauh in jtzitzicaz in jquauh in jteuh totecujo in jtemotlaia, in jteviteequja.

Auh injn tlacatle tlatoanje, totecoe nopiltzintzine: ma ixqujch motlapaltzin xicmuchivili, ma ixqujch xicmanjli: auh ma ixqujch mjhiiotzin xicmuchivili, ma oc xonelcicivi, ma oc xontlaocuia, ma oc xoconmotlaoculnonochili in totecujo, in tloque in naoaque: a cujx tlacaitto ca iooalli, ca ehecatl, ma oc itlan xonmocalaquj, ma oc xonchoca, ma oc xonelcicivi: auh ma oc ivian ma oc iocuxca in ipetlapan in jcpalpan in jmaviziocan in tloque naoaque; ma xoconana, ma xoconnotza in jxaiotzin quijmatentivitz, auh in jtonal quijcujcujtivitz, macamo xonjxtomava. Ma ticiuhcatlato, ma ticcujtiuetz in tlatolli, ma ne tictlacomotla, oc xiccu, oc xicana, oc inellocu xaci, ca mjtoa, auh ca ie nelli ca tiujuji, ca tipatilloti in tloque naoaque, ca tinetlaxonjuh, ca titlatlapitzal ca mjtic tlatoa, ca mjtzmotentia ca mjtzmocamachaltia, ca mjtzmonacaztia.

Auh ma nocuele titlaixitta, ma no ie titlauhchiuh, ca mjtzmotlantia, ca mjtzmoztitla in totecujo: ca titequanjuh ca titequacauh, ca titlatzonteccauh: ma qualan in aqujn, ma moxicon aqujn: cujx timotla-

7. Ibid.: o por uentura supitamente embiare sobre ti, exercitos de enemigos, de haxia, los yermos, o de haxia la mar, o de haxia las quemas, y despoblados donde se suelen exercitar las guerras, donde se suelen [sic] derramar la sangre, que es beuer del sol, y de la tierra, porque muchas y infinitas, maneras, tiene dios de castigar a los que le desobedecen."

May whosoever hath become angered be angered.  
Wilt thou perhaps act as a man? For it is thy charge.  
Will our lord perhaps speak as a man? For already  
he acknowledgeth thee.<sup>8</sup>

"Let this be: [not] reckless on the reed mat, the  
reed seat; [not] panting, [not] gasping for breath,  
even if thou wilt say: 'I am ruler; scatter the people,  
run over them, and steal from them, ruin them.'

"And may thou [not] be quarrelsome; may thou  
[not] therefore be brazen; may thou [not] offend  
the governed. May thou yet turn to thyself, examine  
thy conscience; may thou yet say: 'Whence was I  
sent? Whence was I taken? And where I am, where  
I live, may it not be my desert, my merit? I [only]  
dream of our lord's honors; I see them in dreams.'

"And [do not] be asleep, lie reclining, lie in pleasure;  
nor sleep, gorge, be a glutton; nor give thyself  
excessively to sleep. May thy possessions not go, not  
wrongly result from the sweat, the fatigue, the labor  
of the common folk. [Do not] distend thyself; [do not]  
fatten [thyself]; [do not] become drunk therefrom.  
And may perversion not come upon, [not]  
transform the sweetness, the fragrance of the lord  
of the near, of the nigh — his tenderness, his fresh-  
ness, his heat, his warmth.<sup>9</sup> Thereby thou causest  
offense.

"O my son, O our lord, O ruler, O my grandson:  
our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, is made to  
laugh. He is arbitrary, he is capricious, he mocketh.  
He willeth in the manner he desireth. He is placing  
us in the palm of his hand; he is making us round.  
We roll; we become as pellets. He is casting us from  
side to side. We make him laugh; he is making a  
mockery of us.

"Be especially welcomed. Pay special attention.  
Perhaps it is our desert, our merit, that we dream,  
that we see [only] in dreams that which our lord  
placeth upon thee, wisheth upon thee — fame,

8. *Ibid.*: "nuestro señor dios, no a de hacer estas cosas, porque en vña mano, las a deixado."

9. The corresponding Spanish text, which is unvaryingly in the negative or vetative, probably merits quoting at length: "Mirad señor, que en los estrados, y en los tronos de los señores, y jueces, no a de auer arrebatajeto, o precipitamiento de obras, o de palabras, ni si [sic] a de hacer alguna cosa con enojo: mirad que nos passe por pensamiento, decir: y yo soy señor, y yo hare lo que quisiere: que esto es ocasión de destruir, y atropellar, y desbaratar todo vuestro valor, y toda vuestra estimación, y grauedad, y magestad: mira que la dignidad, que teneys el poder, que se os a dado sobre vuestro reyno, o señorío, no os sea ocasión de ensoberueceros, y altueceros, mas átes os conviene muchas veces acordaros, de lo que fuystes atras, y de la vaxez [sic] de donde fuestes, tomado para la dignidad, en que estays puesto, sin auerlo merecido; deueys muchas veces decir, en vuestro pensamiento, quien fue [sic] yo? y quien soy agora? que nunca yo mereci, ser puesto en el lugar tan honrroso, y tan eminente, como estoy por mandado de nuestro señor dios, que mas parece cosa de sueño, que no verdad: mira señor que no durmays a sueño suelto, mirad que no os descudeys con deleites, y placeres corporales, mirad que no os deys a comeres, y beueres demasiados: mirad señor que no gasteys, con profanidad los sudores, y trabajos de vños basallos, en engordaros, y enborracharos: mirad señor que la merced, y regalo que nro señor, os haze en hazeros rey, y señor, no la conuertays en cosas de profanidad, y locura, y enemistades."

caioqua, ca monaoatil: cuix tlacatlatoz in totecujo,  
ca ie tehoatl ticmati.

Manoço cuel iehoatl ma xonjxtotomaoatie in petlap-  
pan icpalpan, ma xonjcicatie, ma xonneneciuhtie  
manel ie tiquijoz ca njtlatoanj ma xontexaxamatza,  
ma tepā xonmotlalo: auh ma xontlatlacujiuetzi, ma  
xontlacecenmana:

auh ma xonmamaçulti, ma ic xaquetza, ma mjxco  
ma mocpac xicmana in tlatconj in tlamamalonj, ma  
oc tonmocuep, ma oc tonmocxitoca ma oc tiquijo:  
in canjn onjoaleoac, in can onanoto: auh in canjn ie  
njca, in canjn ie njnemj, intlaca mach ha nolvil, in  
mach ha nomaceoal, in njctemjquj, in njccochitleoa  
in jmavizio in totecujo:

auh xicochto xivetzto, xipacto, ma xicochi, xipa-  
chivi xixvi ma mellelaci in cochiztli: ma motlaiauh,  
ma motlaaaquj in jitonal, in jiciaviz, in jtlapaliviz in  
maceoalli, xicmoxiuhioti, xicmonacaioti, ye xivinti:  
auh ma mjxitl, ma tlapatl muchioa mocuepa in  
jtzopelica in javiaca in tloque naoaque, in jtzmol-  
linea in jclica in jtonca in jiamanca: ic teixco  
xoninemj.

Hvi nopiltze, totecoe tlatoanje, noxviuhtze: ca  
oallaeuetzqujtilo in totecujo, in tloque naoaque, ca  
moiocoia ca monenequj, ca moquequeloa: in quenjn  
connequjz, ca iuh connequjz, ca imacpaliolloco tech-  
tlatalitica, techmomjmjlvitica timjmjloa, titetelolooa  
avic techtlaztica, tictlavevetzqujzia, toca vetcaticia.

Tla oc cenca moiolicatzin, tla oc cenca tle ticmo-  
machitia acaço tolhvil acaço tomaceoal, in tictemjquj,  
in ticochitleoa in motech qujtlalia, in motech quj-  
nequj totecujo, in tleiotl in maviziotl, in acacaoa in

honor; that he leaveth not that which he hath cherished; perhaps it is separated from thee; perhaps he seeketh a replacement for thee.<sup>10</sup>

"Is the god perhaps suffering for friends? Is it perhaps thou alone? Perhaps it is only thou? How many are his friends? How many are his acquaintances? How many can call to him? How many can cry out to him? How many are weepers? How many are sorrowers? How many are sighers? There exist the well-born ones, the prudent, the accomplished, the honored; our lord is called to, is cried out to.

"Perhaps just for a little while thou dreamest, thou seest in dreams. Perhaps he just passeth his glory, his honor before thy face. And perhaps he just causeth thee to smell — perhaps he just passeth before thy lips — his freshness, his tenderness, his sweetness, his fragrance, his heat, his warmth, which come from him, the wealth of him by whom we live.

"May thou have peace. Do thy bowing, thy nodding of the head. Thou art to be in thy weeping, thy sorrowing. Weep, sigh, be devout for the little time, as our lord desireth it of thee. In what manner wilt thou pass, continue the night, the day, all the day? Let there be peace on the reed mat, on the reed seat. Thou art to pray for one, to caress one. Cause no one to weep, cause no one sadness, cause no one to cry out. Injure no one. Do not manifest thy fury, thy anger; do not address anyone in fury; do not frighten, do not scandalize. Again do not speak in vanity, in ridicule;<sup>11</sup> [do not] ridicule; for vain words, mockery are no longer thy office.

"Although the common folk have gladdened thee, and although thy younger brother, thy older brother have put their trust in thee, now thou art deified. Although thou art human, as are we, although thou art our friend, although thou art our son, our younger brother, our older brother, no more art thou human, as are we; we do not look to thee as human. Already thou representest, thou replacest one. Thou callest out to, thou speakest in a strange tongue to the god, the lord of the near, of the nigh. And within thee he calleth out to thee; he is within thee; he speaketh forth from thy mouth. Thou art his lips, thou art his jaw, thou art his tongue, thou art

jpan molpilitoc: aço moça tlaxeloa, aço moça tlaxeloa,

cujx mocnuhtolinja in teutl: cujx mocel, cujx tio: quexquich icnjuh, quexquich itlaiximach, quexquich vel qujnotza, quexquich vel qujtzatzilia, quexquich chocanj, quexquich tlaocuanj, quexquich elcicinj: ca onovac in tepilhoan, in vel ixeque, in naaceque: auh in oqujzque in opanvetzque, ca notzalotoc, ca tzatzililotoc in totecujo:

aço çan achica toncemjquj toncochitleoa, aço çan mjxtlan conquixtia in jtleio yn jmavizio: auh aço çan mjtzonjnecujtia, aço çan motentlan conquixtia in ijtzmolinca in jcelica, in jtzopelica in javiaca, in jtotonca in jiamaanca in jtechcopa vitz in jnecujtolol ipalnemoanj.

O te tictmacatzintli, ma oc motolol, ma oc momal-coch xoconchioa, ma oc mochoquijz, ma oc motlaocul ipan xonie, ma oc xonchoca, ma oc xonelcicivi, ma oc ie xontlateumati, in quen macujl, in quen matlac in quen mjtznequjlia in totecujo. Quen tictlaçaz, quen ticqujxtiz in iooalli in tlacatli, in cemilhvitl: manoçoc ivian in petapan icpalpan, ma xontetl-tlaughtitie, ma xontepepepetlatie: ma aca ticchocti, ma aca tictlaoculti, ma aca tictzatziti: auh ma aca ica timoquavitec: auh ma ticnexti in motlavel, in moqualan, ma aca tictlavelnotz, titlamauhitiz, titlaiçaviz: Ma no cuele taavillato, ma ticacamanalo xictli tictlaliz, ca aocmo motequjuh in ahavillatolli, in çan camanallotl:

Maço iehoa, momjtzmavilti in maceoalli: auh maço mjtztlacaavilo in mjccauh, in machcauh: yn axcan ca otiteut, maço titotlacapo, maço titocnjuh, maço titopiltzin, manoço titiccauh titachcauh ca aocmo titotlacapo ca amo timjtztlacaitta, ca ie titeviviti, ca titepatilloti, ca ticnotza, ca ticpopolotza in teutl in tloque, naoaque: auh ca mjtic mjtznotza, ca mjtic, ca mocamacpa oallatoa, ca tiiten ca tiicamachal, ca tiinenepil, ca tiix ca tiinacaz, ca omjtztlamacac, ca omjtzmavizioti ca omocoatlan, ca mozti omjtztlatlalili.

10. *Ibid.*: "por uñtura os quijere probar, y hacer experiencia, de qujen soy, y si no hizierdes el deuer, pondra a otro en esta dignidad..."

11. *xictli*: see ayac *xictli* in *tlaltecpac*, in Chap. 41.

his eyes, thou art his ears. He hath given thee gifts, he hath given thee honor, he hath provided thee thy fangs, thy claws.

"Do not still enjoy thyself even as thou didst mockery there whence thou camest. Make thy heart that of an old man. And glorify, make stern thy mind, thy heart, thy way of life. Esteem thyself, glorify thyself, become stern. Make [thy heart] that of an old man, make it resemble that of an old man, cast it as that of an old man. And make holy thy utterances, thy words. Thou art distinct, venerable, strict, stern, honored, famous; and precious, esteemed, a precious person worthy of being cherished, worthy of being loved, one known as the youngest. Do not of thy own volition, personally lessen thyself, diminish thyself. Do not bring scorn upon the realm, and the rulership, the government.

"And yet grasp, heed, O my grandson, O precious person, O our lord: on earth all live, all go along a mountain peak. Over there is an abyss; over here is an abyss. Nowhere is it possible; to the left, to the right is the abyss. Do not become as a wild beast: do not completely bare thy teeth, thy claws. Do not become completely enraged; do not spread fear, become thorny, become spiny. Retract thy teeth, thy claws. Gladden, gather, unite, humor, please thy noblemen, thy rulers. And make the city happy. Arrange each one in his [proper] place; establish thy nature, thy way of life.<sup>12</sup>

"Agitate, attend to the *auillotl*, the drum, the gourd rattle. There warfare is motivated, recalled, cast, bored with the fire drill. Gladden, entertain the city dwellers. Thereby thou wilt gain renown, thou wilt be esteemed, when our lord hath inclined, hath softened his heart, when he hath hidden thee, and therefore the old men, the old women will weep; therefore they will sigh.

"Be blessed, O master, O ruler, O my son, O our lord, O precious person. It is as if somewhere there were a ford. Go yet testing with thy feet, for the reed mat, the reed seat, his place of honor, is not in a good place, not in a favorable place. And it is slick, slippery on earth. No one is escaping. The snare, the pit, the cords, the straw, the sharp straws lie placed one above another, joined one to another.

"Let not the exclamations have ended, O our lord! Let not thy sighing have ended. Do not find pleasure

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "y tambien te conviene señor de regocijar, y alegrar a la gente popular, segun la calidad, y condicion de la diversidad, y grados, que ay en la republica, conforme con las condiciones de cada grado, y parcialidad de la gente popular...."

Maca oc iuh ximotlamachi, in vmpa otioalla in ticahavillacanequj: in moiollo xicvevetlali, auh xicteioti, xictequaioti in mix, in moiollo in monemjliz: ximixtili, ximotleioti ximotequaioti, xicvevetlali xicvevequjxti xicvevetlaça: auh xicteutlali in moten in motlatol. Ach ca ie tacentlamantli, ie tixtilli, ie timacaxtli; titequanjuh, timavizio, titleio: auh titlaçotli timaviztic, titlaçotitlacatl, tipialonj, timalhvilonj, tixocoiomachonj. Ma monevia ma mjaxcoian timopatili, timocevi, ma xictli tictlali in petlapan, in jcpalpan: auh in tecuiopan in tlatocaiopan.

Auh oc xicmocujli oc xicmocaqujti noxujuhtzine tlaçotitlacatzintle totecoe, tlachichiqujlcō ū nemoa in viloa tlalticpac, njpa tlanj, njpa tlanj: acampa veli in tlaopuchco, in tlaitzcac centlanj. Ma ne iuhqujn titequanj timuchiuh: ma çan cen ticqujqujxtie, in motlan, in mozti: ma çan cen timopipitztie, titlacēmanaz, titlamauhitz, tâoao, tivitzio timuchioaz: xiccacalaquj in motlan, in mozti: xiqujmaavili, xiqujnnechico, xiqujncepano, xiqujnquéqueuelo, xiqujncoconavi in mopilloan, in motlatocaioa: auh xiquellelqujxti in atl, in tepetl, xictlatlamantili yieieia xictlali in moieliz in monemjliz:

xicolinj xiciocoia in avillotl, in vevetl, in aiacachtl: in vncan moiocoia, in vncan molnamjquj, in vncan mopitzza, momamali in teuatl in tlachinolli: xiqujmahavili, xiqujncecelti in aoaque tepeoaque? ic tonjtoloz, ic tonteneoaloz in otlacauhquj, in otlaoctux yiolotzin totecujo in omjtzonmotlatili: auh ic onchocaz, ic onelciciviz in veve in jlama.

Tle ticmatcatzintli tlacatle, tlatoanje nopiltzin-tzine totecoe tlaçotitlacatle: in maca çan cana panoaia, ma oc xonmocxiiecotzinotiu, ca amo ivian ieccan, ca amo yvian qualcan in petlapan in jcpalpan in jmaviziocan: auh in tlalticpac ca tlaalaoa, ca tlapetzcavi: ca aiac onqujzca, ca moquatoc, ca nenepanjuhtoc in tzoaztli, in tlaxapuchtli in xomecatl in çacaqualli in çacamjtl:

Ma oc ontanto yn jioiave, in totecoe, ma oc ontalmj in melciciviliz. Maca xoconvelicachioa, maca

in, do not take gladly to sleep. And truly, how much good will there be in woman? For she is death, she is sickness. Go tossing, go thinking, go dreaming of thy charge.<sup>13</sup>

"And the sustenance of our lord which hath given us bones, which hath given us flesh, strength: do not devote it to thyself only, for truly it is said, uneasy is the rulership, the government. And hence it is being said, uneasy are drink and food.<sup>14</sup>

"Thou wilt not find pleasure on the reed mat, on the reed seat. Thou wilt not be content, happy. Thou wilt only suffer torment, pain. Thou wilt do penance.

"Be blessed, O precious person, O our lord. May I not have harmed thy heart; may I not have aroused thy fury, thy anger. May I not have brought out thy claws, thy fangs. I thus only slip, falter, stumble before thee. And so before our lord, the night, the wind, I go astray, I go amiss, I jump the ridges.<sup>15</sup> He is here; he heareth us. He heareth, he taketh the word or two, the errors I bring forth; the errors, the stuttering, the stammering; the unordered, the unsettled which I raise up, set in place, repeat.

"However, thereby the motherhood, the fatherhood is satisfied, is complied with. And furthermore, in like manner, this is all with which I pray to the master, our lord. He taketh it, he heareth it. I give it to him, I offer it to him in his presence. O master, O our lord, O ruler, perform thy office, do thy work."

This one who spoke, who thus brought forth the words, was perhaps a great priest, perhaps a Quetzalcoatl — perhaps the one called Totec Tlamacazqui or else Tlaloc [Tlamacazqui]. Perhaps it was some great nobleman, or a real ruler, or just the proxy of some great ruler. Verily he spoke in behalf of one; he spoke without timidity. Or perhaps it was some great lord, or some wise person, or a counselor, one having wisdom, who did not hesitate as he spoke, who struck nothing out, and who spoke in the manner his heart required.

And truly such was necessary, for it was said, when we replaced one, when we selected someone, when

13. *Ibid.*: "convieneos dar buecos en la cama, aueys de estar, en la cama pensando en las cosas de vuestro oficio, y en dormir sonado [sic] las cosas de vno cargo."

14. *Ibid.*: "y por esto se dice q los reyes, y señores, comen pan de dolor...."

15. *njlacueiacxolhvia*: the corresponding Spanish text has "yendo a saltos de rana"; see Chap. 1, n. 6. Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 26r, *Cuecrolhia* [sic], defines *tlacueicxolhui* as "saltar arroyo, charco, acequia o cosa semejante."

xoconpaccachioa in cochiztli: auh in nel cucitl vipilli tle iez, quexquich qualiztli ca mjqujztli, ca cocoliztli, ma xonmocujcujtivetzto, ma xoconmamatato, ma xocontetemjcto in motequjuh.

Auh in jcococauh totecujo, in techomjoti, in tecnacaioti, in chicavacaiutl: ma tocommjxcavi, ca nel ic mjtoa in aivian tecujotl tlatocaiutl: auh ca ic mjtoatica in aivian atl tlaqualli:

camo tipaquijz in petapan, in jcpalpan camo taviaz, ca amo tivellamatiz: ca çan titoneoaz, tichi-chinacaz, ca titlamaceoaz.

Tle ticmatatzintli tlaçotitlacatle, totecoe ma njqujtlaco in moiollotzin, ma motlaveltzin ma moqualantzin njqueuh: ma moztitzin, ma motlantz in itech njqujz: ca çan ixquijchtzin ic mjxpantzinco njnalaoa, njnotepotlamja, njnotlavitequj: auh ic ixpantzinco njtlacoloa njtlaviltequj, njtlacueiacxolhvia in totecujo, in iooalli in checatl: ca njcan ca, ca techmocaujltia, ca qujmocujlia, ca qujmocaujitia in cencamatl, in aiuhcautl in njcqujxtia in aiuhcautl in popolonj in tzatzacuj in aiieian, in atylaliloian in njqueoa, in njctlalia, in njqujtoa.

Iece ic popovi, ic ixtlavi in naiotl, in taitotl: auh iece iuhcatzintli, iece ixquijchtzin: ic njctlatlauhtia in tlacatl, in totecujo: ca qujmocujlia, ca qujmocaujitia, ca iechoatzin njcnomaqujlia, ic ixpantzinco njtlavenchiosa: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili tlacatle, totecoe, tlatoanje.

Injn tlatoa, in juhquj qujqujxtia, in tlatolli: iechoatl in aço vei tlamacazquj, in aço quetzalcovatl, in aço iechoatl mjtoa totec tlamacazquj, anoço tlaloc: anoço aca vei pilli, anoço vel nelli tlatoanj, anoço ç aca vei tlatoanj ixiptla. Ca nel tetlatalhvia: amo momamatin tlatoa, anoço aca vei tecutli, anoço aca tlamatinj in aço nonotzale matile: amo moquequetza in tlatoa, atle qujtzotzona: auh tlatoa in juh qujnequj ijollo:

auh ca nel iuh monequj, ca mjtoa: iquac ticcaa, in jquac aca tiquiana, iquac mjquj, ca ie totecujo, ca

he died, he was already our lord, our executioner, and our enemy. Therefore the discourse with which he was greeted, with which he was supplicated, was most complete. And [the orator] spoke carefully when he made the greeting, [when he] said it. And he spoke with weeping.

totequacauh: auh ie toiaouh, ipampa in nelli mach  
ontlatlatlamj tlatolli, injc tlapalolo, injc tlatauhtilo.  
Auh in çan mocxiiecotiuh tlatoa, in tlatlapaloa quj-  
toa: auh choqujztica in tlatoa.



**Eleventh Chapter.** Here are told the words which another dignitary said when he responded to, when he replied to the one who first prayed, in which he manifested the joy of all the ruler's common people over his being elected, and in which he manifested how they wished that he live a very long life, that he be very illustrious. However, these words are not so admirable as the ones first told.

"O master, O lord, O precious person, O ruler, O noble of lineage, O bracelet, O precious one, O precious green stone, O precious turquoise,<sup>1</sup> do we perhaps dream, do we perhaps see in dreams? Do we perhaps see, [do we] perceive as if crazed that which our lord now formeth over us, bringeth down upon us? Verily now, the lord of the near, of the nigh, causeth the sun to shine, causeth the dawn; a new sun emergeth, appeareth. Over us occurreth, appeareth a miracle, a feast day. Our lord produceth, considereth it a feast day.

"Now thou hast merited, thou hast deserved the city. Our lord, our lord of the near, of the nigh, hath placed thee upon the reed mat, upon the reed seat which thy progenitors, thy great-grandfathers, who have gone beyond to reside, departed leaving.

"The lord of the near, of the nigh, giveth thee as desert, giveth thee as merit the rule, the governing. Your desert, your gift, your property, your possession,<sup>2</sup> is that ye are our lords, ye are precious, ye are bracelets, ye are precious green stones, ye are precious turquoise; ye are that which is cast, ye are that which is perforated.

"Now thou liftest up, thou aggrandizest the rule, the governing. And thou exaltest the peaked cap, the turquoise diadem, the arm band, the band for the calf of the leg, the ear plug, the lip rod, the head band.

"O master, O our lord, the city resteth thirsting, resteth starving. As one lieth crying, saddened, long-

Ic matlactli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa in tlatolli, in qujtoaia oc ce tecutlato: in qujnanqujliaia, in qujcuepiliaia, in achto tlatlatlauhtiaia, ic qujnxtiaia ♀ jnpapaqujiz, in jxquijchtin imaceoalhoan tlatoanj, injc opepenaloc: ioā ic qujnxtiaia in quenjn cenza queleviaia, in ma vecauhtica nemj, in ma vel moteioti: iece injn tlatolli, amo cenza maviçauhquj, in juh achto omjto.

Tlacatle, totecoe, tlaçotitlacatle, tlatoanje tzontle, iztitle, maqujztle, tlaçotle, chalchivitle, teuxivitle: cujx titemjquj, cujx ticochitleoa, cujx nanacatl in tiquitta in ticmati: in axcan in topan qujmoiocolia, in topan qujmotemovilia in totecujo. Ca axcan tona, tlathuj qujmuchivilia in tloque naoaque: oalqujça oalmomana in iancujc tonatiuh: topan momana, topan muchioa in tlamaviçulli, in ilhviçulli: jlhviçulua, ilhvitalamati in totecujo.

A ca in axcan, tehoatzin timaceoalti, tijcnopilti in atl in tepetl: mjtzmotlalilia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque in petlapán in jcpalpan: in concauhteoaque in motechiuhcaoan, in machcocoltitzoia, in ie nachca ommantivi.

A tehoatzin mjtzilhviltia, mjtzmaceoaltia in tloque, naoaque, in tecujotl in tlatocajtl: in amolhvil, in amonemac, in amaxca, in amotlatquj in antotecujiooa in antlaçoti, in anmaqujzti, in anchalchiuhti, in anteuxiuhti, in anpitzaloque, in anmamalioaque.

Ca axcan tiqujmacocujlia, tiqujnveililia in tecujotl, in tlatocaiatl: auh ticvecapanoa in tetepeiotl, in xivitzolli, in matemecatl, in cotzeoatl, in nacochtli, in tentetl, in tlalpilonj:

Tlacatle, totecoe: ca iehoatl in camjctoc, in qujteciuhtoc in atl, in tepetl: ca ynan, ca jta qujnequj,

1. Cf. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson: *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," Monographs of The School of American Research, No. 14 (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1961), pp. 19-22.

2. The Nahuatl changes from singular to plural. The words, however, are directed to the ruler.

ing for his mother, for his father, so the governed desire to be ruled. Now perhaps it will be our desert, perhaps it will be our merit that perchance for a little while, for a day the city will look into thy face; that it borroweth thee. And perhaps due to, perhaps because of the errors of the city, perchance in a brief time we shall be orphaned; perhaps soon our lord will summon thee, will call out for thee. Thou wilt follow thy mother, thy father, Mictlan tecutli. Or perhaps thou wilt go there — thou wilt know the center, the midst of the desert, of the battlefield. Perhaps thou wilt provide drink, thou wilt provide food for those above us. Perhaps thou wilt follow thy mother, thy father, the sun, the lord of the earth.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps thou wilt arrive by the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, the brave warriors who gladden, who cry out to the sun, the valiant warrior, the ascending eagle. [The sun] rejoiceth, is gladdened, is content; it taketh great pleasure in the sipping [of blood].<sup>4</sup> How much doth our lord decree? May we yet trust in him.

"May thou perform thy office, may thou do thy work. Be diligent with that which is heavy, the burden, the unconfutable, the insupportable. And extend thy wings, thy tail feathers. May thy common folk, those whom thou governest, enter into thee. May they enter into thy shade, into thy shadow, for our lord hath made thee to be the great, the circular [shade], the silk cotton tree, the cypress. May the governed be rich, be prosperous."<sup>5</sup>

"This is the little with which I press thy hands, thy feet, entreat thy heart, thy body. Pay heed, O our lord, O ruler, O precious person: perform thy office, do thy work, help the master, our lord, and be diligent for thy city."

This one spoke standing. He removed his sandals; he placed the knot of his cape on his shoulder. And the ruler arose or squatted; he placed himself straight forward. It was said he looked nowhere; it was said the eyes were shooting straight. He sat even as

ca chocatoc, ca tlaocuxtoc, ca mopachollanj in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli: in axcan, aço tolhviltiz, aço tomaceoaltiz: aço achica, aço cemjlvitl mijxco, mocpac tlachiaz in atl, in tepetl, mijtzmotlanevitzinot. Auh anoço ica, aço ipāpa, yn jtlatlacul in atl, in tepetl: aço çan cuel ticnopiltizque: at çan axcampá, at noço çan cuel mijtzalmonochiliz, mijtzalmotzatziliz in totecujo, tocontocaz in monan, in mota in mijctlan tecutli: at no ce vnpa toiaz, at tontlamatiz in jxtlaoatl ijtic: in jxtlaoatl inepantla, in teuatenpan, in tlachinoltenpan, at titeatlitiz, at titetlaqualtiz in topan: at tocontocaz in monan, in mota in tonatiuh in tlattecutli: at intech tonaciz in quauhtin, in ocelo in tiacaoan, in caviltia, in coiovia in tonatiuh, in tia-cauh in quauhtleojntl, in paquj in avija, in vellamat in motlamachtia, in tlachichina: quexquijchtzin in quijmjalvi totecujo: ma oc tictotemachilican.

A ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ma itlan ximaqujti in etic, in tlamamalli in aixcocoaliztli, in aixnamjqujiztli: auh ma xicçoa in mahaz, in mocujtlapil: ma motlan mocalaquj in momaceoal in motlatquj, in motlamamal. A ma mocalaquj in moceoallotitlan, in mecauhiotitlan: ca tivei timala-ajo, tipochutl, tavevetl mijtzmuchivilia in totecujo: maiecuei ma mocalon, ma motlamachi in tlatqujtl in tlamamalli.

Ca ixquijchtzin ic momatzin, mocxitzin njcpachoa, njctlatlauhtia in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin: te ticmatcatzintli totecoe tlatoanje, tlaçotitlacatle: ma xicmotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ma xicmonanamqujli in tlacatl, in totecujo: auh ma itlan ximaqujli in matzin in motepetzin.

Injn tlatoa, moquetzicac qujcocopina in jcac yiacolpan qujtlalia yn jnetlalpilil: auh in tlatoanj, oalmoquetza, anoço eoatiez, vel motlamelauhcatalia, acanpa tlachia, mjtoa: vel mijxtlamjntica, mjtoa: vel

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "combidareys con vña sangre, y con vuestro cuerpo, a los dioses del cielo, y os yreys para vuestro padre, y pa vuestra madre el sol, y el dios de la tierra . . ."

4. Ibid.: "el qual se contenta mucho, y recibe gran recreacion, en gustar la sangre, destos que como valientes la derramaron . . ."

5. Ibid.: "que todos vuestros subditos, y basallos, sean ricos, y bienaventurados . . ."

a god. Perhaps he responded a little, or he whom [the ruler] placed at his left, whom he provided obsidian sandals, responded for him. If the ruler continued, he said:<sup>6</sup>

moteutlalia: aço achiton ic vallananquijlilia, anoço qujoallananquijlilia in aqujn copuchtia, qujtzcaactia, intla oallatoquijlia tlatoanj. qujtoa.

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6. The reply makes up the bulk of the following chapter; the chapter heading is consequently intrusive, probably inserted in the final editing of the manuscript.



**Twelfth Chapter.** Here is told the manner in which the ruler responded to reply to his noblemen, his dignitaries in order to humble himself and in order to thank them.

"Our lord hath inclined his heart. Verily he hath mistaken me for another. Someone is sought in my place; there already was someone of the sons; for there are the noblemen, the rulers. There are those who call forth well to him, who pray well to him—the weepers, the sorrowers, the sighers. There exist, there live, his very friends, his very acquaintances. Let us yet await the word of the lord. Let us yet provide laughter for him. He will take, he will move his reed mat, his reed seat; he will place it there where there is contentment, where he is well called forth to, prayed to. Already he hath inclined his heart; for here I dream, I see in dreams. May the spirit, the words of the lord of the near, of the nigh, be fulfilled, be complied with. And may the words of those of the city be complied with. What do they see [in me]? It is as if a woman is acquired, perhaps capable of womanly skills; for I am an imbecile, and I cannot bring forth a word or two of discourse. And the truth is now that I have spent my life in excrement, in refuse.

"And perhaps in truth my lifetime is not for [the position] to which our lord inclineth his heart. Already thou hast inclined thy heart, thy body; for here I take, I grasp, the incomparable, the precious; that which is like a precious green stone, that which is like a precious turquoise; the [words of] motherhood, of fatherhood; that which cannot be given, cannot be repeated; that which is bound.<sup>1</sup> May I also live bound by it for a time; and may it become my inspiration, may I make it my staff, my rod. Thou hast blessed thy city. And here thou prayest to our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh. May I consider myself. May I try to be worthy of the word or two thou bringest forth.

Ic matlactli omome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: injc tlalanquijliaia tlatoanj, injc qujnnanquijliaia yipilloan, in jtecutlatocauoa: injc mocnomatia, ioan injc qujn-tlaçocamatia.

Otlacauhquij yiollotzin in totecujo, ca njcan motlanelvilia, aca noca tlatemoa: aca ie onovac in tepilhoan, ca onoque in pipilti, in tlatoque: ca onoque in vel qujnotza, in vel qujtlatlauhtia, in chocanj, in tlaocuianj, in elcicivinj: ca vncas, ca nemj in vel icnjuh, in vel itlaiximach: manoçoc tictotlatolchialican, auh manoçoc tictotlavevetzqujtilican in totecujo: a commocujliz, a commjquanjliz in jpetlatzin, in jcpantzin: a vmpa commotequjiliz, in vmpa vellamati, in vmpa vel notzalo, tlatalauhtilo. O ye tlacauhquij in jiollotzin: ca njcan njtemjquj, njcochitleo: manoço popovi, ma ixtlavi yn jhijotzin in jtlatoltzin, in iehoatl tloque naoaque: auh ma ixtlavi in jntlatol in aoaque, in tepeoaque, tlein qujttia in ma yuh ciatia, cujx vel malacatl, cujx vel tzotzopatzli: Ca anommati in njxco, in nocpac, auh ca avel cententli, cencamatl njcquijxtia, in jhijotl, in tlatolli: auh ca nelle axcan ca cujtlatitlan, ca tlaçultitlan nonemja:

auh at amo nelli nonemja, in vncan tlacaoa yiollotzin totecujo. O ye tlacauhquij in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin: ca njcan njcana, njcan njccuj in anemjuhquj in tlaçotli in chalchiuhctic, in teuxiuhtic: in naiotl in taiotl in atemaconj, in atelhvilonj in nelpilli: manoço ic no njlpitinemjz in macujl, in matlac, auh ma noneellaquaugh muchioaz, notopil, nonetlaquechil njcchiaoaz: oticmocnelili in matzin, in motepetzin: auh ca njcan ticmotlatlauhtilia in totecujo in tloque, naoaque: ma çan ne njnotta, ma njcnolviltoca in cententli, in cencamatl yn ticmoujxtilia.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "que son consejos de padres, y madres, que muy pocas veces se suelen decir, dignas de ser muy guardadas..."

"And thou prayest for those who went guarding for you, those who went performing their office, their work, on the reed mat, on the reed seat — the lords, the rulers who have already gone beyond to reside, those who came to dispose, to order well for our lord, on the reed mat, on the reed seat. Peace be with thee. Be seated; rest thy hands, thy feet."

[The orator] replied; he said to him: "O our lord, O precious person, thou wilt be pained. I shall molest thee. I cause thee to sweat; I trouble thee; I cause thee headaches, stomach pains. May our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, rest thee in peace. And in what possible manner will he determine in a short time?

"Perform thy office; do thy work; for already those above us and in the land of the dead rest watching, and already in all the world all remain looking.<sup>2</sup> First of all, may our lord make known if perhaps thou mayest continue the city. Take heed, O our lord, O ruler, O my son! May we yet place our faith in Teyocoyani, Teimatini, Techichiuani. Take heed, O master, O our lord, O ruler. Perform thy office; do thy work."

And if only he responded whom the ruler placed at his left, provided obsidian sandals, he said:<sup>3</sup>

Auh ca iechoantin tiqujnmotlatlauhtilia in amech-motlapialilitivi, in tlacotitivi, in tequjttiu, in petlapan, in icpalpan, in tetecutin, in tlatoque: in ie nachca-onmantivi, yn ovel quijmotlatlalilico, yn ovel quijmotlatetequjlilico totecujo, in petlapan yn icpalpan. Tle ticmatatzintli, ma tlaltech ximaxiti, ma ximovetziti: ma xicmocevili in momatzin, in mocxitzin. Connanqujlia, qujlvia. Totecoe, tlaçotitlacatle; tímococotzinoz njmjtznnotlaxiliz, njmjtznjtonjlia, njmjtznamanjlia: motzonetecontzin, melchiqujuh-tzin noconeoa. Ma mjtzmotlamatcatlalili in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: auh anca quen macuj, matlac qujmonequjltiz:

ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili: ca ie oalitztoc in topan, auh in mjctlan, auh in cemanaoac: ca ie oallachialotoc. Ma oc ie ie quijmomachitia in totecujo, cujx vel achitzin ticmotoctiliz in atl, in tepetl: ma oc titlatemachican toteco, tlatoanje, noplitzintzine: ma oc tictotemachilican in teiocoianj, in tehimatini, in techichioanj. Tle ticmومachitica-tzintli, tlacatle toteco, tlatoanje: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili.

Auh intla çan qujtlananqujllilia yn aqujn copoch-tia, qujtzactia in tlatoanj. qujtoa.

2. *Ibid.*: "aca en el mundo, os miran todos vros basallos, y tienen puestos sus ojos en vos."

3. See Chap. 11, n. 6.



**Thirteenth Chapter.** Here are told the words with which still another person prayed, with which he replied, when the ruler did not speak. The one who said them was perhaps some great nobleman, or a dignitary, or a kinsman of the ruler, one who had mastered well the words, one who was very wise. Here many courtly utterances are related.

"Be welcomed, for here thou hast brought forth a word or two, the incomparable [words] which your progenitors, those who have gone on to remain beyond, who went having treasured, who went having cherished the motherhood, the fatherhood, the precious, that which was like a precious green stone, like a precious turquoise, like a bracelet.

"Here thou hast given them to the master, the lord, N., the youngest son; to the spine, the thorn, the relic of the lords, the rulers who have gone on to remain beyond. And thou hast prayed to him, encouraged him, animated him. It is as if thou hadst stuffed someone with earth, with straw.

"Our lord [the ruler] can nowhere lose [what thou hast said]. But perhaps our lord [the god] will put him in the smoke, in the mist.<sup>1</sup> The poor one — perhaps he will continue the city for a while. And as for the realm, perhaps for a time, for a day, he will have it as a loan; he will see it in dreams; he will dream of it.

"Now verily, in truth, the rulership is not a peaceful place, a good place, for things slip, things slide. And there remain piled up words of stone, words which are clubs. Those of the city remain grumbling, howling. His cities which remain about, remain menacing.<sup>2</sup>

"And this which thou hast brought forth, the incomparable, the precious — that which can be taken, guarded, remembered: the spirit, the word — perhaps he will cast it away, perhaps destroy it, per-

Ic matlactli omey capitulo, vncan mijtoa in tlacatl: injc tlatlatlauhtia, injc tlacuepaia in oc ce tlacatl: in jquac amo tlatoia tlatoanj: iehoatl qujtoia in aço aca vey pilli anoço tecutlato: anoço yoaniulquj in tlatoanj, in vel qujmatia tlatolli, in vel mijmatinj catca: mijec in vncan moteneoa tecpilatolli.

Tle ticmomachiltia, a ca njcan ticmoqujxtilia, in cententli, in cencamatli in anemjuhquj in a cacauh-tivi, in jpan molpilitivi in amotechiuhcaoan: in ie nachca onmantuij in naiutl, in taiutl, in tlaçotic, in chalchiuhctic in teuxiuhtic, in maqujztic.

A ca njcan ticmomaqujlia in tlacatl in tlacatecutli yn N. in xociotl: in jnvitzio, in jmavaio in jnne-cauhca in tetecutin, in tlatoque in ie nachca onmantivi: auh ca ticmotlatlauhtilia, aco ticmolpilia, aco ticmotetzjlhvia: a manoce iuhquj, aquj tlaltzintli, aquj çacatzintli ipan ticmotemjlia.

A ca acan, vel qujpoloa in totecujo: anoço ie vncan jn, poctlan, yiaiauhtlan qujmuchiviliz in totecujo: motolinjatzintli, aço vel achi qujtoctiz in atl, in tepetl: auh yn petlatl, in jcpanlli: aço achica cemjlvitl qujtlaneviz, qujcochitleoaz, qujtemjqujz.

A ca nelle axcan, ca amo yvian ieccan in petapan, yn jcpanpan: ca tlaalaoa, ca tlapetzcavi: auh ca vncan nepanjuhtoc in tlatoltetli, in tlatalquavil: a ca popolocatoc, ca oiuhtoc in aoa, in tepeoa: ca yjauh ca yteuh ietoc, ca tlaacoleuhtoc.

Auh ynjin, in ticmoqujxtilia in anemjuhquj in tlaçotli, in cujvanj, in pialoni, in neiolotilonj in jhijotl, in tlatolli: aço cana contlaçaz, aço conpoloz, aço conjlcaoaz: auh manoço ic onjlpitinemj, ma ipatiuh

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "y le ponga entre las njeblas, y tinjeblas, de la muerte...."

2. Read: ca y jauh ca ytepeuh. The corresponding Spanish text is thus: "por razan de las palabras duras, de los embidiosos, y de las saetas, o dardos de palabras, que arrojan los ambiciosos, que son asi como bramijos, que vienen de los pueblos, y reynos circunstantes, donde estan muchos amenazando, y amagando con piedras, y dardos de palabras soberujas, y imbibuidas."

haps forget it. But may he go bound to it; may it become his aid when he hath been placed there in the *patolli* game, in the ball game; for the glove, the leather hip-guard, the girdle have been placed on; for yet he is to contend with others in the *patolli* game, in the ball game; he is yet to play the ball game with others; he is yet to play *patolli*.<sup>3</sup>

"And so in what manner, in truth, doth our lord determine? Perhaps it is his desert, his merit, that our lord only passeth his glory, his honor before his face. Perhaps we dream, perhaps we see in dreams. Perhaps in a few days the lord of the near, of the nigh, will grow angry, will be demanding — will take to himself, will remove his honor, his glory, his realm; will banish him to the excrement, the refuse. And that which is truly the lot of us who are commoners will fall: paralysis, blindness. Soon thereafter he will hide him, will place him underfoot, will send him to our common home. For verily, for this, nothing is the desert, nothing is the merit.<sup>4</sup>

"Blessed is the acquaintance of our lord who in peace, in tranquility dieth, perisheth, in his realm, in his place of honor.<sup>5</sup> Blessed is he who in peace, in tranquility, prayeth to, ordereth the affairs of our lord. Blessed is he who raiseth up the heads, provideth glory, provideth renown to his mothers, his fathers, his grandfathers, his grandmothers, his great-grandfathers who caused the nobility, the rulership to sprout, to blossom; in whose time the realm prospered, grew in dignity. And blessed are those who are told of, who are named.<sup>6</sup>

"And this one, will he in truth abdicate? Will he perhaps conceal himself? Will he perhaps hide? Will he perhaps go somewhere? Will he verily perhaps not respect, not comply with the spirit, the word of the lord of the near, of the nigh? Of the city? What doth he know of our lord? Is he prudent? Is he able? Is he wise? And is he perhaps accomplished in words? Perhaps not. Perhaps yet

muchiuhtica, in vncan oonquetzaloc in patolco, in tlachco: ca oontlatlalililoc in maichoatl in qucccoatl, in nelpilonj: ca oc iehoatl ontenamequijz in patolco, in tlachco: oc iehoatl onteollamijz, oc iehoatl onpatoz.

Auh anca quen nelli, qujmonequjililia in totecujo: cujx ilvil, cujx imaceoal, aço çan yxtlan conmoqujxtilia in totecujo, in jtleio, yn jmavizio: aço titemquij, aço ticochitleoa: at moztlatiz, viptlatiz moçomaz monenequijz, in iehoatzin tloque naoaque: conmoçujiliz, conmiquanjiliz in jmavizio, in jtleio: in jpetl, in jcpal conmjoaliz in cujlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan. Auh valvetziz in vel totequjuh in timaceoalti in cocolotzli, in jxpopoiotl: noce njman ie çan cuel conmotlatiliz, conmocxipachilvz, conmjoaliz in tocenchan: ca nel ic atle ilvilli, ca nel ic atle maceoalli.

Quemmach amj in jtlaiximach in totecujo, in jvian, in iocuxca conmopolhvia, conmotatilia in jpetlapan, in jcpalpan in jmaviziocan: quenmach amj, in jvian iocuxca: qujmotatlauhtilia, qujmotlatetequjililia in totecujo: quémach amj in qujntzontecon-acocuj, in qujnteiotia, in qujmjtauhcaciotia in jnacoan, yn jtaoan, in jculhoan in jcioan in jachtoa: in qujxotlaltia, in qujcueponaltia in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiutl: in jpan veia, in jpan vecapanjvi in petlatl, in icpalli: auh quenmach amj in itolo, in teneoalo.

Auh ynjin, a mach nel oc tzinquijçaz: cujx motlatiz, cujx mjnaiaz, cujx canapa oniaz: cujx nel apoviz, cujx nel aixtlaviz in ihijo, in jtlatal in tloque, naoaque, auh in atl, in tepetl: tlein qujmottilia totecujo, cujx mjmati, cujx ommati ynjk, injcpac: cujx vel ixtli, cujx vel nacaztli: auh cujx vel centenlli cencamatl: acaçomo, aço oc aca ixpan in muztla viptla motlavitequijz. Anca quen qujmonequjiltiz in

3. *Ibid.*: "porque el negocio del regir, es bien semejante al juego de la pelota, y al juego de los dados."

4. *Ibid.*: "embiandole a lugar döde auemos de yr todos: y de aquij entenderemos, que no tiene Dios determinado, que este en honra, ni en dignidad."

5. *Ibid.*: "Bienaventurados los amigos, y conocidos de Dios, que pacificamente, y con asotiego y despues de muchos dias, mueren en sus señorios, en sus reynos." Our rendition follows the sense of the Spanish text while departing somewhat from the grammatical requirements of the Nahuatl.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "bienaventurados aquellos, que son gloria, y fama de sus antepassados, padres, y madres, y abuelos y tarabuelos: en los cuales florecio, el señorío, y reyno, y aumentaron, y ensalzaron sus reynos, y señorios: bienaventurados aquellos, que deixaron esta fama a sus successores."

in the presence of someone, tomorrow, the next day, he will falter. How then, will our lord desire? Let us yet await his word. Let us yet place our faith in him.

"Thou hast inclined thy heart, thou hast been good to him, for a little, a word came forth to strengthen him, to encourage him, to animate him. Find repose. Rest thy body, thy feet."

totecujo: ma oc tictotlatolchialican, ma oc tictotemachilican:

Otlacauhquj in moiollotzin, oticmocnelili: ca oquijz in achitzin, in cententzin injc ticmochicavilia, injc aco ticmolpilia, ticmotetzilvia: ma tlaltech ximovetziti, ma xicmocevili in monacaiotzin in mocxitzin.



Fourteenth Chapter. Here is told a long discourse with which the ruler admonished all the inhabitants of the city when he spoke for the first time. Thus he said: no one is to become drunk; no one is to steal; no one is to commit adultery; and other things. And he urged the service of their gods, and importuned the exploits, the warfare, called *teuatl tlachinolli*,<sup>1</sup> and the working of the land, and many other things.

"Here ye have settled yourselves; here the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath seated you. Here he hath assembled you, joined you, ye who are the rulers of the cities. Here thou art present, thou who art mother, thou who art father [of the people]. And here art thou who enterest among others, thou who art of goodly parents, thou who art of noble birth. And here thou art settled, here thou art present, thou who art the eagle warrior, the ocelot warrior. And here art thou who art a woman. May our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, give you peace. Here, with a word or two, I greet you, I encourage you; with a word I entreat you.

"Verily, now, [our lord] mistaketh me for another. He seeketh a replacement in my stead. For a while, for a day, I shall guard for you. I shall bring about ruin, folly to your city. And I shall bring about offence to our lord."<sup>2</sup>

"But it hath already come to pass. Oh, miserable am I. And I alone have offended our lord,<sup>3</sup> and I alone have offended our predecessors, the lords, the rulers, those who have gone beyond to reside, those in whose hands came resting, in whose hands was the wide mirror; those who have set before the people the thick, smokeless torch. And they are the prudent, the wise, the strong of heart whom [our lord] hath sent. Our lord inserted not within them, placed not

Ic matlactli onnavi capitulo. vncā mjtoa: centlamantli, veiac tlatolli: injc tenonotzaia tlatoanj, injc quijcennonotzaia, in jxquijchtin aoaque tepeoaque: in jquac iancuican dtaoaia, iuh qujtoaia, in ajac tlaoanaz, aiac ichtequjz, aiac tepan iaz, ioan oc cequj. Ioan qujtecujtlaviltiaia, in intlaiecoltiloca teteu: ioan qujttetlaquammacaia, in oqujchiotl, in iaoiotl: in mjtoa, teuatl tlachinolli, ioan in tlalchioaliztli: ioan oc cequj mjec tlamantli.

Ca njcan ammonoltitoque: ca njcan amechalmotlilia, in tloque, naoaque: njcan amechmocentlalilia, amechmonechicalvia: in amaoaque, in antepeoaque. A ca njcan tica, in tinantli, in titatli: auh njcan tetzalan tactica, in tepal timotlacatili, in tetechcota tiqujz: auh njcan tonoc, njcā tica in tiquauhtli, in tocelotl: aviz ie tehoatl, in ticueitl, in tivipilli: manoço amechmotlamatcatlalili, in totecujo in tloque, naoaque ca njcan cententica, cencamatrica, namechtlapaloa, namechciauhpoa cententica, namechtlatlaughtia.

A nelle axcan, nehoatl nechmotlanevilia, nehoatl noca tlatemoa: nehoatl achica, cemjlhvltl namechontlapializ: nehoatl tlaxoxopcoaliztli, chocholocaiutl, noconnochivililiz in amauh, in amotepeuh: auh nehoatl dateupoaliztli, noconnochivililiz in totecujo.

Auh oic muchiuh, onotlaveliltic, ocel njcnoteupovili in totecujo: auh oic muchiuh, onotlaveliltic, ocel njcnoteupovili in totecujo: auh ocel njqujnteupouh, in totechiuhcaoan: in teteputin, in tlatoque: in ie nachca onmantivi, in coiavac tezcatl inmac onmanjco, in jnmac oicaca: in oqujtequechilique, in tomaoac ocutl in apocio: auh in vel ixtli, in vel nacaztli, in vel iollotli, oqujtitlanjco: in amo pilixtli, in amo piliollotli in jmjtlic qujmaqujli, in jmjtlic, qujmota-

1. *teuatl tlachinolli*. See Chap. 3, n. 3. Besides "divine sea, ocean," *teuatl* means the offering of blood; cf. Garibay, *Historia*, II, p. 407, on *teuatl*: "Lit., agua divina. Es el nombre de la sangre vertida, sea en la guerra, sea en el sacrificio. Con ella se nutre el Sol y se alimenta la Tierra." Both *teuatl*, *tlachinolli* and *atl tlachinolli* metaphorically signify warfare; Molina, *op. cit.*, fols. 8v, 117v (*tlachinolli teuatl*) gives batalla or guerra for both.

2. For an understanding of this negative manner of self-appraisal, see Pipillo, *coconejo*, Chap. 43.

3. This opening section is repeated in the Nahuatl text.

within them the eyes of a child, the heart of a child. He provided them well with fangs, he provided them well with claws. And the different things he granted were not just by mistake, for in truth they were his real friends, his real acquaintances.

"And here I shall offend those who founded, who commenced things; those who are our great-grandfathers, our progenitors; those who came clearing the way, who came clearing the trees, who came clearing the stones, so that they established the realm. Here they went awaiting the word of our lord.

"What can I do, I who am untrained, I who am inexperienced, I who am ignorant? Our lord mistaketh me for another. Perhaps for a while, for a day, I shall dream, I shall see in dreams.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps for a while I shall be able to support the bundle, the carrying frame of our great-grandfathers, our progenitors, which they departed leaving, the intolerable, the insufferable, and that which is the cause of affliction.

"Now I supplicate you, I greet you, I animate you. Especially, I entreat you, leave the jimson weed alone, the undrinkable, the inedible, that which hath made one besotted, that which hath deranged one. The old men, the old women went fearing it, rejecting it; they went regarding it as revolting. And because of it the lords went hanging one, went stoning one; the rulers went making use of the rope on one.

"What is called *octli*<sup>5</sup> is the origin, the root of the evil, of the bad, of perdition. In no way, in no place doth it cause development of the earth, and in no way can the earth endure,<sup>6</sup> for everything relateth to it; for it beareth everything. It is like a whirlwind, like a severe wind, for it cometh rolling together the bad, the evil. Behold: one [desireth] another's woman; one committeth adultery; one coveteth, one stealeth, one pilfereth; one becometh a snatcher.<sup>7</sup> Behold: it is one who curseth, who murmureth, who belloweth, who rumbleth<sup>8</sup> when he becometh drunk. [Because of] the pulque he braggeth falsely of his noble lineage; he thinketh himself superior; he vaunteth himself; he esteemeth himself; he is grandiosc; he regardeth no one with much consideration;

lili, in totecujo: in vel qujntlanti, in vel qujnjzti: auh in vel qujnmotlamamaqujli, in amo çan tlatlnevilti: in ie nelli vel icnjoa, in vel itlaiximachoan:

auh iehoantin, njcan njqujntlatecupoviliz, in aqujque in tlatzintileque, in tlapoaltileque: in aquique in tachcocoltzitzinoa, in totechiuhcaoan yn ochpanaco, in tlazonzlpico in tlatepachoco: injc conteteatiaque in petlatl, in jcpanlli: in vncan qujtlatalchixtivi, in totecujo.

Quen vel çonehoatl, in anjnozcalia, in anjtlachia: in anommati in njxco, in nocpac, in nechmotlanevilia totecujo: aço achica, aço cemjlhvltl njtemjqujz, njcochitleoaz: aço achi vel njctoctiz, in jnqumj, in jncacax, in conquestzeoaque in tachcocolvan, in totechiuhcaoan, in aiecoaliztli, in aiecoliztli: auh in ate-tlamachti.

Ca axcanpa, namechtlatlauhtia, namechtlapaloa, namechellaquava. Oc cenca ic namechtlatlauhtia, manoçoc onjuhtia, in mjxitl, in tlapatl, in aioanj, yn aqualonj, in teivinti, in teyxmalacacho: in qujmacaztivi, in aconnectivi in vevetque, ilamatque, in qujtlaelitztivi: auh injc momecanjtivi, in tetecutin: injc motetzotzontivi, injc mecatl qujteiecultitivi, in tlatoque:

in mjtoa, Octli: ca ytzin, ca yneloaio: in aqualli in aiectli, in polioanj: ca amo ic, ca amo can tlalmanjztl, qujchioa: auh ca amo ic vel man jn tlalli, ca ixqujch itech ca, ca ixqujch qujtzui: in maca çan hecamalacotl, in maca çan hecatepuztli, ca qujcemololotitz in aiectli, in aqualli. Izca in tecue, in tevipil: in tepan cana, in quelevia: in tecomjc in tecaxic maiavi, in tetopco, in tepetlacalco in nemj, in maçolti: izca in atlacaqujça, in jten, in jtlatol: in chichicotlatoa, in ooiova, in tlacaoatza, in jvintiz qujmana, mohoqujchitoa in octli, moiehoatoca, mochamaoa, moveilia, movecapanoa: aiac tle ipan qujta, aiac compoa, aiac qujicoatilia: teixco teicpac nemj:

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "por uentura pasara sobre mi como sueño, en breue se acabara mi vida...."

5. *Octli*: the fermented sap of the maguey. Following Sahagún's general practise, we have usually translated the term as wine. The Spanish text uses the terms *vino*, *octli*, and *pulcre* or *pulchre*.

6. Read *mani* in *tlalli*.

7. *maçolti*: cf. Chap. 41.

8. *tlacaoatza*: read *tlaqoatza*.

he valueth no one, praiseth no one; he is disrespectful.

"They say also that to no purpose is the drunkard; no longer doth he know what he sayeth, what he divulgeth. Nothing tranquil, nothing peaceful cometh from his mouth. The pulque completely harmeth, completely ruineth humanity, the character of things; [so] the old men went saying. The pulque maketh a glutton of one; it is bad, evil, undrinkable, inedible.

"How can it be said? Who can it have been who said it? Who can it have been who referred to pulque as jimson weed? And who can it have been who referred to the drunkard as the one who giveth himself to jimson weed? He is never anywhere obedient in his being, in his life. He deceiveth constantly, he lieth constantly; he is two-faced, of forked tongue;<sup>9</sup> he goeth constantly spreading calumny.<sup>10</sup>

"And this being so, can the drunkard possibly live in peace? Can he possibly live in contentment? Can he possibly go benefiting himself?<sup>11</sup> The pulque maketh one weep; it saddeneth one; it causeth one to cry out. He introduceth castigation into another's home; he goeth removing from the olla, from the bowl. There is no [safe] storage for things! He is no longer capable.<sup>12</sup> The wind swirls within the home of the drunkard; misery penetrateth it. He possesseth no ollas, no bowls. He cometh not upon that which to hang from his hips, from his neck. And as to his place of reclining, there is nothing to throw over him. And his children are stained with excrement and are thin; few are their rags, their old maguay capes; little is on their necks. Furthermore, the drunkard loseth all through neglect. He concerneth himself only with what his entrails will require. All is impossible.

"For this reason the lords, the rulers who acted for the realm, who gave forth the word of our lord, go stoning people on account of pulque; they go hanging people because of it.

"I speak, I cry out especially to you, ye who are lords, and ye who are our uncles, ye who are noblemen, ye who are the sons of rulers, that ye leave

mach nen noço tlaovanqui aoc quijmati, in quijto, in quijteneoa: aoc tle cemelle, aoc tle tlacacemelle in jcamacpa quijca in octli vel quijtlacoa, vel quijcloa in tlacaiotl, in ieliziotl: quijtotivi in vevetque. Vel tetlaçoçoltili in octli, aiectli, aqualli, aioanj, aqualonj:

can mach mjto, ac mach quijto, ac mach quijtocaioti, in mjxitl, in tlapatl in octli: auh ac mach quijtocaioti in tlaovanquj, in aqujn quijmotequjta in mjxitl, in tlapatl: ca çan njman aoccan tetlacama in jieliz, in jnemjiliz: tlatlapiquj, yhiztlacati, necuctene, neneplimaxaltic: chiqujmoli, maqujzcoatl muchiuhtinemj.

Auh ma çä ivi, aço tlacaco nem jn tlaovanquj, aço pactinemj, aço vel conmoqualtituih: techocti, tetloculti, vel tetzatziti in octli: ca atl cecec, quijcalauja in techan, comjc caxic ont laxiltiuh, aitlaliloia in tlein-tzin, aocmo veiti, ehecatl motetevilacachoa in jchan, in jcalitic tlaovanquj: icnoiotl quijqujztoç ácome, ácaxe: aommonamjquj, in jquezpan, in jquechtlan pilcac: auh in jvetzian, atle in jpan quijoallazaz: auh yn jpilhoan tlacujtlaticeo, auh tlacicicujliv: achchi in jntzotzoma, in jmaiaçul, acchi in jnquechtlanca ca: mach noço tlaovanquj, much ixqujch quijtlatziuh-caoa: manel noço: yio conjxcavi, in jcujtlaxcol itech onmonequjz: muchi in aveli.

Ic ipampa in tetecutin, in tlatoque: yn oieco in petlapán, in jcpalpan, in ovel quijmotlatenqujxtilia totecujo: ic tetetzotzontivi in octli, ic temecanjtivi.

Oc cenca amehoan namechnotza, namechtatzilia in antecipiltotonti: auh in antotlatzitzioan in anpi-piltin, in antlatocapipiltin: in anociuhtia, in mjxitl,

9. *neneplimaxaltic*: cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "hombre de dos caras, y de dos lenguas, es como culebra de dos cabezas que muerde, por una parte y por otra." See also *maquizcoatl*, Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, "Earthly Things," p. 79.

11. The corresponding Spanish text differs somewhat: "No solamente estos males ya dichos, proceden de la borracheria, que otros muchos tiene: que el borracho, nunca tiene asesiego, nj paz nj jamas, esta alegre, nj come, nj beue con asesiego, nj em paz, nj en quijetud."

12. Read *ueliti*.

alone the jimson weed, which maketh one drunk, confoundeth one; the pulque, which is evil, bad. Those who went leaving you, those from whom ye descended, went hating, went detesting it.

"Is the pulque perhaps a necessity of life? And is it a requirement? Wilt thou die if thou dost not drink it? Thou wilt leave it alone?

"O my sons, may you leave it alone. O eagle warriors, O ocelot warriors, may you leave it alone. Wherever thou art, thou who hast smelled it, forget it, abstain from it. Thou wilt not therefore die.

"Although thou art forbidden it, art thou verily especially guarded? Drink; eat it. Live as thou wilt live. Do, perform in the manner that thy heart will require. The master, our lord, is already present. He seeth within the rocks, [within] the wood; he seeth within one; he knoweth of things within one. Although I see thee not, although I know not of thee, our lord will place thee in a conspicuous place.<sup>13</sup>

"By vice, by filth, by means of stealing, by means of malicious words thou wilt reveal thyself. And verily no longer wilt thou have compassion for thyself. Thou wilt hang thyself; thou wilt hurl thyself into a pit, into a cave, from a crag. Perhaps it is thus already thy end. Truly thou wilt shout, cry out, below. And when thou hast suffered much affliction, somewhere on the road thou wilt lie fallen, lie crawling. Certainly thou wilt be taken, thou wilt be seized, thou wilt be imprisoned. Castigation will fall to thee, punishment will move upon thee; thou wilt be stoned, or thou wilt be hanged, or thou wilt be shot with arrows.

"Worse, perhaps somewhere at thy time of drinking, thy time of eating they will take thee. When thou takest thy pleasure with another's woman, they will overpower thee. Or when thou wilt remove from one's olla, one's bowl, one's coffer, one's reed chest, thou wilt be imprisoned, thou wilt be stoned, thou wilt lie cast on the road, thou wilt be dragged.

"Thou wilt disgrace those who have departed leaving thee. It will be said: 'His father, his mother, whose names were [N.],<sup>14</sup> went leaving that one. Where will it lead to? For the child is like them.

in tlapatl, in teivinti, in teixmalacacho in octli, in aiectli, in aqualli: in quihixtivi, in quijtlaelitztivi in amechcauhitivi, in jntechcopia anquijzque.

Cujx nemoalonj in octli, auh cujx tequjtl, cujx timjqujz, intlacatle xococonj? ma iuhtia?

ma iuhtia nopolhoane, ma iuhtia quauhite, oceloe: can tica, in otiqujnecu, xiqujlaoa, xicmocaoalti: ca amo ic timjqujz:

auh maço nel ivi in ticaoaltilo, cujx nelli mach qa cencia tipipialo? xoconj, xoconqua: iuh xinemj, in juh tinemjz: in quenjn, qujnequjz moiollo: ma iuh xonai, ma juh xoconchioa. A ca ie, moietztica, in datatl, in totecujo: in tetl, in quavil itic tlachia, in tehitic tlachia, in tehitic tlamat: macaço njmjtztita, macaço njmjtztmati: ca ie mjtznexiz, panj, tlanezian mjtztaliz in totecujo:

teuhatica, tlaçultica in tineciz, ichtequjliztica, chico-tlatoltica: auh nel aoc timotlacaiocoiaz timomecanjz, timatlacomolviz, timoztoviz, timotepexiviz: ach ca noço nel ie maqua, nel toiooaz, titzatziz, titlacaoatzaz: auh in omellelacic, cana vtlica tivetztoz, tivilantoz: ca tonanoz, ca tontzitzqujloz, ca tocontzacutiaz: moca alcecec, tzitzicatzli vettiz, moca quavil-tetl oholinjz, titetzotzonaloz: anoço timecanjloz, anoço timjmjnoz:

Ylhviz aço cana matlian, motlaquaian mjtzanazque, mjtzpachozque, in tecue, in tevipil ticmaviltia: anoço tecomjc, tecaxic, tetopco, tepetlacalco timaia-viz: tocontzacutiaz, tontetzotzonaloz, vtlica tivetztoz, tiviujlanoz,

tiqujmontlaitoltiliz, in mjtzcauhtiaque: onjtoloz. Qujcauhituh, o, in jta, in jnan ytoca catca: ach can qujçaz, ca qujxtilconetl: yn juhquj xinachtli ontoco, amo çan no iuhquj oalixoa?

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "asíq yo nj te veo, nj se lo que hazes: pero Dios que te ve, te publicara, y hechara tu peccado en la plaza, manifestarse a tu maldad, y tu sujeción...."

14. "N," omitted in the Nahuatl, is present in the Spanish text.

"As the seed is sown, doth it not likewise sprout?"<sup>15</sup>

"Or it will be said: 'He alone hath become unfortunate; he alone offended the old men, the old women, such as those from whom he descended, the great ones who went causing fear. Now he dishonoreth them; he ignoreth their ways.'"<sup>16</sup>

"Or it will be said: 'Hath he perhaps performed the role of a commoner? And although thou art of the palace, art thou therefore to be revered, even though thou art a nobleman, even though thou art of great nobility? Certainly not.'

"Witness the Tlacateccatl of Quauhtitlan, a nobleman named Tlachinoltzin. He was a great nobleman; he was served; he was master of the common folk. But pulque debased him. He concerned himself exclusively with it; he indulged excessively; he lived in continuous drunkenness. He drank up all his land; he sold it all. And when he had come to the end, he went on — he began with his house; on the morrow he would drink up [the value of] the wood or the stones.<sup>17</sup> In this wise would he buy pulque. When he had come to the end [of his possessions], when there was nothing more salable, then his woman spun [and] wove for others in order to buy pulque.

"This Tlacateccatl, a valiant warrior, a great warrior, and a great nobleman, sometimes, somewhere on the road where there was travel, lay fallen, drunk, wallowing in ordure.

"And this one, was he perchance respected because of it? Although a great nobleman, and although a great eagle warrior, although a great ocelot warrior, although a valiant warrior, although called one of nobility, was he not therefore punished? For he was not therefore respected.

"The master, the younger, the Tlacatecutli Motecucoma Iluicamina, who was in residence in the midst of the lake, received notice of it, heard of it; it reached him. And to put a stop to it his word came forth. He charged it, he left it to the master, the ruler of Quauhtitlan, the Tlacatecutli Aztatzon, even though he was the younger brother [of Tlachinoltzin]. Even though [the latter] was something, a Tlacateccatl, our lords paid no heed, for he was hanged; the rope put an end to the Tlacateccatl. And all this because he lived continually drunk.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "a este vellaco dieron su padre, y su madre, mal castigado, mal disciplinado, mal criado: los cuales llamaron. N. y bien los parece en las costumbres, como lo que se sembra nace, semejante a la semilla...."

16. *inquatla quijmana, in jxachi, intzoncal quintlalilia:* cf. Chap. 43.

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "comégo a beuer el precio de las piedras, y maderos de su casa...."

anoce ytoloz. Ocel itlaveliltic, ocel quijmoteupovili, in vevetque, in jlamatque: iuhque on, in jatechcopa quijz, veveintin, temamahtique ietivi: in axcan inquatla quijmana, in jxachi, intzoncal quijntlalilia:

auh anoce onjtoloz, Ach ca itequjmaceoallo maitia: auh in maço titecpiltontli, cujx ic tonxittoz, in manel titlaçopilli, in manel cenza tetechcopa tiquiz: acaçomo.

Tla xoconjta, in quauhtitlan tlacateccatl, pilli, in jtoca tlachinoltzin, ca vei pilli, ca tlaiecultiloia, ca maceoale catca: auh ca iehoatl contemovi, in octli: ca qujxcaviaia, in tlatlapeviaia, in tlatlaoantinenca: muchi qujtlaoan in jtlal, muchi qujnamacac. Auh in otlatlatlan, itech mopilo, qujpeoalti in jcal: in muztla aço quavil, aço tetl in qujtlaoanaz, ynic moccoviz. In otlatlatlan, in aoc tle namaconj: njman ie tetzavilia, in jcivauh ie teiqujtilia: injc moccovia.

In iehoatl tlacateccatl, in tiacauh, in vei oqujchtli, auh in vei pilli: in quenman cana vtlica, in jpan qujxo, in vetztoc, in oyvintic cujtlanexpl mantinemj.

Auh ynjin, cujx ic ixittoc: in maço vei pilli, auh in maço vei quauhtli, in maço vei ocelutl, in maço tiacauh: in maço mjtoa, centetzontli: ca amo ma ic tlaiolitlaco, ca amo ic ixittoc.

Ca qujmocujli, qujmocajuti, itech acic: in atl itic monoltitoc, in tlacatl in xocoiutl, in tlacatecutli, in jlvicamjna, in motecucoma: auh ca conmotlacotonjilili, ca quijz yn itētzin, in jtlatoltzin: ca contequjuhti, ca itech concauh in tlacatl, tlatoanj in quauhtitlan in tlacatecutli in aztatzon: macivi in çan itiachcauh, macivi in çan itla catca, in tlacateccatl: ca amo mjxittaque in totecujioan, ca onmecanjloc, ca mecatl conieco in tlacateccatl: in çā ie ixqujch, in çā ie ijipampa in motlatlaoantinenca.

"How many nobles, rulers, merchants hath the pulque imprisoned? And how many vassals have incurred punishment for it? How many could be named? How many could be mentioned?"

"And now, O eagle warrior, O ocelot warrior, is pulque, is jimson weed perhaps a requirement? Is it perhaps a necessity of life?"

"For I shall take thee, I shall seize thee. Thou wilt be taken, thou wilt be captured, thou wilt be seized. There are the executives of the realm, the judges of the city. They will spread fear of thee; they will bring about castigation of thee. Perhaps thou wilt be hanged, perhaps thou wilt lie cast on the road, perhaps thou wilt be stoned. There will be fear of thee; thou wilt be dragged."

"When this cometh to pass, what can I do for thee? For thou hast fallen into the claws, thou hast entered the mouth of a wild beast; thou hast stirred up justice. When this cometh to pass, what can I yet do for thee? Wilt thou not suffer?"<sup>18</sup>

"Perhaps in vain thou wilt look to me. How shall I act for thee? For already thou art in the mouth of the wild beast. Perhaps thou art of our friends; perhaps thou art my younger brother, an older brother. Our lord hath broken us apart, hath divided us. I shall contend against thee, I shall fight against thee. I shall seize thee from the water, from the cave.<sup>19</sup> Look! Is perhaps the pulque a requirement? And the vice, the filth? Is stealing a means of livelihood?

"May ye know, may ye desire the desert, the battlefield where live, where are born the mother, the father of the sun, the Tlacateccatl, the Tlacocheccatl who provide drink, who give offerings to the sun, to Tlaltecutli.<sup>20</sup> And one's desert, his merit is the shield, the device, the ear plug, the lip plug, the lip pendant, the head band, and the wrist band, the band for the calf of the leg. And he findeth all, meriteth all—the precious necklace, the precious feather. And everything is his desert, his merit, everything his gift. He gaineth all—the heat, the warmth of our lord of the near, of the nigh. He deserveth all that is fresh, fragrant: the tenderness, the freshness of our

Quexquijch quijtzacutia in octli in pipilti, in tlatoque, in puchteca: auh quexquijch ipan tlanamjc in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, quexquijch mijtoani, quexquijch moteneoanj.

Auh in axcan, quauhtle, ocelote: cujx tequijtl in octli, in mijxitl, in tlapatl: cujx nemoalonj.

Ca njmjtzonanaz, ca njmjtontzitzqujz: ca tonanoz, ca toncujtivechoz, ca tontzitzqujloz: ca oncate in jtequacaoan in petlatl, in jcpanlli: in jtecuatlatoca-oan, in atl, in tepetl: ca moca maviztli contlaçazque, ca moca conquixtizque in atl, cecec, in tzitzicatzli: at mecatl toconiecoz, at vtlica tonvetztoz, at titetepacholoz: moca nemamauhiloz, tivivilanoz.

Quen nel njmjtznociviliz in jquac, yn: ca oymac tivetz, ca oicamac ticalac in tequanj, ca otolinj in jzti, in jtlan: quen nel oc njmjtznociviliz in jquac, yn, cujx atoconmjhijoviltiz:

aço nen novic tioallachiaz, quen njmjtzhioaz, ca ie tequanj icamac: aço oiehoa in titocnjoan, aço oieoa yn tinjccauh, in tachcauh: ca otechoalapaioti in totecujo, ca otechoalxelo: ca oc njmjtzonnamjqujz, njmjtzoncalitiz: oc njmjtzonanaz in atl, in oztoc. Vi ach cujx tequijtl in octli: auh in teuhli, in tlaçulli: cujx nemoalonj in tetopco, in tepetlacalco maiaviliztli:

ma ie xontlamatican, ma ie xontlaelevican in jxtla-oacan, in teuatenpan, in tlachinoltenpa: in vncan ioli, in vncan tlacati in tonatiuh inan, in tonatiuh yta in tlacateccatl, in tlacocheccatl, in catlitia, in quijtlamac in tonatiuh, in tlaltecutli: auh yn ijlvil in jmacoal in chimalli, in tlaviztli, in nacochtli, in tentetl, in tençacatl, in tlalpilonj: auh in matemecatl in cotzeoatl: auh in jxquijch quijita, in jxquijch quijmaceoa in cozcatl in quetzalli: auh in muchi ijlhvil imaceoal, in muchi ynemac, in muchi caci yn jtotonca in jiamanca in tloque, naoaque: in muchi ijlvilti in celic, in aviac, yn jtzmolinca, in jcelica totecujo, in jcenvic muchioa in xuchitl, in ietl, in atl in tlaqualli,

18. Ibid.: "Quando esto te acontesecera, no te podre yo valer de la muerte, o del castigo, porque tu mismo por tu culpa, cayste, y te arrojaste, en las manos de los vedugos [sic], y de los matadores, y prouocaste la iusticia contra ti: aviendo tu hecho esto, como te podre yo librarme...."

19. Ibid.: "y te sacare: aunque estos debaxo de la tierra, o debaxo del agua, ascondido."

20. Ibid.: "Lo que aveys de desear, y buscar, son los lugares para la guerra señados [sic] que se llaman tevatenpan tlachinoltenpan: donde andan, y viuen, y nacen los padres, y madres del sol, que se llaman tlacateccatl, tlacocheccatl, que tienen cargo de dar de bever, y comer al sol, y a la tierra, con la sangre, y carne de sus enemigos."

lord. What goeth completely to him becometh the flowers, the tubes of tobacco, the drink, the food, the breech clout, the cape, the vestment. He maketh it all complete — the house, the land.

"And he is revered; in truth, he is considered as mother, as father. He becometh as the silk cotton tree, as the cypress tree, near which, nigh unto which there is the taking of refuge.

"Is not this one the same as thou? Still another thing: is not the heart of thy younger brother, of thy older brother the same as thy heart? Is not thy blood the same as his blood? Did not our lord provide thee with bones, with flesh the same as his bones, his flesh? Are his heart, his body of wood, of stone, of copper? This same one is a weeper, a sorrower. Is there anyone who doth not wish for happiness?

"This same one is resolute, stout-hearted, brave, moderate, patient in adversity, devout, blessed of heart. He calleth out in sadness to our lord of the near, of the nigh. He is a sigher. He doth not practise the joy, the pleasure of sleep. At midnight, at the parting of the night, he weepeth, sorroweth, sigheth; he calleth to, he crieth out to the lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind; he calleth out to him with weeping, calleth out to him in sadness, beggeth of him, importuneth him. And at night he holdeth vigil; there is no sleep [at the time of] sleep.

"And the real woman is just by herself; one is her house; her sleeping place is a separate place. And on it she lieth holding vigil, lieth awaiting the sweeping, the cleaning, the offering of incense. There our lord showeth her mercy, taketh pity upon her. There he granteth her things. Perhaps on earth he giveth her valor to be rich on earth; there will be her drink, her food. It is not apparent [whence hath come] that which she will eat; that which she will plant in the maize field will all prosper. That which she will handle in the center of the market place, she will sell all. Perhaps she meriteth there the peaceful, the gentle death.

"Perhaps [for the man] there will be the status of the warrior, of the eagle warrior, of the ocelot warrior, of the courageous warrior. He meriteth military prowess.<sup>21</sup> And our lord provideth all merit, the warm, the soft, the sweet, the fragrant. The wealth, the riches come from him by whom we live. There he is revered.

in maxlatl, in tilmatl, in quemjtl in muchi quicemaci, in calli, in tlalli:

auh in acovic, in tlalchivic itto, in nelli nammacho, tamacho: in pochotl, in avevetl muchioa, in jtloc inaoac necalaquijlo.

Injn amo çan ie no ie, in te: oc ie centlamantli, amo çan mjccauh, amo çan machcauh: yn jiollo, amo çan no iuhquij moiollo, amo çan no eztli, in jezio: auh in jomjo, in jnacaio: amo çan ie no ie in mjt-zomjioti, in mjtznacaioti totecujo: tlein, quavitl, tetl, tepuztli in jiollo in jnacaio? ca çagan ie chocan, tlaocujanj: cujx aca aqujnequj inpaquijz?

ca çagan ie iollotetl, iollotlaquaoac, iollotepitztic, motlacaoaltianj, tlapaccalhijovianj: auh tlateumatinj, teutl in jiollo: qujtlaocononotzanj in tloque, naoaque elcicivinj: amo qujpaccachioa, amo qujvelicachioa in cochiztli, in tlacoiooan, in iooalli xelivi choa, tlaocoia, elcicivi: qujnotza, qujtzatzilia in tloque, naoaque, in iooalli checatl qujchoqujzonotza, qujtlaocononotza, qujtlaitlanjlia, qujtlamatataqujlia: auh iooalli qujtzoc, acochiztli, in cochiztli:

auh in nel cioatl, çan oc onquato, centel ical, ceccan icochian: auh ipan ihiçatoc, qujmamattoc in ochpanoaztli, in tlacujcujliztli: auh in tlenamactli. Vncan on in qujcnomati, in qujcnoitta totecujo, vncan on in qujtlamamac, in at tlalticpac, oqujchiotl qujmaca, mocujltonoz in tlalticpac, oniez in jauh, itlaqual: hanezquij qujquaz: in tlein mjlpán contlaliz, muchi muchioaz: in tlen qujnentlamachtiz ū tianqujztlí inepantla, muchi aqujz: anoce vncan qujmaceoa in jvian, iocuxca mjqujiztli:

anoce in oqujchiotl, in quauhiotl, in oceloiotl: tia-cauhoqujchtli iez, qujmaceoa in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl: auh qujcenmaceoaltia in totecujo, in totonquj in jamanquj, in tzopelic, in aviac: in jnecujltonol, in jnetlamachttil ipalnemoanj, in jtechcopia vitz: vncan on in acovic, in tlalchivic itto.

21. in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl: corresponding Spanish text: "y le hazen merced, que sea contado entre los soldados fuertes, y valientes, que llaman quauhpetlatl ocelopetlatl...." Cf. also Chap. 43.

"O noblemen, O lords of the cities, what do ye do? Because of these very things here, you will be injured, you will be stoned. Already ye have been seen. Know the desert place, the battlefield where our mother, our father, the sun, Tlaltecutli record one, where they indicate one, where they enter one in the book, where they mark one.

"Thou nobleman, thou eagle warrior, thou ocelot warrior: what art thou to be? Go. Hide thyself. Follow, desire the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, the valiant warriors, those who died in war, who rejoice, who are gladdened, who take pleasure, who live in abundance, who sip [the flower nectar] forever, who always cry out to, who gladden the sun, the valiant warrior, Yaomiqui, Quauhtleuanitl. Accordingly, is it not possible? Be happy, rejoice in the company of others in the heavens, in the home of the sun. Accordingly, is it possible that thou wilt be ejected from the very filth, the refuse, in which thou wilt envelop thyself?"<sup>22</sup>

"Fortunate is he of whom it is said, 'He hath taken a captive,' or 'He hath been carried away; he hath been imprisoned; he hath known the home of the sun: N., who was our son, the valiant warrior, or our cousin. His heart hath found repose.' The old men, the old women will weep, will sigh; their tears will constantly start forth, constantly gush forth.

"But perhaps thou art much afraid or much frightened?"<sup>23</sup> Hence, know the ridge, the ditch.<sup>24</sup> It is said thou wilt be a man of the earth. The lord of the near, of the nigh, our lord, will show thee pity, will show thee mercy. Thou wilt see, thou wilt admire all that which thou wilt plant on the ridge. And sow the field; plant, transplant all, plant the small maguey, the saplings! Therefrom thy sons will go reviving; our lord will create [food] in time of famine. Verily, thou wilt also yet see, yet eat, yet drink of thy labors.

"And thou noble one, whosoever thou art, it is thou especially, thou who art a son of noble lineage whom I address: Care for the drum, for the gourd rattle which are the means of awakening the city, and the source of joy for our lord of the near, of the nigh; a means by which he is requested, a means by

Tepilhoane, aoaquee, tepeoaquee: tle ammalia, yca vel in njcan amo ca nemomotaloz, amo ca netetepacholoz, ie vel in amjito: xontlamatican in jxtlaocan, in teuatenpan: in vncan tecicujloa, in vncan temachiotia, in vncan tetlapalaquja, tetlilanja in tonan, in tota tonatiuh tlaltecutli.

In titecpiltontli, auh in tiquauhtli, in tocclotl: tiez ma xiauh, ma ximotlati, xiqujmontoca, xiqujonelevi in quauhti in ocelo, in tiacaoan in iaomijcque in paquj, in avia, in motlamachtia, in mocujtonoa, in tlachichina: in cemjcac, in muchipa in coiovia in caviltia in tonatiuh, in tiacauh in iaomijcqui, in quauhtlecoanjtl: anca aveli intla teoan xavia, ximotlamachi in jlamicatl ijtic, in tonatiuh ichan: anca ie veli yn jz tinexoxopevilo, anca ie vel in teuhtli, tlaçulli ic timjlacatzotiaz:

quēmach amj in jtolo, omotlamali, anoce ovicoc, ocalajloc oontlama in tonatiuh ichan in N. in topiltzin, in tiacauhtzin: in noço tomachtzin oncatca, oceuh in jiollo: ca onchocaz, ca onelciciviz in veve, in jlama: ca oalchichitonjz, oaltzitzicujnjz in jixajo.

Auh anoço cenca timomauhtia, anoço cenca mavin moiollo: ma ic xontlamati in cuenco, in apanco mjtoa, tlalticpac toquijchtli tiez, mjtzicnoittaz, mjtzicnomatiz in tloque, naoaque in totecujo: in tlein tocontlaliz cuenco, muchi tiqujttaz, muchi ticmavizcoz: auh xontlatepeoa in njlpan, muchi xocontlali xocontlalaquj xocontoca in metzintli, in quauhtzintli ytech patitivi in mopilhoan qujiocoiaz in totecujo in maianaliztli, nel oc no tehoatl tiqujttaz, oc ticquaz, oc tiqujz in motlaihijoviliz.

Auh in titecpiltontli, in ac noço tehoatl: oc cenca tehoatl njmjtznötza in titepiltzin, in tetechcopa tiqujz xicmocujtlavi in vevetl, in aiacachtl ijjxitiloca in atl, in tepetl: auh in javiltiloc in tloque, naoaque: in jtlaitlanjliloca, in jtlataltemoloca in jc tlaoculonotzalo, in vncan itlanjlilo in jhijo, in jtlatal: auh

22. *Ibid.*: "no sera posible, por uentura apartaros de las borracherias, y de las carnalidades, en que estays embuelto!"

23. Read *mani* in *moiollo*.

24. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y si eres medroso, y cobarde, y no te atreves a las cosas de la guerra: vete a labrar la tierra, y haz maizales...."

which his word is sought in order that he be called to in sadness when his spirit, his word are requested. And it is a means of remembrance, a means by which warfare is cast, is bored as with a fire drill, is instigated.

Will it be forever, even though ye have placed, even though ye have chosen your ruler? Hath he perhaps come forever? Will he perhaps become as a tree? Will he perhaps become as a mountain?<sup>25</sup> Will he perhaps never die? Will he perhaps also endure forever? Perhaps, on the other hand, it is closing with him? Will there perhaps be no more realm, government, when he hath died, when our lord hath become enraged, hath become wilful, hath hid him unto himself?

"Art thou thus content? Art thou perhaps well satisfied in whatsoever thou dost, takest charge of, undertakest? Perhaps thou destroyest thyself; perhaps thou givest up in despair. What person showeth concern for thee? And perhaps also [our lord] will hire someone for the city. Perhaps he will come from somewhere to rule the city and to be on the reed mat, on the reed seat.<sup>26</sup> And he will take charge of the military.

"If thou enterest near, nigh unto our lord, if thou givest thyself to thy city; even as in a wedding, if thou paratest in public, if thou makest thyself desirable,<sup>27</sup> if thou dost not wander, even though thou art to dwell in the plants, in the woods, our lord will come to take thee. He will come to place thee on the reed seat, on the reed mat; he will cause thee to rule the city. On thy back, on thy shoulders, in thy arms he will place the governed.

"Whom do ye see? Whom do ye also await? What do ye do, O ye of the nobility? Whom do ye flee?

"And, O ye eagle warriors, ye ocelot warriors, know ye not that the city hath two eyes, two hands, two feet? Know ye not that two are the mother, the father of the city, who are its washers, its bathers of people, and its suppressors of tears?

"And the so-called executives of the realm: is not one a nobleman? Is not one a warrior? Is not one a military Tlacatecutli, [one] a Tlacocheutli?

in jlnamjococa, in jpitzaloca, in jmamlioaca in teuati, in tlachinolli in jiocoloca:

cujx cemjcac iez in maço anqujtlalique, in maço anqujpepenque in amotlatocauh: cujx ocen valla, cujx quauhtiz, cujx tepetiz, cujx aic mjqujz, cujx noço icemjcaian iez, cujx noço ça contzacutica, cujx aiocmo tecutioaz, tlatocatioaz in omjc in omoçoma in omonenec totecujo, in oconmotatili:

cujx ic timoiollalia, cujx ic ie vel ietinemj in moiollo, in canpa tlein ticmocujtlavia, in tlein ticmotequjitia: in aço timopopoloa, in aço timotlavelcaoa ac ce moca: auh cujx noço motetlaqueviz in atl, in tepetl, cujx canapa oallaz in quijqujz in qujmamaz altepetl: auh in petapan, icpalpan iez: auh in quipiaz in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl.

Intla itloc, inaoac ximocalaquj in totecujo: intla xicmomaca in mauh, in motepeuh: in maca çan ciaotivaian intla ixpan ximoquequetza, intla xicmonenecti, intlaca xicnenejilisti: in manel qujltitlan, quauhitlan timonemjtiz, ca vmpa mitzanatiuh in totecujo: ca mjtztlaliqujuh in petapan, in jcpalpan: ca mjtzpacholtiz in atl, in tepetl: ca mocujtapan, ca moteputzco, momamalhoazco, qujmotlaliliz in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli.

Ac anqujta, ac no anqujchia tle amay? tecpilte? tetzonoane? teitzioane? ac anqujtlalcavia:

ahu yn amehoantin quauhte, oceloe, amo anqujmati in ontel ixtelolo in atl, in tepetl, in ome yma, in ome yksi: amo anqujmati in ome inan, yta, in atl, in tepetl in jtepapaccauh, in jteahalticauh: auh in jteixaiopapachocauh:

ahu in mjtoa in jtequacauh in petlati, in jcalti amo ce pilli? amo ce quauhtli? amo ce quappa tlacatecutli? tlacochtecutli?

25. *Ibid.*: "no sera su vida, como vida de arbol, o de peña, que dura mucho...."

26. *Ibid.*: "por uentura faltado los que agora rigen, la cõmunidad, yra a alquilar a alguno a otra parte, o a otro reyno, para que la rija, y para que possea el trono real...."

27. *Ibid.*: "y si te hizieres familiar de los que rigen, y te deleystares con ellos, como em bodas: como haze la mujer, que se muestra em publico atajada, y galana para que la quierá, y la deseen...."

"And is not one a nobleman? Are they not complementary? And is not one a military Tlacateccatl, [one] a Tlacockchcalcatl? Is not one a nobleman? They take charge of the military; in their hands rest the eagle vessel, the tube. They provide the sun with drink; they make offerings to it.<sup>28</sup>

"They will come to take thee from the plants, from the woods; and from the ridges, from the ditches; they will place thee on the reed mat, on the reed seat. Thou wilt weep for the vassals; thou wilt stop their tears. In thy hands will rest the blue water, the yellow water, the means of washing, of bathing, the vassals.<sup>29</sup> And thou wilt bring forth the castigation; thou wilt deliver the castigation to one. Our lord of the near, of the nigh, will make thee his face, will make thee his ears, will make thee his lips, will make thee his jaw. Thou wilt make declarations for him.

"And consider, O noblemen, O palace people, O ye of noble descent, and ye, O eagle warriors, O ocelot warriors. Take no rest! Look to all places! Where are your blotches? Where are the blemishes in your way of life? What is the condition of your hearts? Are they precious green stones? Are they precious turquoises?

"And art thou of such a nature that thou art suited to the realm when thou art like excrement, like refuse, when thou becomest a servant of jimson weed, the inedible, the undrinkable, that which maketh one drunk, which destroyeth one, the so-called pulque? And the filth, the vice—dost thou reflect, dost thou think in thy heart where and how thou mayest have done it? And perhaps thou wilt desire to steal from one? And perhaps thou hast done it, thou has performed it.

"Try thyself. Art thou of such a nature that the governed will be thy merit? Art thou of such a nature that thou wilt mother these? Art thou of such a nature that thou wilt father these? Perhaps not. Not only is thy desert, thy merit reprehension; thou

auh amo ce pilli, amo in nanamjcoa? auh amo ce quappa tlacateccatl, tlacockchcalcatl, amo no ce pilli in quipia quappetlatl, ocelopetlatl: in jmac manj in quauhxicalli, in quappiazatl in catlitia, in qujtlamac tonatiuh.

Ca mjtzanatiuh in qujltitlan, in quauhtitlan: auh in cuenco, in apanco: mjtztlaliz in petapan, in jcpalpan, tahoatl toconchoqujiliz, toconjxaiopapachoz in cujtlapilli atlappalli: te momac manjz in matlalatl, in toxpalatl in jpapacoca, in jahaltilocca in cujtlapilli, in atlappalli: auh tahoatl ticqujxtiz in atl cecec, tahoatl tictemacaz in atl cecec, in tzitzicatzli, te mjtz-mjxtiz, mjtzmonacatziz, tahoatl mjtzmotentiz, mitz-mocamachaltiz, yn tloque, naoaque: tahoatl tictla-tenqujxtiliz.

Auh tla ie ximottacan pipilte, tecpilte tetzonvane, teitzioane: auh in amchoantin quauhte, oceloe, tla ximocuecuepacan, tla cenza novian ximoottacan, canjn ca amoceo, canjn ecauhio amonemjliz, quenamj quen ca in amoiollo: cujx chalchivitl, cujx teuxivitl:

auh cujx tiuhquj petapan, icpalpan timonequj, in ticujtlaio, in titlaçollo, in tictmotequjta in mjxitl, in tlapatl, in aqualonj, in aioanj, in teivinti, in tepolo, in mjtoa octli: auh in teuhtli, tlaçolli tiqujlnamjquj, in jpan tictnemjtia moiollo, in canjn, auh in quenjn, ma xicchiao: auh in aço tetopco, tepetlacalco tima-aviznequj: auh in at noço otax, oticchiuh,

tla ximoieieco: cujx tiuhquj momaceoal iez in, in tlatconj in tlamañalonj? tiuhquj tinantiz yn? cujx tiuhquj titatli tiez, yn? Acaçomo, amo çan ie molvil, momaceoal in quavitl, in tetl, in tematlan tonotinemjz, in titemapan timuchiuhinemjz: auh amo çan

28. *jtequacauh, tlacatecutli, tlacocktecultli, tlacateccatl, tlacockchcalcatl, etc.* Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "tiene necesidad de personas, que sean ejecutores de los mandamientos, de los que rigen. Para este negocio, de executar la justicia, avia dos personas principales, uno que era [sic] noble, y persona del palacio, y otro capitan, y valiente, que era del ejercicio de la guerra; tambien sobre los soldados, y capitanes avia dos principales que los regian, el uno que era tlacateccatl, el otro tlacocktecultli, el uno de los dhos era pilli, y el otro principal en las cosas de la guerra [sic], y siempre pareaua, un noble, con un soldado, para estos oficios; tambien pa capitanes generales, de las cosas de la guerra, pareaua dos, uno noble, o generoso, y del palacio, y otro valiente, y muy exercitado en la guerra, el uno destos se llamava tlacateccatl, y el otro tlacockchcalcatl: estos entendian en todas las cosas de la guerra, en ordenar todas las cosas, que concernia a la milicia." Probably the Nahuatl text is correct in pairing tlacatecutli with tlacocktecultli. Cf. also Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, p. 113.

29. *Ibid.:* "y pondran en tus manos, las cosas de la justicia: que es como una agua muy limpia, para lustrar, y donde se lustran, las suiedades o delictos de la gente popular...."

wilt rest in one's hands; thou wilt deliver thyself into the hands of others. And not only is thy desert, thy merit blindness, paralysis.<sup>30</sup> But is not thy desert, thy very merit the miserable cape, the old rag, misery? Wilt thou not suffer extreme privation? Wilt thou somewhere be provided joy, contentment, wilt thou experience tranquility of thy heart, thy body? Eternal torment, affliction are not thy only desert, thy gift.

"Take heed; this is all with which I now greet, salute, encourage you. And I do my duty so that when sometime it will happen, you will recall, you will say: 'We have not heeded it.'

"May our lord govern you in peace and quiet. And pay ye special attention; little by little dispose yourselves. Who art thou that thou wilt lose through neglect? Is it truly thou? Whom wilt thou blame? And who art thou that thou wilt take, grasp, place in the chambers of thy heart, clutch in thy hand, guard that which thou art given, that which thou art told? And thou wilt bless thyself; thou wilt show mercy unto thyself. With it thou wilt live and thou wilt eat, thou wilt drink on earth. Wilt thou bless someone? For thou wilt bless thyself. And is it not so that thou wilt render glory to the old men, to the old women? And will we not also through thee experience parenthood, experience manhood?

"This is all which ye take, which ye heed. May our lord rest you in peace."

ie molvil, momaceoal in jxpopoiotl in cocotoztli: auh amo ie molvil, amo ie vel momaceoal in aiaçulli in tatapatli, in jcnoiotl: amo vmpa onquijztiaz in tlalticpac cana tavixtiaz, cana tivellamattiaz, hica tla-caco tlamatiz in moiollo, in monacaio? amo çan cemjcac tonevitzli, chichinaquijztli molvil, monemac.

Tle anquijmomachitia ca ixquijch in, ic axcan namechtlapaloa, namechciauhquetza, namechciap-poa: auh noquijxtia injc yquac in quenman in jpantiz anqujlnamjqujzque, anqujtozque, macace ticcac-que:

manoçoc yvian, manoçoc iocuxca amechonmovi-qujlituh in totecujo: auh ma oc cenza tle anquijmomachitia, ma oc cenza tle anquijmati, ma oc amoilic, ma çan yvian xonmotemacan: ac te in tonmoxicca-oaz, ha nel ie tehoatl, ac ixco, icpac tictemaz: auh ac te in toconcujz, in toconanaz, in moiollocaitlan tocontlaliz, in toconmapiqujz, in toconmopialtz, in timaco, in tilvilo: auh ha tonmocneliz, ha tonmotla-oculiz, ha ic tinemjz: auh ha ticquaz, ha tiquiz in tlalticpac, cujx aca tiquijcneliz, ca timocneliz: auh ha tel ioan tiquijmonteiotiz, in vevetque, in jlamatque: auh ano mopal tonpilhoacateuhtlamatizque ano mopal tioaloquijctlamatizque.

O ca ixquijch in, in anqujmocujlia, in anqujmocu-quitia: ma amechmotlamatcatlalili in totecujo.

30. cocotoztli: read cocototzli.



Fifteenth Chapter. Here it is told how, when the ruler had spoken, another dignitary stood up, who admonished the inhabitants of the city in the presence of the ruler. Thereby he especially praised the words of the ruler, and venerated the ruler. And with special sternness he censured the evils which the ruler first mentioned.

"Thou who art here, thou who art an eagle warrior, thou who art an ocelot warrior, and thou who art a woman: here the master, the ruler, dealeth personally with thee, with thy city. He speaketh to thee, crieth out to thee, personally giveth thee, placeth before thee, scattereth before thee the precious green stones, the precious turquoise, the incomparable, the unofferable, the unsayable which our lords, the lords, the rulers, the guardians of the city, those by whom the earth existeth, took unto themselves. The coffer, the reed chest, is opened; thou hast seen that there lie inert, lie folded the store of the governed, the secrets, and the commandments of our lords.

"Now take it, heed it. Who art thou? Who dost thou think thou art that he dealeth personally with thee, with thy city even though thou art a responsibility, a burden? There dwelt, there were, there existed the lords who were the lips, the jaw, the eyes, the ears of the city. The lord of the near, of the nigh, commissioned them; for it is their charge, their duty, their obligation to make public to the city the spirit, the words of your ruler.<sup>1</sup>

"And now it is true that truly thou troublest his heart over thy city. It is true that he troubleth his heart over thy being, thy way of life. And it is assuredly true that he is thy real mother, thy real father. Thy mother is not thy mother; thy father is not thy father.<sup>2</sup>

"Truly this is thy mother, this is thy father, thou poor eagle warrior, thou poor ocelot warrior. There

Ic caxtolli capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenjin iquac ontato tlatoanj, oc ce moquetzaia tecutlato, in qujnonotzaia aoaque, tepeoaque, in jxpan tlatoanj: ic oc cenza quijmaviztiaia in jtlatol tlatoanj: ioan quijmavizteneoaia yn tlatoanj: ioan oc cenza tlaquauh quijtecaoltiaia in tlatlaculli, in achtō quijtoaia tlatoanj.

Ca yz tonoc in tiquauhtli, in tocelutl: auh in tiueie, in tivipile, ca njcan mjtznomatcavia in mauh, in motepeuh, in tlacatl in tlatoanj, in mjtznotza, in mjtzatzilia, inomatac in mjtzmaca, in mjxpan quijdalia, in mjxpan quijchaiaoa in chalchiuhtli, in teuxiuhtli, in anemjuhquj, in atermaconj, in ateilhvilonj: in jpan molpilitoque in totecujoan in teteputin, in tlatoque, in apixque, in tepepixque: in iehoantin inca manj tlalli, ca otlapouh in toptli, in petlacalli: ca otontlachix in vncan cepoatoc, cuelpachiuhtoc in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj, in jnpial, in jnnelpil in totecujoan, in vel intop, in vel inpetlacal: auh in vel innaoatil.

An axcan tlaxiccu, tlaxiccaquj: ac tehoatl, ac timomati in mjtznomatcavia in mauh, in motepeuh, macivi in titlatqujtl, macivi in titlamamalli, ca onovac, ca ieloac: ca onoque in tecutlatoque in jtеноan, in jcamachaloan, in jxoan, in jnacazoan in atl, in tepetl: in oquijnnaoati yn tloque, naoaque: ca iehoan ynteniz, inmamal, iehoantin innaoatil in quijqujxtizque in jhiio in atl, in tepetl, in jten, in jtlatol in amo tlatoauh.

Auh in axcan ca nelli, in nelli yollo ticcocoa in matzin, in motepetzin: a ca nelli in qujcocoa yollo in moielliz, in monemjlliz: auh ca nelli in ie nelli in ie iehoatl vel monantzin, vel motatzin: amo monan in monan, amo mota, in mota:

ye nelli monantzin, y, ie nelli motatzin, in ticnoquauhtli, in ticnoocelutl, in aocac moca, in aiac

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "aunque es así que están presétes, muchos señadores, y sabios, y rethoricos, que pudieran hablar, en su sôbre, deixádolo [sic], lo que el dixo: porque ellos tienen este oficio, y este cargo de hablar al pueblo, y manifestarle las leyes que dicta el señor rey."

2. Ibid.: "la madre que te parió, y el padre que te engendró, no están [sic] tu verdadera madre, y padre como él lo es...."

is no longer anyone here in thy behalf; no one giveth thee, addresseth thee a word or two. Here thou acknowledgest thy mother, here thou acknowledgest thy father, here thou enjoyest wealth, here thou enjoyest happiness. He dealeth personally with thee, with thy city. Before thee openeth the coffer, the reed chest. Thou lookest above us, to the land of the dead. Before thee are scattered the precious necklace, the precious feathers, the precious green stones, the precious turquoises, the incomparable ones.<sup>3</sup>

"And thou who hast a mother, thou who hast a father: perhaps thou art noble, perhaps thou art a valiant nobleman, or perhaps thou camest to life, thou wert born in a time of wealth, in a time of abundance. If thou graspest not, takest not, hearest not that which thy mother, thy father give thee, for here the master, the ruler, the city deal personally with thee, then to whom besides him wilt thou listen? Who will come? Whom dost thou await? Whom wilt thou obey?

"And perhaps thou wilt not take it, perhaps thou wilt not seize upon it, because already thou knowest of it and because thy reward is already set. But to whom else wilt thou listen if thou dost not listen to this one? And not only hast thou become miserable, not only art thou unfortunate, not only is it the end, not only is it so, [but] hast thou not caused anger? Will not something come? Perhaps thou takest fright. Perhaps the castigation of our lord cometh.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps thou hast hastened blindness, paralysis, rotteness. Or perhaps thou wilt seek, thou wilt know misery, the miserable cape, the old rag.

"And in what manner doth thy heart desire? Is our lord to show himself to thee as a man, to speak to thee as a man, to talk as a man, to talk?<sup>5</sup> Wouldst thou perhaps grasp, wouldst thou perhaps take his word? Wouldst thou perhaps thereby be satisfied? Wouldst thou perhaps thus be content, and would thy heart perhaps thus be at rest?

"O accursed one! Who art thou? Who dost thou think thou art? Here we open the coffer, the reed chest; before thee are scattered what we have spread, what we have strewn about: the precious necklace, the precious feathers, the precious things; the pre-

cententli, cencamatl, mjtzmaca, mjtzilhvia: njcan tinanecatlamati, njcan titatecatlamati, njcan timocujltonoa, njcan timotlamachtia: mjtznomatcavia in matzin, in motepetzin: mjxpan tlapovi in toptli, petlacalli, tontlachia in topan in mjctlan: mjxpan chaiavi in cozcatl, in quetzalli, in chalchiuhltli, in teuxiuhtli, yn anemjuhquj.

Auh in tehoatl yn tinane, in titate, in at titecpilton-tli, in at tiquappilli, in at noço netlacamatcapan, in at totoncapan iamancapan tijol, titlacat, intlaca tic-cuj, intlaca ticana, intlaca ticcaquj, in mjtzmaca in monan, in mota: ca njcan mjtzmonomatcavilia in tlacatl, in tlatoanj, in atl, in tepetl: auh ac oc mach ie in ticcaqujz, aqujn vitz, aqujn ticchia, aqujn tictacamatz:

auh acaço toconanaz, acaço toconcujz, ca ie te tocómati, auh ca ie mopatiuh muchioa: auh ac oc mach ie in ticcaqujz, intlaca ticcaquj, yn? auh amo çan ie otovitic, amo çan ie omotlaveliltic, amo çan ie ie ixquich, amo çan ie ie iuhquj, amo titlaneçomalti, amo ie itla vitz, at ie timotetzavia, at ie iz vitz in jquahtzin, in jtetzin totecujo: at noço oticmjicivili in jxpopoiotl, in cocototztli, in palanaliztli: at noço in jcnoiotl, in aiaçulli yn tatapatli, tonmottaz vel tonmotztiaz.

Auh quenjn noço qujnequj moiollo, mjtzmotlacatititz in totecujo? mjtztlacanotzaz? tlacatlatoz? tlatoz: auh cujx ie vel toconcujz, cujx ie uel toconanaz in jten, in jtlatol: auh cujx ic pachiviz in moiollo, cujx ic tonvellamatiz? auh cujx yc vellommotlaliz moiollo?

Vi tlaueliloque, ac te ac timomati: in njcan tictlapoa in toptli, petlacalli in mjxpan chaiavi, in ticcecen-mana, in tictmomaoa in cozcatl, in quetzalli, in tlaçotli, in maquijztli, in chalchiuhltli, in teuxiuhtli, in

3. Ibid.: "en tu presencia a aviento, y derramado las riquezas, de su doctrina, que son mas preciosas, que cuentas de oro, y plumas ricas, y chalchihuites, y safiros, muy preciosos y raros."

4. God, not ruler, is meant. Cf. ibid.: "por suerte, viene sobre ti algun espantoso hado, o algun trabajoso, y riguroso, castigo de nro señor dios..."

5. Ibid.: "quieres que te venga a hablar, nuestro señor dios, en figura de hombre? y cō palabras de hombre?"

cious bracelet, the precious green stones, the precious turquoises; the incomparable, the ungivable, the unsayable,<sup>6</sup> the treasures of our lords, their very possessions, their very stores.

"O accursed one, was the master, the ruler of thy city, the youngest one, the lord of men, really set in, dispatched especially for thee? Do we here scatter, do we spread [especially for thee] the things on his lap, in his bosom? How much is his task? How much doth he know? Dost thou perchance know in what manner thou art carried, in what manner thou art borne upon the back, and in what manner thou art led along the road?

"Certainly night [and] day he remaineth sighing for thee, weeping for thee, for thy city. Truly he goeth on elbow, on knee for thee, on thy behalf, [to know] how it will be in the brief time he will lead thee along the road, and what thy condition [will be] in one year, in two years; in what manner thou wilt be carried, in what manner thou wilt be led along the road, and what condition our lord desireth for thee. Perhaps something came for thee, perhaps something was conceived for thee, perhaps something was declared for thee, above us, in the land of the dead. Wert thou perchance forsaken?

"Wilt thou perhaps watch the adverse, the frightening things which the old men, the old women went not seeing but fearing? Is it perhaps thy charge that there will be an eclipse of the sun? Is it perhaps thy charge that there will be an earthquake? Is it perhaps thy charge that there will be tempests in the city? Is it perhaps thy charge that there will be apprehension? Wilt thou look to, wilt thou fear the declaration of war? Is it perhaps thy charge? Will perhaps the city be shot with arrows? Will it be surrounded by enemies? Wilt thou look to, wilt thou fear that perhaps the city will crumble, will scatter? Perhaps there will be agitation, tremors, and the city will lie abandoned, will lie darkened? Will it perhaps result as a place of desolation?

"And will there be enslavement?<sup>7</sup> Will there be the washing of others' mouths, the washing of others' hands? And will perhaps castigation come? Will sickness, will famine come to prevail?<sup>8</sup> Will

anemjuhquj in atemaconj in atelvilonj, in jntop, in jnpetlaca in totecujoan, in vel innelpil, in jnpial.

Tlaveliloque, cujx nelli mach ca cencu moca tlaloc, naoatiloch in mauh, in motepeuh, in tlacatl, in datoanj, in xocoiotl, in tlacatecutli? in njcan tictlacencenmanjlia, in titlamomoiaoa, in jxillan, in jtozca-dan? Quexquijch in jtequijtzin, quexquijch in quijmo-machitia: cujx ticmati in quē titco, in quen tima-malo: auh in quē totlatocito:

ca ceioval, cemjlhvltl, in nelli mach moca elciciuh-toc, in nelli mach moca chocatoc in mauh, in mote-peuh, in nelli mach imolicpitzin, iteteponzin ic tlac-çatinemj, in moca in mopampa, in quen nenti in macujl, in matlac in mjtzotlatocitz: auh quen cexiuh, quen oxihu quen tamjo, quen titco, quen totlatocito, quē mjtznequjlia in totecujo: cujx oitla mopan oalla, cujx oitla mopan iocoloc, cujx oytla mopan mjto in topan in mjctlan, cujx otimacaoaloc,

cujx tehoatl tiquittaz in tecoco, in temamauhti, in haquijtzivi, auh in quijmacaztivi in vevetque, yn jlamatque: cujx te mopan teutl qualoz, cujx te mopan tlallolinjz, cujx te mopan amamaniz in atl, in tepetl, cujx te mopan avic tlatchialtiloz, cujx tehoatl tiquittaz, cujx te ticmaviçoz, cujx te mopan olinjz in mjtl, in chimalli, cujx cacilioaz, cujx iaoiaoaloloz in atl, in tepetl, cujx te tiquittaz, cujx te ticmaviçoz: cujx xinjz, cujx moiaoaz in atl, in tepetl, cujx cuecuetzaloz, viviiotzaloz: auh cactimanjz, iooatimanjz, in atl, in tepetl, cujx inencauhian momantiqujçaz:

auh cujx aztatiroz, mecaxicoltiloz, cujx tecamapa-caz, cujx tematequijz: auh cujx noe oallaz in quavitl, in tetl, cujx cocoliztli, cujx maianaliztli momana-qujuh, cujx xaxamacaz, cujx ixpoliviz in cujtlapilli,

6. Ibid.: "aqui derramamos, y esparcimos delante ti: cuentas de oro, y plumas ricas, y piedras preciosas, y muy finas, y muy raras, que no se soelen dar, ni se soelen decir...."

7. aztatiroz, mecaxicoltiloz: see supra, Chap. 6, n. 4.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "O por uētura vendra tiempo en que nos hagan a todos esclavos, y andaremos seruiendo en los mas bajos terrenos, que es de arrastrar piedras, y maderos, o en seruir a los enfermos?"

perhaps the vassals be dispersed? Will they be destroyed? Will the city perhaps result as a place of desolation?

"Our lords remain inspiring, remain ordering war, that the earth may endure; for drink is provided for one, food is provided for one, offerings are provided for one above us, in the land of the dead.

"Is it not true of thee that thou art much preoccupied only with thyself, even though thou art a responsibility, a burden? Great is the task of our lords.

"Do not reflect to thyself; do not scorn him who standeth here before thee, [before] thy city, for our lord hath personally inclined his heart to thee. For [our lord] hath confided in him, hath inspired him; for the word or two he hath set forth become thy reward. Go, therefore, attaching thyself to them. May they be thy provision as thou dwellest on earth. Do not cast them away. Place them well in the chambers of thy heart. Guard them, for they will become thy nourishment.

"Thou hast obtained merit. Who else hath so endowed thee? Thy mother, thy father. And wilt thou perhaps never again merit such? Take heed! It is all with which I favor the master, the ruler, the city. May your hearts rest, O my sons."

in atlapalli, cujx ynencauhian momantiquijçaz in atl, in tepetl:

ca teuatl, ca tlachinolli in quipitztoque, in quijocuxtoque in totecujoan, injc vel manj tlalli, ca teatlitia, ca tetlaqualtia, ca tetlamaca in topan in mjctlan.

Ca amo ma nelli mach, ça cencá çan tixcavilo: in maço titlatquijtl, in maço titlamamalli, ca vei yn jntequjuh totecujoan,

ma mjtic titlato, ma xictli ticcuji: in njcan mjxpan moquetza in matzin, in motepetzin, ca tlacaoa in jiollotzin totecujo, in mjtznomatcavia: ca qujmomaquilia, ca qujmoiollotilia, ca mopatiuh muchioa, in cententli, in cencamatl qujmoqujxtilia: manoço ic xonjlpitinemj, ma motac: onmuchiuhtinemj in tlapac: maca noço can xocontlatlaça, ma vel moiollacaltitlan xictlali, ma xicmopialti: ca monenca, ca moiolca muchioaz,

otitlacnopilhvi, aca ac oihuquj mjtzmacac, in monan, in mota: auh acaçomo oc no ceppa, iuhquj tiqujcnopilviz. Tle anqujmomachitia: ca ixquijch-tzin, ic njcnopalevilia in tlacatl, in tlatoanj, in atl, in tepetl: ma amoillotzin motlali, nopolhoane.



Sixteenth Chapter. Here is told how another elderly dignitary, well skilled in speech, replied in order to respond for the city, and to show pleasure for the discourse of the ruler, and to make clear how to do, how to realize all which the ruler had said, had stated.<sup>1</sup>

"O master, O ruler, O our lord, thy vassals here take, here grasp, here rejoice in, here take pleasure in the little, the small bit of thy spirit, thy word, which cometh forth, which sparketh forth; that which our lord gave thee, which he placed within thee: the precious, the wonderful, the incomparable, which lieth inert, lieth folded in thy lap, within thy breast.

"Here the sons, the noble sons, the precious ones, the precious green stones, the precious bracelets, the sons of our lords, and the descendants of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl—those under his spell—take it, receive it. At this time they came to life, at this time they were born; their desert, their merit is the realm, the governed. So they came to life, so they were born, so they were created where in the beginning it was determined, ordained that they would be lords, that they would be rulers.

"Perhaps they will grasp it, take it, hold fast to it; and perhaps they will honor it, follow it, do it, make it their way of life; perhaps they will inscribe it; perhaps they will place it, insert it in the chambers of their hearts; perhaps they will clutch it well; perhaps they will place it, inscribe it right next to their hearts. For they are here, for already they know of it.

"Perhaps they will not benefit themselves; they will not benefit their understanding, and their being, their life. Never will they live with others, and they will not eat, they will not drink; their life will be naught. And perhaps they will not heed it; perhaps they will ignore it. Already they know of their difficulties, already they become agitated. But the duty

Ic caxtolli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa: injc tlanquiliaia, oc ce veve tecutlato, in vel quijmatia tlatalli, injc quijtlananqujililiaia altepetl: ioan ynjc quijtlaçocamatia in tecutlatolli, ioan ynjc qujnxtiaia in quenjn muchioaz, neltiz: in jxqujch in oqujto in oqujteneuh tlatoanj.

Tlacatle tlatoanje, totecoe: a ca njcan quijcui, ca njcan cana, in mocujlapil, in matlapal: a ca njcan quijmocujltona, quijmotlamachia in oalqujça, in oalchitonj in achitzin, in tepitzin in mhijotzin, in motlatoltzin: a in mjtzmomaqujli, in mjtic quijmaqujli in totecujo, in tlaçotli, in maviztic, in anemjuhquj in moxillantzinco, in motozcatlantzinc in cepoatoc, in cuelpachiuhtoc.

Ca njcan quijcui, cana: in totecujoan in tepilhoan, in tetzonoan, in teitzioan, in tlaçoti in chalchiuhtin, in maqujzti in jnpilhoan: auh in jtlâpitzalhoan, in jtlaxoxalhoan in topiltzin in quetzalcoatl: a in jpan iolque, in jpan tlacatque in jmjlhvil, in jnmaceoal in petlatl, in jc palli: in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj in çan njman iuh iolque, in njman iuh tlacatque, in çan njman iuh iocoloque in canjn iooaia itoloc, iocoloc in tecutizque in tlatocatizque.

At concujzque, at conanazque, at conmopialtzque: auh at connaviçozque, at contocazque, at conchiaoazque, at commonemjiztizque, at conjujlozque, at ijollocaitlan contlalizque, conaquizque, at vel conmapiqujzque, at vel iniollo itech contlalizque, conjujlozque: ca iz onoque ca ie iehoan conmati.

Ach aonmocnelizque, aconjcnelizque in jmjjx, in jiollo: auh in jieliz, in jnnemjiz, aic tetloc, tenaoac nemjzque: auh haqujquazque, haqujzque, a inne-mjiz iez. Auh anoço conahacaqujzque, acaço tle ipan conjttazque: ca ie iehoan conmati, anca ie imoujcauh, anca otlaneçomaltique: ca tel ie cvel patiooa, ca otimoqujxtitzino tlacatle, totecoe, tlatoanje:

1. This chapter is best understood by recalling that the ruler is, in fact, the mouthpiece of the god.

is performed, for thou hast already complied with thy obligation, O master, O our lord, O ruler.<sup>2</sup>

"Verily, they ignore it; they will not see it. And will they not go up against, go injuring themselves against, go beating themselves against the wall? Will they not go encountering the torrent, the crag? And is that not when they will make their efforts [to remember] thy words which have come forth? Will they not say, 'O that we had not heard it! O that we had not been told! We have become accursed. Verily we have abandoned it; we have our reward. What can be done? Is it yet in vain?'

"Here have obtained merit the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, the humble warriors, those no longer with mothers, those no longer with fathers, the orphaned. Here they deserve, they merit, a bit, a little of the leavings. They gather to themselves the leavings, the crumbs of the favored, the rich, the cherished, our lords.

"Wherever there is a friend, an acquaintance, of our lord, will he not take it, seize it? And will not our lord show him mercy? Will he not achieve? Will he not conform to the lord of the near, of the nigh, who will accord him something? Perhaps he will give him, will show him the military, or the governed, the realm.

"Verily, so is the saying that in the plants, in the woods our lord showeth mercy to one. And although he is in the excrement, in the refuse,<sup>3</sup> the lord of the near, of the nigh, taketh one therefrom. He washeth one, he batheth one. Our lord will desire that he will carry the load, he will bear the burden, he will reign. He will direct, he will guide. The commoner will respect him; he will be his mother, his father. He will stop the tears of the vassals. He will bathe them, he will wash them. And he will determine their destruction, their exaltation. In his hands the common folk will be crushed, will be shattered, because he hath shown humility to the lord of the near, of the nigh. And well he took, heard, took to heart, guarded unto himself, and put into practise the precious, the incomparable which came forth, the word

ca nel aiuh quijmati, aqujttazque, auh a itech acitivi, a itech mocapanjivi, a itech motzotzonativi in caltechtli, a quijmottitivi in atoatl, in tepexitl: auh atel yquac ñneellaquaval quijoalchiaoazque in onqujz mjhiotzin; aqujoalitozque. Iyo, ach macace ticcacque, macace in tilhviloque: omuchiu, ototlaveliltic: ca tel vel in otoconcauhque, ca tel vel tipatiique: quē çan nel oc nen?

A ca njcan ontlacnopilhvia in quauhtli, in ocelutl, in jcnotiacauh in aoc nane, in aoc tate, in tlacnoca-valli: a ca achitzin, tepitzin tencaoltzin, njcan quijmomacevia, quijnopilhvia intencaoltzin, inque-quexoltzin quijmopepenja in vel nemaqueque, in vel axcaoaque in tlaçotin, in totecujoan:

aço can ca in jcnuh, in jtlajximach totecujo: a ie quijcuz, a ie canaz: auh a ie quijnomatiz in totecujo, a ie quijcuz a quijqujxtiz in tloque naoaque ha itla ipan quipoaz: aço quappetlatl, aço ocelopetlatl quijmacaz, quijtitiz: anoce in tlatconj in tlamamalonj in petlatl, in jcpanlli.

Ca nel noc iuh ca tlatolli in quijtitlan, in quauhtlan moteicnomachitia in totecujo: auh inmanel cuj-tlatitlan, tlaçultitl[an] ca vmpa moteanjlia in tloque, naoaque ca motepapaqujlia, ca moteahaltilia: quine-qujz in totecujo, iehoatl tlatqujz, tlamamaz: iehoatl petlatiz, icpaltiz: iehoatl tlavicaz, iehoatl tlaotlatoc-tiz, ieh hacovic, tlalchivic quijtaz in maceoalli, inan yta iez, ie quixayopapachotiez in cujlapilli, yn atlalli: ie cahaltiz, ie quipapacaz: auh ie quijcotonjiz in jpolivia, in jacoquijcaia, ie imac xamanjz, imac teinjz in maceoalli: Ca nel noço oqujcnoma in tloque naoaque. Auh ca ovel quijcuc, quijcac, ca oqujmoi-loti, ca oqujmoi-palit: auh ca oqujmonemjizti in tlaçotli, in anemjuhquj yn oqujz in cententzin, in cencamatzin, in achitzin in mjhiotzin: in amo timo-tlacaio-cux in omjtztlatolti, in omjtzcamachalolti in

2. The corresponding Spanish text is quoted at length because Sahagún appears not to have rendered the first phrases in the negative: "Tengo por aueriguado, que sea [sic] aprouecharan desta doctrina, y con ella aprouecharan a su entendimēto, y a su voluntad, y a su ser, y a su vida, y haciendo esto podran parecer, dondequieras, y aun ganar honra y hacienda. Y si por uentura, tuujeren en poco, y menospreciaren, esta tam preciosa doctrina, alla se lo ayen, sera señal, que estan desechados, y que dios los tiene menospreciados, y ya para con ellos, esta hecho el deuer; porque vos señor, aveys cōplido, con vuestra dignidad, y oficio real...."

3. *tlaçultitl[an]*: the brackets enclose the completion of this word lost in a semicircular cut at the edge of fol. 69.

or two, the little of thy spirit.<sup>4</sup> Thou hast not been formed as a man; our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath made thee speak, hath made thee open thy mouth. And here are the mothers, the fathers of the city, who put thee to the left, who put thee in obsidian sandals.

"O precious person, O our lord, it hath come forth, it hath sparked forth; the governed have heard it—the precious thing, the marvelous thing, the incomparable thing which the city guardeth, which [the citizens] take with them. Verily now, ye have inclined your hearts to the city; ye have provided for it. The motherhood, the fatherhood are rendered, are satisfied. Ye have done your duty to the city. And ye have warmed yourselves in the presence of the lord of the near, of the nigh.

"May the inhabitants of the city live bound to that which they have grasped, which they have taken. May they live thinking, reflecting upon their life span, their beginning, their decline.<sup>5</sup> And may there thus be weeping, may there thus be encouragement when, having gone treading upon something, they have also slipped, they have also faltered.

"I have caused thee headaches, stomach pains. Pay heed. May our lord rest you in peace. And may you do your work, perform your office, give support to the lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind."

totecujo, in tloque, naoaque. Auh ca iz monoltitoque in jnanoan, in jtaoa, in atl, in tepetl in mjtzopuchtia in mjtzitzcactia:

tlacotitlacatle, totecoe: ca oqujz, ca oalchiton ca oqujcacque in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj, in tlacotli, in maviztic in anemjuhquj, in quipialia in quijtquj-litoque in atl, in tepetl. A nelle axcan, otlacauhquj in amoillotzin, ca oanqujmjtacatilique in atl, in tepetl: a ca opopouh, ca oixtlauh in naiotl, in taiotl: a ca oivic anmoqujxtique in atl, in tepetl: auh ca oammototonque in jixpantzinco in tloque, naoaque:

manoço ic onjlpitinemj in aoa in tepeoa, in oconan, in oconcujc ma conmattinemj, ma conjlnamjctinemj in jnemja, in jqujcaian, auh in juetzia: auh ma ic valchocaz, ma ic oalmellaquaoaz in oiquac itla ipan choloto, in no malauh, in no motecujnj.

A motzontecotzin a melchiqujuhtzin njqueoa: tle āqujmomachitia, ma amechmotlamatcatlalili in to<sup>o</sup>: auh ma ximotlacotilican, ma ximotequjtilican, ma xicmonanamjqujlican in tloq, in naoaque, in ioalli, in ehecatl.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "y este tal tomado, y elegido de leyñador [sic], y hartolano [sic]: juzgue, y determjne, las causas, y sentécie los crímenes de muerte, y haga matar, a los culpados de crimen. Porque este tomo, y guardo dentro de si, las palabras de nuestro señor, y las puso por obra...."

5. In this passage, like the Nahuatl, the Spanish text, beginning in the singular number, appears to end in the plural. It reads: "o hombre, y señor nño precioso, aueys dicho, y todos an oydo los que estan presentes, las leyes, y consejos preciosos, y maravillosos, y raros que los tenjades guardados grandes mercedes, y grandes beneficios, aueys hecho a este pueblo, y a esta gente que los aueys hablado, como mñe y padres [sic] a sus hijos, aueys hecho el deuer para con vuestro pueblo, y los aueys declarado, y manifestado los secretos de vños coraçones, y ellos an oydo, y rescibido: ruego a nuestro señor, que los sientan, y entiendan, y lo pongan por obra, adonde quiera que fueren, y estuieren."



Seventeenth Chapter.<sup>1</sup> Here is related a very good discourse of admonition, which served as rules of conduct, with which the ruler advised his sons. When they were already mature, already having attained discretion, he urged them to abandon all the evil, the bad;<sup>2</sup> and to take firm hold upon the duties of nobility, the duties of rulership, and all the good, the fine.

"Come, O my sons. Take heed, for ye are my sons; for I am thy mother, I am thy father, I who for a brief moment, for a short time bring about errors, mistakes for the city. And as I guard for the inhabitants, I do that which is laughable, which is folly. And I govern poorly on the reed mat, the reed seat, the place of honor of the lord of the near, of the nigh.

"And here standest thou who art the oldest, the firstborn; and here art thou who art the second;<sup>3</sup> and thou who followest; and thou who standest, who standest there, thou who art the youngest. Thus I weep, I am saddened, I am discontent when I reflect upon which one is my sluggard, which one my incoherent one.<sup>4</sup>

"And who will succeed? Who will show humility to our lord? Perchance yet one of you will gain as desert, will gain as merit, the realm, the governed. And perhaps not. Am I bringing it to a close? Is it perhaps all? Is it perhaps this way? Perhaps our lord,<sup>5</sup> the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath declared it? The structure, my reed enclosure, which I put together, where I await the word of our lord, which was completed with difficulty, in misery — will it perhaps crumble, fall apart? Will the land be conquered? Will it become excrement here? Will it happen here? Will perhaps my glory, my renown disappear? Will I cause nothing of my memory to

Ic caxtolli omome capitulo, vncan moteneoa, cenztlamāti cenza qualli, tenonotzaliztlatolli, nenemjiliztilonj: injc quijnonnotzaia, ipilhoan tlatoanj: in jquac ie ixtlamati, ie tlacaquj, quijntlaquauhmacaia, injc quijtlalcahujzque, in jxquich in aqualli, in naiectli. Auh injc quijtlaquauhtzitzqujzque, in piltequjtl, in tlatocatequjtl: auh in jxquich qualli iectli.

Tla xioalhuja nopolane, tla xiccaquijcan ca ānopiloan ca namonan namota in nehoatl in cuel achic in nachicacaujtl in naiuhcailutl in naiuhlácaitl in njccihuijlia in atl in tepetl: auh in njqujntlapialia in naoaque in tepeoaque in veuetzcailutl in chocholocailutl njcchioa: auh in tlaxoxopeoaliztl njccihuijlia in tloque naoaque in jpetlapan, in jcpalpan, in jmahujuçocan.

Auh ca iz tica in titeach in tiacapātl, auh ca iz tōca in titlacoieoa, auh in titlatoqujlia; auh iz tica ompa tica on in tixocoitl, ic njchoca ic njtlaocuia ic njnentlamati in njqujlnamjquj ac ie in nomamjccatzin, ac ie in notēoacauh.

Auh ac ie in quijçaz in quijnomatiz to<sup>6</sup>. cujx oce ameoā amocnopiltiz, amomaceoaltiz in petlatl in jcpanlli, in tlatconj in tlamañalonj, auh cujx noço amo? cujx çä nocōtzacutica cujx ie ixquich, cujx ie iuhquj, cujx oqujmjtalhuj in tocujo in tloque in naoaque, cujx xinjz, cujx moiaoaz in tlaieoalli, in nacatzaqualli in nonjccacalo, in vncan njctlatolchielia totecujo, in naiaxcailotica in cococaiotica omoiecahuji: cujx tlalli tepeuhiez, cujx vncan nemahujloz, cujx vca iez, cujx polihujz, in notenio in nottauhca; cujx atle notillo notlapallo njccauhtiaz, atle notenio nemjz in tlalticpac: cujx njnocēpolotiaz.

1. For an alternative translation of this chapter, see Angel María Garibay K.: *La literatura de los aztecas* (Mexico: Editorial Joaquín Moritz, 1964; hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Literatura*), pp. 111-16.

2. Read *in aicilli*.

3. *titlacoieoa*: see Chap. 20, n. 1. In Chap. 17, the corresponding Spanish text refers to "el seguido."

4. *nomamjccatzin, notēoacauh*: literally, "my dead-handed one," "my dry-mouthed one." The corresponding Spanish text reads: "alguno de vosotros, a de salir invitado, y para poco, y alguno a de salir de poca habilidad, y que no sepa hablar...."

5. *tocujo*: read *totecuyo*.

remain, nothing of my glory to continue on earth?  
Will I cause my complete disappearance?

"Heed in what manner there is life on earth, in what manner compassion is secured of the lord of the near, of the nigh. It is only the weeper, the sorrower, who is required: he who sigheth, he who is anguished. And the devout one<sup>6</sup> who showeth preference for, who welcometh, who giveth himself wholeheartedly, and who holdeth vigil for the sweeping, the cleaning, the ordering of things, is the pleasure of our lord; and he taketh care of, he taketh charge of the incense ladle, the offering of incense.

"In this manner there is entry near, nigh unto the lord of the near, of the nigh, where there is removing of secrets from his lap, from his bosom, and where he recognizeth one, showeth mercy to one, taketh pity upon one, causeth one to merit things, giveth one things. Perhaps he giveth one as desert, as merit, warriorhood—the eagle warriorhood, the ocelot warriorhood. There he taketh, there he recognizeth as his friend the one who addresseth him well, the one who prayeth well to him. He putteth him in charge of the military. In his hands he placeth the eagle vessel, the eagle tube.<sup>7</sup>

"This one becometh the mother, the father of the sun. He provideth those above us [and] those in the land of the dead with drink, with offerings.<sup>8</sup> And the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors revere him; they make him their mother, they make him their father. [This] because in truth our lord of the near, of the nigh, hath said it, hath commanded it; not that [this one] hath done it himself, not that he hath arrayed himself.

"And perhaps he giveth him as desert, giveth him as a gift the realm, the governed. In his hand he placeth the blue water, the yellow water with which the vassals are bathed.

"And he placeth him to the left, he provideth him the obsidian sandals of the mother of the gods, the father of the gods, who resideth in the navel of the earth, who is set in the turquoise enclosure, [enclosed]

Tla xiccaqujca, quenjn nemoa tlalticpac, quenjn icnotlamachtilo, tloque naoaque: ca çan chocanj, tlaucuanj, moneq' elcicihujnj, motcupoanj; auh tlaeumatinj qujxauja qujcelia qujmotaquauhmaca, yoan ixtoçoa in ochpanoaztli, in tlacuvcuilitzli, in chico, tlanaoac tlaujqujiliztli, in juelmach in totecujo: auh qujmocuylahuja, qujmotequjta ipan hiça in tlemaitl, in copaltemaliztli.

Ivihin, in jtloc, inaoac, necalaq'lo in tloq, naoaque: in vncan injc ixilan, in jtozcatlan maiaoa, auh in vncan teiximati, in vncan tetlaocolia, teicnoitta, tetlamecoaltia, vncan tetlamamac: aço oqujchiotl, quauhiotl, oceloiotl qujteihujltia, qujtemaceoaltia; vncan cana, vncan qujximattia in jcnuh, in uel qujnotza, in uel qujtlatlauhtia, qujpacholtia in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl, imac qujmanjlia, in quauhxicalli, in quappiazatl:

iehoatl tonatiuh inan ita muchioa: ieoatl teatlitia, tetlamaca in topā in mjctlan: auh ie acohujc, tlalchi-hujc qujttia in quauhtli in oclutl qujmonantia, qujmotatia: ca nel oqujto ca oqujnaoti in tloque naoaque: ca amo moiucux, ca amo mochichiuh.

Auh anoce qujlhujltia, qujnemactia in petlatl, in jcpcalli, in tlatconj in tlamamalonj; imac q'manjlia in matlalatl, in toxpalatl, injc altilo in cujtlapilli, in atl-palli,

copuchtia, qujtzactia in teteu innā in teteu inta in tlalxicco onoc, in xiuhtetzacualco maqujtoc, in xiuhtotoatica mjxtatzacujlitica in veve teutl in aiamjctlan in xiuhtecutli:

6. tlaenmatinj: read tlatecomatini.

7. Ibid.: en estos exercicios, y en estas obras, conoce dios qujen [sic] son sus amigos, y qujen ora, con devoción, y les pone en las manos, oficios, y dignidades de la milicia, para derramar sangre en la guerra o de la judicatura, donde se dan las sentencias...."

8. Referring to topā in mjctlan, see ibid.: "los haze maes, y padres del sol, para que ellos le den a comer, y a beuer, no solamente al sol, que esta encima de nosotros, pero tambien a los dioses del infierno, que estan debaxo de nosotros...."

with the waters of the lovely cotinga, enclosed with clouds — Ueueteotl, he of Ayamictlan, Xiuhtecutli.<sup>9</sup>

"Perhaps he assigneth him [position] as Tlacatecutli, as a Tlacocheuctli. And perhaps he giveth him some humble position of rule as merit, according as the positions are arranged in order; he maketh him one's mother, one's father, [positions] for which he is respected, revered. And perhaps he giveth him as desert, as merited, something which is quite precious, choice, of the rulership, of the government, such as what I now dream, what I see in dreams, which is not my desert, not my merit."<sup>10</sup>

"Perhaps our lord hath only taken me by mistake. Did I perchance array myself? Did I perchance do it on my own? Did I perchance say 'May I be this'? For it is the word of our lord; for mercy, compassion, is the property, the possession, of our lord; it cometh from him. For no one sayeth in vanity 'May I be this.' For no one merely taketh the governed upon himself. For our lord createth for one, disposeth for one; he dealeth with one of his own accord.

"And hear more. For this I weep, for this I am anguished, for this I am saddened, for this I am unhappy at midnight, at the parting of the night. Wherever my heart goeth, it sinketh, it riseth. I am not satisfied with any one of you, for not any one of you pleaseth me. Here art thou, the oldest. But in vain art thou the oldest, in vain art thou the firstborn. What is it with which thou leadest? For yet only babyishness, childishness, appeareth with thee; for thou exhibitest nothing to show that thou art the oldest, the firstborn.

9. Similar passages are found in Chaps. 4 and 9. The corresponding Spanish text in Chap. 17 reads: "que es el padre de todos los dioses, que reside en el alverque de agua, y reside entre las flores, que son las paredes almenadas, enboelto entre unas nubes de agua: este es el antiguo dios, que se llama ayamictlan, y xiuhtecuhli...." The MS has been corrected by crossing out and substituting words; the original uncorrected part would seem to have read: "que reside en el hogar, y reside entre las flores aquiles [?], que son las llamas del fuego, esta entre [?] las [?] llamas aquiles, enboelto entre unas nubes de foego [?] ...."

Garibay, in *Literatura*, p. 113, has thus translated the Nahuatl (versified): "...Padre de los dioses, Madre de los dioses! El que está en el centro de la tierra, el que está encerrado en encierro de turquesas, en el estanque de agua de color azul, el Dios Antiguo, de la Región de las neblinas de la muerte, el dios del Tiempo [Xiuhtecuhli]."

Eduard Seler, in *Codex Borgia*, eine altmexikanische Bilderschrift der Bibliothek der Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (Berlin, 1904), Vol. I, p. 119, translates: "die Mutter der Götter, der Vater der Götter, der in dem Nabel der Erde wohnt, der in die türkisfarbene Steinpyramide eingeht, mit dem türkisvögelfarbenen Wasser das Gericht umschlossen hat, der alter Gott, — der Herr des Türkises (oder der blauen Herr) .... Für das ayamictlan der oben angeführten Stelle bieten sich zwei Erklärungen: — Es kann a-yamictlan, 'das Land wo man nicht stirbt,' und es kann ayam-mictlan, d. h. ayuhmictlan, 'das Land der Nebeltoten,' heißen."

We separate *mixtzatzacualli-tica* into the elements *mix-tatzacualli-tica*. Mixtli is cloud, but if the element *mix-* is to be derived from *mixtotl*, *mixtoyotl*, or *mixtecuacuilli* (battlement), it would account for the "paredes almenadas" of Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text. Seler, however, in *Codex Vaticanus*, Nr. 3773 (*Codex Vaticanus B*), eine altmexikanische Bilderschrift der Vatikanischen Bibliothek (Berlin 1902), Vol. I, p. 108, suggests that the battlement is a representation of the clouds. Reading *m-ixtzatzacuilli-tica* would favor Seler's translation as cited above. For Seler (*Codex Borgia*, loc. cit.), ayamictlan can mean "das Land wo man nicht stirbt" or "das Land der Nebeltoten."

In Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 323, Garibay defines ayamictlan as "Prob. no 'dominador de la región de los muertos,' sino 'el que está entre las nieblas del sitio de los muertos' (Ayuhmictlan)."

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "O les da a merecer, alguna cosa preciosa, entre los señadores, y señores, como es el oficio, y dignidad, que agora, yo tengo, y uso, como soñado, y sin merecimiento mío, no mirado nro señor, quam poco yo merezco...."

at tlacatecutli, at tlacochtecutli ipan quipoa auh at itla icnopetlatzintli, icpaltzintli qujmaceoaltia, injc motlatecpanjlia tenan, teta qujchiao, tlacamacho, acovic, tlachivic itto. Auh anoce in çan tlaçoujtz, in çan tlaçoca in qujlviltia, in qujmaceoaltia in tecujotl, in tlatocaiotl: in axcan njctemjquj, njccochileoa, in anolhvil, in anomaceoal,

at çan onechtlaneuj in totecujo: cujx njnochichiuh, cujx njnoiocux: cujx njqujto, ma ne, y. ca itlatoltzin in totecujo, ca tetlaocolilli, ca teicnoittaliztli: ca iaxcatzin, ca itlatqujtzin in totecujo, ca ytechcopa vitz: caiac çan qujmotenjtalhvica in ma nehoatl, yn, caiac çan qujmocujlica in tlatconj, in tlamalamonj: ca moteiocolia ca moteimachilia in totecujo ca motenomatcavilia.

Auh ieh oc xiccaqujcan, ieh ynjc njchoca, ieh injc njnoteupoa, ieh injc njtlaocuia, injc njnentlamati in tlacoioooan, in ioalli xeliuj, in canjn nemj noiollo, in temo, in tleco. Ca amo ce namechvelitta, ca amo aceme annechiolpachiviltia: yz tica in titeach, auh tzonen titeach, tzonen tiacapantli: catli injc tiacatihu, ca çan noma pillotl, coneiotl, in motech neci: ca atle ticnextia, injc titeach, injc tiacapantli:

"And here standest thou, thou who art the second; [and] thou who art the youngest. Thou hast only achieved being the second one. Thou hast only achieved being the youngest.<sup>11</sup> Dost thou deprecate thyself, dost thou fail for no reason? Our lord hath sent thee second, and [thee] last; wilt thou therefore deprecate thyself?

"Listen. And what will ye do on earth? To what purpose were ye born by one's grace? For ye were born by the grace of our lords, the lords, the rulers who have already gone beyond to reside;<sup>12</sup> for ye came to life, ye were born not among the herbs, in the woods.<sup>13</sup> And what are ye to do? Are ye diligent with the staff, with the carrying frame? Do ye deal exclusively with ridges, with ditches? And are ye diligent with herbs, with wood?

"Hear ye: here is your task. Take care of the drum, the gourd rattle: ye will awaken the city, and ye will gladden the lord of the near, of the nigh. Therewith ye will seek his counsel, therewith ye will take from his lap, from his bosom; they are the prayers with which our lord is prayed to, the counsel with which one is counseled.

"And pay attention to artisanship, the art of feather working, the knowledge of things, that in time of suffering, when misery dominateth, [the artisanship] will be a rampart, a buttress,<sup>14</sup> [so that] there is food, there is drink.

"And especially take care of the ridge, of the ditch. Plant and sow in the field. It will not be of thy doing, and thou wilt not grow the maize, thou wilt not nourish it.<sup>15</sup> So went [saying] those who departed leaving you, the lords, the rulers, those by whose grace ye were born: they went caring for the ridges, for the ditches; they went planting in them. And they went sowing in the ridges; they went placing all [therein]. They went saying: 'Such [our ancestors] went giving us, such they went entrusting us.'

"They went saying: 'If thou dedicatest thyself exclusively to nobility, if thou plantest not in the

auh iz tica in titlacoeoa in tixocoiotl, ca cic titlacoeoa, ca cic tixocoiotl, caçan timopopoloa, timotlavelcaoa? tlatlaco, auh tlacujtlapilco in mjtzoalioa totecujo: cujx yc timopopoloz?

Tla xiccaqujcan: auh tle amaizque in tlalticpac, ca nen tepaltzinco oanmotlacatilique, ca oinpali antlacatque in totecujoan, in ie nachca onmantuij in tetecuti, tlatoque, ca amo quijtitlan, ca amo quauhtitlan in oaiolque, in oantlacatque, auh tle amaizque? cujx ie ytlan amonaquj in topilli, in cacaxtli: cujx ie anconjxcavia in cuemjtl, apantli: auh cujx ie itlan amonaquj in quijtitl, in quavitl?

xiccaqujcan izca in amotequjuh, xicmocujtlavican in vevetl, in aiacachtli, anqujxitizque in atl in tepetl: auh anca viltizque in tloque, naoaque ic anqujtlatoltemozque, ic ixillan, ytozcatlan amamaiavizque ca itlaitlanjliloca, ca itlatoltemoloca in totecujo.

Auh xicmocujtlavican tultecaiotl, in amantecaiotl, in tlaiximachiliziotl, yn jcocoiaia in ie timalivi in jcnotecpillotl, oaltenantiz, qujoaltzacujz, ca qualonj, ca ioanj:

auh oc cenca iehoatl, xicmocujtlavican in cuemjtl, in apantli, ipan xitlatocan: auh xontlatepeoacan in mijpan, ca amo mopan in iez: auh ca amo ticoapaoaz in tonacaiotl, ca amo tictlaqualtz, ca iuh huj in amechcauhivi, in jnpal anmotlacatilique, in tetecutin, in tlatoque, ca qujmocujtlaviti, ca ipan tlatotivi, in cuemjtl, apantli: auh ca ontlatepeuhti in cuenco, muchi contlalitivi: ca conjtotivi, ca iuh techonmacativi, ca iuh techonpialtitivi:

ca conjtotivi: Intla xoconjxcavi pillotl, intlaca ipan xontlati in cuemjtl, apantli: tle tictequaltz, auh tle

11. *ga cic*: read *gan acie*.

12. *onmantuij*: we derive this word from *mani*. Garibay, *Literatura*, p. 113, sees it as derived from *ana*.

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "mírad que no descendis de hortolanos o de leñadores...."

14. *oaltenantiz, qujoaltzacujz*: cf. Chap. 43.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "mayormente que tengays cuidado, de las cosas de la agricultura, porque estas cosas la tierra, las crías no demandan que las den de comer, o de bever, que la tierra tiene este cuidado de criarlas...." Garibay, *Literatura*, p. 114, thus translates the Nahuatl: "En la sementera sembrad y laborad: ¿no va a crecer por obra tuya y a medrar el maíz que tú has de comer?"

ridges, in the ditch, what wilt thou give one to eat? What wilt thou eat? What wilt thou drink? Where have I seen that one hath been sustained by nobility?"

"Note that the sustenance really favoreth us. Who is said to have called, to have named the sustenance, our bones, our flesh? For it is our nourishment, our being; it is the walking, the moving, the rejoicing, the laughing. The sustenance giveth them life; most truly it is said: one ruleth, one governeth, one conquereth. Where have I seen an empty-gutted one,<sup>16</sup> a non-eater, who ruleth, who governeth? Where have I seen one without provisions who conquereth? Alone it is by sustenance that the earth endureth, that the world maintaineth life, that we replenish the world. The sustenance is our hope.

"And in the field plant the maguey, the nopal, the trees. The old men went saying [these] refresh the little ones. 'And thou, child, dost thou not also long for fruit? But how can it be there if thou dost not plant the field?'

"Behold, with this my words come to an end. Guard them with your hearts. Place them in the chambers of your hearts. Inscribe them in your hearts. Not many, not numerous are the words. Where, in truth, will we reach? How much, in truth, might we say? Here, in some manner, are just two words worthy of being guarded, worthy of being remembered, which they left as they went, gave us as they went, entrusted to us as they departed, bequeathed to us as they went.

"The first word is to enter near to, nigh unto our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, the master, the night, the wind. Give him all thy heart, thy body. Let thy feet go not astray. And do not presume, do not repeat something within thyself, do not blaspheme in thy defiance; for our lord seeth, heareth within wood, within stone. And truly Moyocoya, Moquequeloa will wish something on thee.

"The second word is to live in peace with others. Be not a fool. Do not pant. May all people have thy esteem, thy respect. Do not offend one because of something. And also do not rise up against one for something. Do not act imprudently; let whatever is said be said of thee. Let thyself be destroyed in the manner in which thou art to be destroyed; do not return in kind. Be not as a serpent. Do not act imprudently, do not rise up against one, do not blow

ticquaz, tle tiquiz: can njquittac pillotl ic omeuh, ic ococh:

xiccaqujcan in tonacaiotl, vel techcenmaceuh: ac mach qujto, ac mach qujtocaioti in tonacaiotl, in tomjo, in tonacaio, ca tonenca, ca toiolca: ca iehoatl in nenemj, ca iehoatl in molinja, ca iehoatl in paquj, ca iehoatl in vetzca, ca ieh in nemj tonacaiotl: cenza nel onmjtoa, tecuti, tlatocati, tepeoa: can onjquittac acujtlaxcolcoionquj, atlaquanj tecuti, tlatocati: auh can onjquittac aytaque tepeoa. Çä ce in tonacaiotl ic man jn tlalli, ic ioltimanj in cemanaoatl, in cemanaoac titentimanj, tocitemach in tonacaiotl:

auh xontlatepeoacan in mjlpán in metzintli, in nopaltzintli, in quaughtzintli: conjtotivi in vevetque, qujntlaceviliz in pipiltzitzinti: auh ticonepul, amo no toconelevilia in xochiquallli: auh quen, vncā, o, haxontlatepeoacan mjlpán?

Izcatquj ic ontzonqujça in notlatol xicmoiollotica, xicmopialtican, amoiollocaltitlan xictlalican, amo iollo itech xiqujcujlocan: amjec, aixachin tlatolli, can nel tacizque, quexqujch nel tiqujtoanj: çan izcatquj, quen ontentli in pialonj, in neiolilotlonj, in concauh-tiaque, in techonmacatiaque, in techonpialtiteoaque in techcauhativi.

Injc cententli: itloc, inaoac ximocalaqujcan in totecujo in tloque, naoaque, in tlacatl in iooalli in ehetcatl: cenza xoconmaca in moiollo, in monacaio, ma nen chico ticquetz in mocxi: auh ma mijtic titlato, ma itla mijtic tiqujto, ma tichicotlato monexiuhttilco: ca quavil, tetl yitic tlachia, tlacaquj in totecujo: auh ca nel moiocoia, ca moquequeloa, ysla mopan quoalmonequjltiz.

Injc vncamatl: yvian tetloc, tenaoac ximonemjti, maca xixtomaoa, maca xicica: ma muchi tlacatl mjttil, mjmamacax: ma itla ic teixco, teicpac tinen: auh ma no itla ic teuic tehoa, ma atimotlatlamatcachiu, ma xítolō, quenjn titoloz, ma çä iuh xipolivin, quenjn tipoliviz, ma tictecuepili: in mahan ticoatl, ma atimotlatlamatcachiu, ma tevic teoa, ma titeheca-vitivetz: çan motech xoconpacho, çan motech xoconmatelo, ca mijtzitzicac in totecujo: ca iehoatl mijtz-

16. Lit., with no opening in the intestines.

as a violent wind against one. Just press him to thee; show mercy; for our lord is watching thee. He will show anger on thy behalf; he will avenge thee. Just live; already thou art guided; already thou art arrayed.

"The third word is: Do not waste time, and do not act uselessly on earth. Do not waste the night, the day; they are necessary for us even as our bones, our flesh, our strength, our sustenance. Sigh to, ask of our lord. And that which we hang from our necks, from our hips: ask it of our lord. Show forethought night [and] day. Do not be wasteful.

"Briefly, this is all with which I do my duty to you. Perhaps somewhere you will reflect; perhaps you will ignore it. Already you know that I have complied with my duty.

"And which one of you will profit? Thou who art the firstborn? Thou who art the oldest? Thou who art the second? Thou who art the youngest? Perhaps thou the sagacious one, perhaps thou the able one, perhaps thou the so-called divine-hearted, perhaps thou the divine-hearted person<sup>17</sup> will grasp it, take it, cherish it, place it — inscribe it — in thy heart; for thou wilt profit by it, for thou wilt bless thyself, for thereby thou wilt live on earth."

motlaqualanjiliz, ie motzoncujtzinoz. çan ximone-  
mjtí ca ie tivico: auh ca ie tichichioalo.

Injc ecamatl: ma titlanemma, auh ma timonenema in tlalticpac, ma tictnenqujxti, in ceiooal, in cemjlvitl, in mache totech monequj, in tomjo, in tonacaio, in tochicaoaca in tonacaiotl xiquelcicivi, xiqujtlanjli in totecujo: auh iehoatl in toquechtlan, in toquezpan in toconpiloa, xiqujtlanjli in totecujo, xontlalhujto in ceiooal, in cemjlvitl: maca ximonenencaoa.

O çan cuel ixquijch, y, ic njnoqujxtia in amovic: at cana ancontlatlaçazque, at anconahacaqujzque: ca ie amehoan anquijmati, ca onjnoqujxti:

auh ac te in tonmocneliz, cujx te in titeacapan, cujx te in titeach, cujx titlacoeoa, cujx noço tehoatl, in tixocoiotl: cujx te titlachixcatzintli, cujx te titlacakatzintli, cujx te (mjtoa) teutl moiollo, cujx te titlacetuiollocatzin, toconcujz, toconanaz, tictmopialtz, moiollo itech tocontlaliz, toconjucujloz: ca tonmocneliz, ca timotlaocoliz, ca ic tinemjz in tlalticpac.

17. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "como díxerás adiujno, adiujno [sic] y entenderás los pensamientos, de los otros, y serás, como quienes  
bele [sic] de lejos, las cosas, y las entiende: y las guarda, y escribe en su corazón, sin dezirlas a nadie . . ."



Eighteenth Chapter.<sup>1</sup> Here it is related how the rulers admonished their daughters when they had already reached the age of discretion. Thus they urged them to prudence [and] virtue, public [and] private. They placed before them, revealed to them, the nobility, the government, the honor, that they should in no way blacken, dirty, discredit the lineage. Very good were the words with which they admonished them.

"Here art thou, thou who art my child, thou who art my precious necklace, thou who art my precious feather, thou who art my creation, my offspring, my blood, my color, my image. Now grasp, hear that thou hast come to life, thou wert born; that our lord of the near, of the nigh, the maker, the creator, hath sent thee to earth.

"And now that thou hast become knowledgeable, already thou observest how things are. There is no rejoicing, there is no contentment; there is torment, there is pain, there is fatigue, there is want; torment, pain dominate. Difficult is the world, a place where one is caused to weep, a place where one is caused pain. Affliction is known. And the cold wind passeth, glideth by. Most certainly on one the wind lessens the heat. And it is a place of thirst, it is a place of hunger. This is the way things are.<sup>2</sup>

"Hear well, O my daughter, O my child, the earth is not a good place. It is not a place of joy, it is not a place of contentment. It is merely said it is a place of joy with fatigue, of joy with pain on earth; so the old men went saying. In order that we may not go weeping forever, may not die of sorrow, it is our merit that our lord gave us laughter, sleep, and our sustenance, our strength, our force, and also carnal knowledge in order that there be peopling.

"All make life gay on earth in order that no one go weeping. And although it is so, although this is

Ic caxtolli omei capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in quenin tlatoque, qujnnnotzaia imjchpuchoan, in jquac ie ixtlamatia: injc qujntlaquauhmacaia in nezcaliliztli, in nemachiliztli in teixpan, in acanoçomo teixpan: imjxpan qujtlaliaia, qujmjtitaia in pillotl, in tlatocaiotl, in maviziotl: in ma itla ic qujtlilloti, ic qujcatzauhti, ic qujçolotl in tlacamecailotl: cenca qualli in tlatolli, injc qujnnnotzaia.

Ca njcan tonca, in tinopiltzin, in tinocozquij, in tinoquetzal, in tinotlacachioal, in tinotlatlacetilil, in tinezio, in tinotlapallo, in tinonejximachiliz: a axcan tla xiccu, tla xiccaquij, ca otiiol ca otitlacat: ca omjtzalmjoalli in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque, in techioan, in teiocoian in tlalticpac.

An axcan ca ie timotlachialtia, ca ie titlachia injc iuhcan: ca amo avialo, ca amo vellamacho, ca toneuo, ca chichinaco, ca tlaciauoa ca vmpa onquiça, timalivin tonevitztli, in chichinaquijztli: aiaxcan in tlalticpac, techochoctican, teellelaxitican, cococ teupouhquij macho: auh itztic, cecec, ehecatl qujztoc mopetzcotoc: nelli mach in tetech cecevi in tonalli, in ehecatl, auh amjcooaian, teuciooaia: çan njman ie iuhca, y,

vel xiccaquij nochpuchtze, nopiltze: haieccan in tlalticpac, amo pacoaia, amo vellamachoaia: çan mjtoa ciauhcapacoaia, chichinacapacoaia in tlalticpac, iuh conjtotivi in vevetque: injc amo cemjcac tichocatinemjzque, injc amo titlaoculmqujzque in timaceoalti: iehoatl techmomaqujli in totecujo, in vetzqujztl, in cochiztli: auh ie in tonacaiutl in tochicaoaca, in tooapaoaca: auh iequene ie iehoatl in tlalticpacatiotl, injc nepixolo.

muchí qujvinti in nemjliztli in tlalticpac injc aiac chocatinemj. Auh maço iuhcan, y, maço nel ivi in

1. For other translations of the chapter, see Garibay, *Literatura*, pp. 117-22, and Miguel León-Portilla: "Consejos de un padre náhuatl a su hija," *América Indígena*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (October, 1961), pp. 339-43.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "o hija mja que en este mundo, es lugar de lloros, y afflictiones, y de descontentos, donde ay frios, y destemplas de ayre, y grandes calores del sol, que nos affige, y es lugar de hambre, y de sed: esto es muy gran verdad, y por experiencia lo sabemos."

the way of life on earth, is it perhaps therefore heard, is it perhaps therefore feared, is life perhaps therefore lived in weeping? For there is living on earth; there is one's becoming a lord; there is one's becoming a ruler; there is one's becoming a nobleman; there is one's becoming an eagle warrior; there is one's becoming an ocelot warrior. And who is saying that this is how it is on earth? Who is just yielding to death? For there is the doing of things; there is the providing of a livelihood; there is the building of houses; there is labor; there is the seeking of women; there is marriage; there is the marriage of women to men; there is the marriage of men to women.

"And now, O my daughter, hear it well, look at it deliberately; for behold, here is thy mother, thy noble one. From her womb, from her breast thou wert chipped, thou wert flaked.<sup>3</sup> It is as if thou wert an herb, a plant which hath propagated, sprouted, blossomed. It is also as if thou hadst been asleep and hadst awakened.

"See, hear, and know how it is on earth. May thou live, may thou just live, may thou continue a little. In what manner wilt thou live? In what manner wilt thou continue a little? They say the earth is a dangerous place, a fearsomely dangerous place, O my daughter, O dove, O little one.<sup>4</sup> Know that thou comest from someone, thou art descended from someone; that thou wert born by someone's grace; that thou art the spine, the thorn, of our lords who went leaving us, the lords, the rulers who already have gone to reside beyond, those who came guarding the realm, and who came giving fame, who came giving renown to nobility.

"Hear this. Especially do I declare unto thee that thou art a noblewoman. If thou wert only to esteem thyself as a precious person! – This, even though thou art a woman. Thou art a precious green stone, thou art a precious turquoise. Thou wert cast, thou wert perforated. Thou art blood, thou art color, thou art a spine, thou art a thorn. Thou art one's hair, one's fingernail, one's chip, one's flake. And so now I say to thee: dost thou perchance not yet<sup>5</sup> take much heed? Dost thou perchance pile up earth, potsherds? Art thou perchance on the surface of the ground [as a child]? For already thou hearest a

juh tlamanj, y, tlalticpac: cujx ic caco, cujx ic ne-  
mauhilo, cujx ic chocatinemoa, ca nemoa in tlaltic-  
pac, tecutioa, tlatoctatioa, piltioa, quauhtioa, ocelotioa:  
auh aqujn ca quijtotica ca iuhcan, y, in tlalticpac:  
aqujn ca momjqujziecotica, ca tlaaioa, ca nemjtilo,  
necaltilo, tlatequjpanolo: auh necioatlanjlo, nena-  
mjtilo, neucchotilo, tlapaliuhcatioa.

Auh in axcan nochpuchtze: tla vel xiccaquj, tla  
xiqujvianjta: ca iz vnta in monantzin in motecuio-  
tzin, in jxillan, in jtozcatlanpa otitzicueoac, otitlapan:  
in mahan tixiuhtzintli, yn mahan tiqujltzintli: oti-  
oalixeoac, otixotlac, oticuepon: in mahan noce otico-  
chia, otioaliçac:

xitlachia, xitlacaquj: auh xitlamati, iuhcan, y, in  
tlalticpac, ma tinen, ma ca tinen, ma achi tictoca,  
quenj tinemjz, quen achi tictocaz: mach vel ovican  
in tlalticpac, tetzauh ovican nochpuchtze, cocotze,  
tepitze, xicmati, ca tetechcopa tivitz, ca tetechcopa  
otimoqujxti, ca otepaltzinco timotlacatili, ca tinvitzio,  
ca timaoao in totecujoan in techmocavilitivi in tete-  
cutin, in tlatoque, in ie nachca onmomanjltitivi, in  
oqujpiaco in petlatl, in jcpanli: auh in oqujteiotico, in  
oqujtauhcaiotico in pillotl.

Xiccaquj, tla ca cenza njmjtzmelavili ca tipilli, intla  
çan ximotta titlaçotli, y, maço ticioatzintli, tichalchiti-  
vitl, titeuxivitl, tipitzaloc, timamalioac, teziotl, titla-  
pallotl, tivitziotl, taoaiotl, titetzon, titeizti, titetzi-  
cueuhca, titetlapanca: auh injc axcan njmjtzhilia, cujx  
zena aia tictmocaqujzia cujx nelli mach tlalli,  
tapalcatl ticololoa, cujx tlalli ixco tica, ca ie quentel-  
tzin timotlacqujzia, timotlachialtia: ma çan mone-  
vian tonmçolo, ma ytla ic tiqujnmopinauhili in  
totecujoan in teteputin, in tlatoque, in techmocavili-  
tivi: ma timaceoalti, ma timomaceoalqujxti:

3. *Ibid.*: "de cuyo vientre saliste, como una piedra que se corta de otra...."

4. *Ibid.*: "es menester que sepas como es de biujr, y como es de andar tu camjno, porque el camjno deste mundo, es muy dificultoso...."

5. *aia*: the MS may read *nia*.

little, thou beholdest a little.<sup>6</sup> Do not, just of thy own accord, bring dishonor upon thyself. Do not in something cause embarrassment to our lords, the lords, the rulers who have gone leaving us. Do not be a commoner; do not lower thyself.

"Thus art thou to conduct thyself on earth among others, for verily thou art a little woman. Here is thy task which thou art to do: be devout night and day. Sigh many times unto the night, the wind. Plead with, speak to, cry out to him, stretch out thine arms to him, especially at thy reclining place, at thy sleeping place. Do not practise the pleasure of sleep; awake and arise promptly; awake with a start, at the parting of the night; support thyself on thy elbows, thy knees; arise promptly, make thy bow, incline thy head. Speak to, cry out to the master, our lord, to him of the night, the wind, for he rejoiceth to hear thee by night, and then he will show compassion to thee, he will give thee that which is thy desert, thy merit.

"And thy desert, thy merit, which thou wert given in the beginning, with which thou wert arrayed, into which thou camest to life, into which thou wert born: if it was not good, at this time it will be made good, it will be made favorable. The master, our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, will change it.<sup>7</sup>

"And at night hold vigil, arise promptly, extend thy arms promptly, quickly leave [thy bed] soft, wash thy face, wash thy hands, wash thy mouth. Seize the broom: be diligent with the sweeping; be not tepid, be not lukewarm. Wash the mouths [of the gods]; especially do not neglect the offering of incense, for thus is our lord petitioned; it is the means by which his mercy is requested.

"And when it is so, when thou hast made preparations, what wilt thou do? What wilt thou seize upon as thy womanly labors? Is it perhaps the drink, the grinding stone? Is it perhaps the spindle whorl, the weaving stick? Look well to the drink, to the food: how it is prepared, how it is made, how it is improved; the art of good drink, the art of good food, which is called one's birthright. This is the property of — it belongeth to — the lords, the rulers.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "esto que te digo hija mía, bien lo entiendes porq ya no andas amontonando la tierra, y burlando con las texuelas, y cō la tierra con otras niñas: que ya entiendes, y tienes discreción, y vas de razon...."

7. *Ibid.*: "Y si por uentura ante del principio del mundo, se fue dada alguna sinistra ventura algun hado contrario, en que naciste, orádo, y haciendo penitencia, como esta dicho se mejorara, y nuestro señor dios lo abonara...." The phrase *in iooaan* — the time of darkness — is translated as "in the beginning"; the meaning can be appreciated in a passage in the account of the creation of the sun: "Mitoa, in oc iooaan, in aiamo tona, in aiamo slathu" — "It is told that when yet [all] was in darkness, when yet no sun had shone and no dawn had broken." Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, Book VII, "The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years," p. 4.

yvin in timonemjtiz in tlalticpac, in tetloc, in tenaoc, ca nel ticioatzintli. Izcatquj in motequjuh in ticchioaz: in ceioaal, in cemjlvtl xitlateumati, mjiec-pa ivictzinco xelcicivi in iooalli, in ehecatl: xictlaitlanjli, xicnotza, xictzatzili, ivictzinco ximaçoa: oc cenca in movetzian, in mocochian, ma ca velic cochiztli xicchiuhto, xicteoaa, ximocujtuetzi in iooalli xeli-vi, momolicpi, motetepon, ic xitlaçä, ximeuhtiqujça: motolol momalcoch xicchioa, xicnotza, xictzatzili in tlacatl, in totecujo: in iehoatzin in iooalli, in ehecatl, ca mahaviltitzinoa in iooaltica mjtzcaqujz: auh vncan mjtzicnoittaz, vncan mjtzmacaz in tlein mol-hvil momaceoal.

Auh intlaca qualli, molhvil, momaceoal in iooaan timacoc, injc tâpanoc, in jpan tijol, in jpan titlacat: vncan qualtiaz, iectiaz, qujmocuepiliz in tlacatl, in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque:

auh iooalli xiqujtzto, ximeuhtiqujça, ximaçouh-teoa, xipopoxiuhteoaa, ximjxamj, ximomatequj, ximocamapaca, xiccujtivetzi in ochpanoaztli in ochpanalli, itlan xaquj: maca xiiamanjxto, maca xitonanjxto, xitecamapaca: oc cenca iehoatl in tlenamactli, ma tixiccauh, ca ic tlaitlanjlilo in totecujo, ca itlaocul-nonotzaloca.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otimocencauh: ca tlein ticchiaoaz, ca tlein toconcuтивetzi mocioatequjuh: cujx ie in atl, in metlatl, cujx ie in malacatl, in tzotzopaztli: vel xiqujtzta in atl, in tlaqualli, in quenjn iecavi, in quenjn muchioa, in quenjn iectia: quenamj in qualli atl, in qualli tlaqualli, quenamj in mjtoa tetonal: inin ie iehoatl in jmaxca, in jntech pouhquj in totecujoan, in tlatoque, injc mjto moteneuh, tetonal, tlatoaca tlaqualli, tlatoaca atl, tecpillaqualli, mijmati

Thus it is called, it is named, one's birthright, the food of rulers, the drink of rulers, the food of noblemen, the choice drink, the choice food.<sup>8</sup> Look with diligence, open well thine eyes, apply thyself well to how it is done, for thus thou wilt live and thus thou wilt acquire things, and thus thou wilt be loved, even if it is doubtful, undetermined where our lord assigneth thee.

"If perhaps already the misery of the nobility dominateth, look well, apply thyself well to the really womanly task, the spindle whorl, the weaving stick. Open thine eyes well as to how to be an artisan, how to be a feather worker; the manner of making designs by embroidering; how to judge colors; how to apply colors [to please] thy sisters, thy ladies, our honored ones, the noblewomen.<sup>9</sup> Look with diligence; apply thyself well as to how heddles are provided; how leashes are provided, how the template is placed. Take care not to fail to know, not to lose through neglect, not to lose through carelessness.

"Now is the opportune time, and it is yet a good time. Thy heart is yet a precious green stone, yet a precious turquoise. It is still keen; nothing defileth it; it is still untouched, nowhere twisted, still virgin, pure, undefiled.

"And we are still here, we who have had great regard for thee. Wilt thou perchance say, thou who art our child, 'I make myself, I form myself'? It was our affair; we have suffered for thee; but thus the world endureth. Was it perhaps so ordained? For our lord declared, determined the propagation, the multiplication [of man] on earth.<sup>10</sup>

"We are still here; it is still our time. The club, the rock of our lord fall not yet. And not yet do we die, not yet do we perish. Take heed, O my youngest, O dove, O little one.

"When our lord hath hidden us, thou wilt live by the grace of others. The herbs, the wood, the strands of chili, the cakes of salt, the nitrous soil are not thy desert, not thy gift, [nor] art thou to frequent another's entrance, because thou art a noblewoman. Pay good attention to the spindle whorl, the weaving stick, the drink, the food.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "deprende muy bien a hacer la buena comida, y buena beuida, que se llama comer, y beuer delicado, para los señores, i a solos ellos se da, y por esto se llama tetonal tlatocatlaqualli, tlatoceatl, que quiere deixir comida, y beuida delicada, que a solos los señores, y generosos les conviene...."

9. Ibid.: "para que digan bien, los que son señoras, y habiles, en esta arte...."

10. Ibid.: "yo y tu madre, tuusimos este cuidado, y te heximos, porque esta es la costumbre del mundo, no es invencion de alguno, es ordenacion de nuestro señor Dios, que aia generacion, por via de hombre, y de muger, para hacer multiplicacion, y generacion...."

atl, mjmati tlaqualli: vel xommjxti, vel xommjxtziana, vel xommopacho, in quenjn chioalo: ca ic timonemjtiz, auh ca ic timotlalpializ. Auh ic titlaçotiz, intla çä nen haneiocol, cana mjtzmopovili totecujo:

in at ie timalivi icnotecpillotl: auh ic iehoatl vel xiujitta, vel xommopacho, in vel ic cioatequijtl in malacatl, in tzotzopatzli: vel xommjxtziana, quenjn tultecati, quenjn amantecati, quenjn tlatlamachicujloa, quenjn tlatlapalpoa, quenjn tlatlapalaquja, in mopitzitzioan, in motecujiotzitzioan, in totecujiocoan, in civapipilti: quenjn nexiitilo, quenjn nequatzmalo, quenjn neoctacatilo, vel xommjxti, vel xommopacho ma timonenma, ma timonencauh: auh ma timoxiccauh,

axcanpa qualcan: auh oc qualcan, ca oc chalchivtl, ca oc teuxivitl in moiollo, ca oc itztica, caiatle quijtlacoa, ca oc quijtica, ca aiacanpa itzcalivi, ca oc motquijtica, ca oc macitica, aiatle neneliuhquj.

Auh ioan oc toncate in tehoantin in mache otimjtzveipouhque: cujx ticmjtalhvia in titoconetzin ma njnochioa, ma njtlacati: ca tehoantin totlatlacul, ca tehoantin otimjztolinjque; ca tel yc tlaman jn tlaltecac, cujx iujtolo: ca oqujmjtalhvi, ca oqujmotlali in totecujo, in nexinacholoz, in netlapiviloz tlaltecac:

oc toncate, oc tomatian, oc ic aia oalvetzi in jquaughzin, in jtetzin totecujo: auh aiamo tonmiquj, aiamo tonpolivi, cencia tle ticmomachitia noxocoiove, cocote, tepitzintle.

In otechtlati totecujo: ic tepaltzinco timonemjtiz, ca amo molhvil, ca amo monemac in qujlitl, in quavitl, in chilçolotl, in iztatapalcatl, in tequixquijtlal-tzin tequjaoatlan ticquequetzaz ca tipilli, ie vel xommjxti, yn, in malacatl, in tzotzopatzli, in atl, in tlaqualli.

"Perhaps there will happen that which is not conceivable, that which is not expressible. Someone will select thee, will speak for thee. If [thou art] unable in anything, how will it be? It will not for this reason be thrown in our faces. And if our lord hath hidden us, there will be no murmuring against us therefor in our absence; we will not be chidden therefor in the land of the dead. And thou wilt not move, thou wilt not separate condemnation from thyself.

"But if already thou payest attention to the same, wherfrom cometh the reprobation? To a purpose thou wilt glorify thyself by one's grace, thou wilt esteem thyself, thou wilt be proud. It is as if thou wert to be of the order of eagles, of the order of ocelots. Well art thou to assume thy shield;<sup>11</sup> may possibly all the little shields rest in thy hand.

"Also there, because of thee we will raise up our heads; thou wilt render us honor. But if thou dost nothing well, perhaps it will not be said of thee that thou art without lice. Seldom wilt thou bathe.<sup>12</sup> And which of the two ways will our lord wish for thee?

"Especially note that which I say to thee, that which I cry out to thee. Thou art my creation, thou art my child. Take special care that thou not dishonor our lords from whom thou art descended. Cast not dust, filth upon their memory. May thou not dishonor the nobility with something.

"May thou not covet carnal things. May thou not wish for experience, as it is said, in the excrement, in the refuse. And if truly thou art to change thyself, wilt thou become as a goddess? May thou not have quickly destroyed thyself. Yet calmly, with special care, present thyself well.

"If it so please our lord, if someone so will demand, will speak for thee, thou art not to reject, to kick away the spirit of our lord. Take him. Thou art not to refuse; thou art not to retreat twice, not to retreat thrice; thou art not to resist.

"Although we are the parents, and although thou art born of goodly parents, thou art not to overestimate it; thou wilt offend our lord. For that he will pelt thee with dust, refuse, debauchery; [and] this same one will delude, will be capricious.

Iz a ça nen o, haneiol, aioc tlacatencopa, aca mjtzmapilhviz, motech tlatoz: intlacatle veli, quen nenti? amo ic tioalixmotlalozque: auh intla otechmotlatili totecupo, amo ic tonteputzcomonjlozque, amo miclampa ic toniaozque. Auh in tehoatl: amo quavil, amo tetl ticmolinjliz, motlan ticmjquanjliz:

auh intla ie vel xonmjxti, no vncan, o, can vitz teaujztl, amo cenca nen tepaltzinco timotitimalotiez, timjxpatlauhtiez, tahatlamattiez: iuhqujnma quappetapan, ocelopetapan tiez, vel ticmamantiez in mochimal, aceh in ma ixquich teveveli in momac manjz:

no vncan o, mopaltzinco tioaltotzonconacocujzque, titechjxpatlaoaz: auh ie tla catle vel ticchioa, ach atitatemjtl, a ie te in mjtoa, aiachca timaltiz: auh tla ça quen mjtzequjlia in totecupo, in jpan jn ontلامانلى:

Oc cenca: izcatquij ic njmjtznata, ic njmjtztatzilia in tinotlacachioal, in tinopiltzin: ma cenca tle ticmati, ma tiquimavilqujxti in totecupo, in jntechpa timoqujxti, ma teuhtli, tlaçulli ipan ticpixo in jntlillo, in jntlapallo, in pillotl ma itla ic ticavilqujxti:

ma çan cuel tontlaelevi in tlalticpac, ma çan cuel tontlamatiznec, in mjtoa, in cujlatitlan, in tlaçultitan. Auh tla nel timocuepaz: cujx titeutiz, ma ie timjciuhcapolo, oc moiolic, oc cenca moiolic, vel ximoquetza:

intla iuh motlamachitiz totecupo, intla aca, iuh quijmjtahviv, motech tlatoz: ma tictlatlaz, ma ticxopeuh in jhiiotzin totecupo: xicmacuj amo timocujliz: amo ontlacchioaz: amo hetlacchioaz, amo timocujcujlitiez:

in maço tehoantin in tipilhoaque, auh in maço tepealtzinco timotlacatili: amo ticpopouhtiez, ticmioilitlacalviv in totecupo, ic mjtzmotlaz in teuhtli, in tlaçulli in avlnemjliziotl: çan no iehoatl moquequeloz, monenequjz:

11. *Ibid.*: "entonces con razó serás loada, y honrada, y tēdras presumpcion, y te estimaras como si estuyses, en los estrados de los que por sus hazañas en la guerra, merecierō hōrra: presumirás de la rodela como los buenos soldados..." For the meaning of quappetapan, ocelopetapan, see Chap. 43.

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "y si por uentura no hizieres nada bien, de lo que has de hazer, maltratarate ñ, apalearte an, y por ti se dira que con dificultad, te labaras, o que no tendras tiempo, para rascar la cabeza." On titechjxpatlaoaz, see Chap. 43.

"Do not trade, do not deal as if in the market place. And do not, as in the summertime, go selecting the best."<sup>13</sup> Do not languish from desire. Howsoever he may be — perhaps truly upstanding or perhaps only in any manner — do not reject the one sent of our lord. If thou dost not consent thou wilt be ridiculed, for truly he deludeth, he will turn thee into a harlot.

"But meanwhile present thyself well, look well to thine enemy that no one will mock thee. Give thyself not to the wanderer, to the restless one who is given to pleasure, to the evil youth. Nor are two, three to know thy face, thy head. When thou hast seen the one who, together with thee, will endure to the end, do not abandon him. Seize him, hang on to him even though he be a poor person, even though he be a poor eagle warrior, a poor ocelot warrior, even though he be a poor warrior, or a poor son, or one who struggleth for existence. Do not detest him therefor. Our lord, the wise one, the maker, the creator, will dispose for you, will array you.

"This is all I give thee of my word to comply with my duty unto, before our lord. Perhaps somewhere thou wilt reject it. Thou knowest it. Meanwhile, I do my duty. O my daughter, O my child, O dove, O little one, pay close heed. May our lord rest thee in peace."

in ma çan tianqujzco, ma titlapatla, ma titlatennotz: auh in ma çan xopan, ma timotlatlattili, ma tihiculmjc: in quenamjcatzintli in at vel ihicac, in at noço çan quenamjcatzintli: ma ticmaxopeuh, ma iehoatl, ca itlaioaltzin in totecujo: intlaca xocia moça onmaviltiz, ca nel moqueueloa, mjtzonavianjcuez-paz.

Auh iece vel ximoquetza, vel xiqujta in moiaouh, amo ac moça maviltiz: amo ticmomacaz in anenquj, in quiquija, in mahaviltia, in telpuchtavelilloc: amo-no ome, ey, mijxco, mocpac matiz: in otiqujttac yn aqujn amjoan, amoneoan anmopopolivitzque: ma ticcauh xictzitzquj, itech ximopilo, ma nel icnotlacatl, ma nel icnoquaughtli, icnoocelutli, ma nel icnotiacauh, in anoço icnoteplitzin, in aço ie tlaciauj, ma ic tiqujhix: ca amechmjmachiliz, amechmochichiviliz in totecujo, in tehimatinj, in teiocoianj, in techichoanj.

O yxqujch in in njmjtzonmaca, in noten, in notlitol: injc ivictzinco, ixpantzincos njoqujxtia in totecujo: aço cana tocontlatlaçaz, ca ie tehoatl ticmati: iece ca nonequjxtil njchioa. O nochpuchtze, nopiltze, cocotze, tepitze, tle ticmatcatzintli, ma mjtzomtlamatcatlalili in totecujo.

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "mira que no escorias entre hombres, el que mejor te parece, como hacen los que vi a comprar, las mentas al tianquez o mercado...."



Nineteenth Chapter. Here it is told how, when the father had spoken, the mother then replied. And with very tender words she told her daughter to guard well, to place well within her, the words of her father; to consider them as precious, as costly. And she told her how to live well, how to present herself, how to speak, how to look at one, how to walk, and how not to interfere in another's life, and how not to abuse another. This discourse especially should be memorized, if it is to be used for instruction, for it is a very good discourse; but that which is not necessary is to be changed. It is especially useful for the youths, for the maidens.

"O dove, little one, child, my daughter, thou hast taken, thou hast grasped the spirit of thy child,<sup>1</sup> the master, thy lord. Thou hast taken the incomparable, the ungivable, which lieth inert, which lieth folded on his lap, in his breast.<sup>2</sup> But thou art not mistaken for another, for thou art the blood, the color, the reflection of the master. Although thou art a woman, thou art his image.

"And of this, what more shall I say? What more shall I tell thee? In what manner shall I yet offer to thee? For his words are ended; for he hath everywhere caused thee to live well, for he hath everywhere brought things to thee. Nothing hath he left out.

"And I say only this; I do my obligation. Nowhere reject the spirit, the words of thy lord, for they are precious, wonderful; for only as precious things do the spirit, the words of our lords come forth. For they are the words of rulers; for they are considered as precious green stones, as round, reed-like precious turquoises.

"Take them, guard them, place them by thy heart, inscribe them on thy heart. If thou art to live, with

Ic caxtolli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn iquac oontlato teta: njman iehoatl tlalanqujliaia. in tenantzin: auh cenca iamancatlatoltica qujlviaia in jmjcphuch, injc vel qujpiaz, injc vel ijtic qujtlaliz, in jtlatal in jtatzin: vellaçotli necujltonollipan qujmatiz. Auh qujlviaia in quenjn vel nemjz, in quenjn moquetzaz, in quenjn tlatoz, in quenjn teittaz, in quenjn nenemjz: auh in quenjn amo qujmocujtlaviz in tenemjz: ioan in quenjn amo techicoitoz. Injin tlatalli oc cenca vel neiolilotilozquja, intla ic temachtilonj, ca cenca qualli in tlatalli: tel mocuecuepaz, in tlein amo monequj: cenca intechmonequj in telpupuchi, in jchpupuchi.

Hotzin cocotzin, tepitzin, conetzin, nochpuchtzin: ca otoconmocujli, ca otoconmanjli yn ihijotzin in moconetzin. in tlacatl in motecujotzin: otoconcujc in anemjuhquj, in atemaconj, yn jxillantzinco, in jtozcatlantzinco cepoatoc, cuelpachiuhtoc: ca tel amo mjtzmotlanevilia, ca tiezio, ca titlapallo, ca tineiximachiliz in tlacatl: maço ticioatzintli, ca tixiptla.

Auh injn tlein oc njqujtoz, tlein oc njmjtzilhviz: quen oc mach ie amj in njmjtzmacaz, ca oontlatlatlan yn jtlatoltzin, ca onovian mjzonmonemjtili, ca onovian mjzonmahaxitili, caoxtle oqujmocavitzino.

Auh injn, çan jxqujch noconjtoa, nonequjxtil njchiao: ma cana toconmotlatlaxili in jhijotzin, in jtlatoltzin motecujotzin: ca tlaçotli, ca maviztic: ca çan tlaçoqujça in jmjhijo, in jntlatol totecujoan: ca nel noço tlatoatlatolli, ca iuhqujn chalchivitl, ca iuhqujn teuxivitl ololivic, in acatic ipan momati:

xiccuj xicmopialti, moiollo itech xictlali, moiollo itech xiqujcujlo: intla tinemjz, iehoatl ic titlacazcal-

1. The father is meant. Reference to the father as *moconetzin* is somewhat clarified by an analysis of forms of address in Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Gliederung des alt-aztekischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf*, Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas aufgezeichnet in den Sprachen der Eingeborenen, V, ed. Gerdt Kutscher (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), pp. 3-4. — Carochi, *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, p. 408, notes that "Las mugeres no usan desta e. en el Vocativo, pero levan tan mucho la posteria syllaba...."

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "as oydo las palabras preciosas, y que raramente se dizan, nj se oyen: las cuales an procedido de las entrañas, y corazon en que estauan atesoradas...."

them thou wilt instruct, thou wilt indoctrinate [thy] children. Thou wilt give them to others; thou wilt tell them to others.

"And behold a second word which I give thee, which I say to thee, my child, little one. Look to me, for I am thy mother. I carried thee for so many months. And when they were ended I was lulling [thee] to sleep. I was laying thee in the cradle; I was placing thee on my thigh. And certainly with my milk I gave thee strength.

"Thus I say this, for we are thy mothers, we are thy fathers who speak to thee, who cry out to thee. Take our words; grasp them, guard them. In order that thou wilt live prudently, thou art not to clothe thyself [excessively]. Thou art not to place on thyself finely worked clothing, replete with design, for it achieveth gaudiness. Nor art thou to take rags; thou art not to place on thyself the goods, the property of the vassals, for it achieveth ridicule. In moderation art thou to clothe thyself, not in gaudiness, in vanity.

"And thy speech is not to come forth hurriedly. As thou art to speak, thou art not to be brutish, not to rush, not to disquiet. Thy speech is to come forth in tranquility and with gentleness. Thou art not to lift up nor to lower much [thy voice]. As thou art to speak, as thou art to address one, as thou art to greet one, thou art not to squeak. Thou art not to murmur. Straight forward is thy speech to come forth; in medium voice is it to come forth; nor art thou to make it fanciful.

"And when thou art to travel [do it] also prudently. Thou art not to travel in great haste, nor art thou to amble; for [to amble] achieveth pomposness; [haste] meaneth restlessness. Thou art to go deliberately; thou art only to move thy feet along the road. But when thou findest it necessary, go swiftly, use discretion. Jump at thy jumping place in order that thou wilt not become a fat one, an inflated one.

"And as thou art to go, as thou art to travel the road, as thou art to come upon the road, thou art not to bow thy head, nor art thou to raise thy head in pride; it meaneth ill-breeding. Thou art to go straight forward. Also, thou art not to act shamefully, nor to cover thy mouth. In no way art thou to stare, nor to appear like a firefly. Travel with utmost tranquility. And go, follow the road, with utmost tranquility.

tiz, ic titlacaoapaoaz, tictemacaz, ticteilhviz.

Auh izcatquj ic oncamatl, njmjtzmaca, njmjtzilvia noconetzin, tepitzin: xinechitta ca nehoatl in njmonan, in onjmjtztiqujc in quezquj metztli: auh in onometzpan njcochiaiaticatca, in onjmjtzcocoçoltecac, in naioiotica onjmjtznötetzavili:

ic njqujtoa, yn, ca timonanoan, ca timotaoan in timjtznotza, in timjtzatzilia: ma xiccuj, ma xicana in totlatol, ma xicmopialti. Injc timonemjiz, çan nematquj, amo motech tictlaliz: amo motech tictlaliz in tlamachio, in moxa tlamachtli, ca topallotl caci: amo no ie motzotzotzoma ticcujz, amo motech tictlaliz in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, in jaxcatzin, in jtlatqujtzin, ca tlaquequeloliztli caci, çan ipan qualli in motech tictlaliz: amo ie in topallotl, in xancajotl.

Auh in motlatol: amo yciuhca qujçaz, amo timjtonjz, amo timjcivilvz, amo timamanaz injc titlatoz: çan moiolic, auh çan yiolic qujçaz in motlatol: amo ticacocujz, amono cenza tictlalchitlaçaz: amo tipitzczaz injc titlatoz, injc titenotzaz, injc titetlapaloz: amo tiqujqujntlatoz, çan vel melaoac qujçaz in motlatol, dane pantla qujçaz, amo no tictlatlamachiz.

Auh in monenemjiz iez: çan no nematquj: amo cenza ticxitotocaz, amo no cenza çan tiaiatiaz: ca tlaquecinoliztli caci, ca cuecuetziotl qujtoznequj: çan ijolic in tiaz, çan oiaticaz in mocxi: auh ma no iecen ticcuj, in jmoneian xitzitzicujcatinemj, ximocâcaquj, hamocholoian, in xicholo: injc amo teticapul, tixocotexpul timocuepaz.

Auh injc tiaz, injc totlatocaz, injc vtli ticnamqujz: amo titoloz, amo no taquetzaz: ca anezcalicaiotl, qujtoznequj: çan vel titlamelauhcajatiaz, amo no tipipinaoaz, amo no timotetenqujmloz, amo queccin titlatlachiaz, amo no tixoxotlamatiz: cenza moiolic in xinenemj, auh cenza moiolic in xiauh, in xotlatoca.

"And next behold, in truth thou art of the nobility. As thou art to go, thou art not to look here and there, not to look from side to side, not constantly to look upward, nor art thou to be a hypocrite." Nor art thou to put hatred in thine eyes; thou art not to put hatred in thy face. Look joyously at everyone. And also, that no one will have occasion to despise thee, put anger in the spirit at the proper time. And behold, never concern thyself with words; let what is said be said. Do not speak with others; pretend that thou dost not hear it. With thee will the words end.

"And never long for, never desire the color, the cosmetics, the darkening of the teeth,<sup>3</sup> the coloring of the teeth, the coloring of the mouth; for they denote perverseness, they mean drunkenness. That is the property of the restless ones, the dissolute ones, the evil women; that is the domain of those who have become drunk, those who have wasted the earth; that is the work of those who go drinking, who go eating jimson weed; that is the way of life of those who go drinking crude pulque. These are the ones called harlots.

"But in order that thy helpmate will not hate thee, pay attention to thyself, bathe thyself, wash thyself, but only when necessary, lest it were to be said of thee, lest thou wert to be called Tepepetzton,<sup>4</sup> Tinemachxoch.<sup>5</sup>

"Behold the road thou art to follow. In such a manner thou art to live. Thy lords, our lords, the noble women, the old women, the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones reared us in such a manner as this. Did they perhaps leave so very much? For they gave one, they left, they said only a word; few were their words. 'Take heed. On earth it is a time for care, it is a place for caution. Behold the word; heed and guard it, and with it take your way of life, your works. On earth we live, we travel along a mountain peak. Over here there is an abyss, over there is an abyss. If thou goest over here, or if thou goest over there, thou wilt fall in. Only in the middle doth one go, doth one live.'

"Place this word, my daughter, dove, little one, well within the chambers of thy heart. Guard it well.

Auh njman ie izcatquj ca nel titecpiltzintli: injc tinemjz, amo avic titlachiaz, amo tinanacaztlachiaz, amo mijxquatilanpa titlatlachiaz, amo no ie titoloxochton tiez, amo no tictlatlavellaliz in mjxtelolo: amo tictlavelmanaz in moxaiac, muchi tlacatl xicpaccaita: auh in no ieh ic aiac moxictiz, in jmonecian xictlavelmana in jhijotl. Auh izca ioan, ma ica timotlatolcujcujtlavi, ma ie itolon, tlein itolo: maca tehoan xontlato, maca no xicmocaccanenequj: te motech ontzopiz in tlatolli.

Auh ma ica tiquelevi, ma ica ticnec in tlapalli, in nechichioalli, in tlamjaoalli, in netlantlapalvilitzli, in necamatlapalvilitzli: ca anencaiotl qujnezcαιotia, ca yvintiliztli qujtoznequj: hanenque, cuecuehti, cioatlaveliloque intlatquj o: oyvintique, oquipoloque tlalli imaxca o: mjxitl, tlapatl qujtinemj, qujquatinemj ynteq'uh o: xoxouhcaoctli qujtinemj innemjliz o: in mjtoa avianjme.

Auh injc amo mjtzihiiaz in motlavical: ximocmati, ximalti, ximopāpaca: çā tel iquac in monequj, injc amo tilhviloz, titocaiotiloz tapepetzton, tine-machxoch.

O izcatquj in vtli tictocaz, ivin tinemjz, y: ivijn yn otechmozcaltilitiaque, in motecujiotzitzioan, in totecujoan in cioapipilti, in jlamatlaca in tzonjztaque, in quajztaque: cujx cenza ixqujch qujcaoaia in, ca çā cencamatl in qujtemacaia, in qujcaoaia, in qujtoaia ca çā ie ixqujch intlatol. Xiccaqujca: nemachpan, nemachiocan in tlalticpac: izca tlatolli xiccaqujca, auh xicpiaca: auh itech xicanaca in amonemjliz, in amotlachioal. Tlachichiqujlco in tivi, in tinemj tlalticpac, njpa centlanj, njpa centlanj: intla njpa xiauh, intla noce njpa xiauh, vmpa tonvetziz: çā tlane-pantla in viloa, in nemoa.

Injn tlatolli nochpuchtzin, cocotzin, tepitzin: vel moiollocaaltitlan xictlali, vel xicpia, ma tiqujlcauh:

3. *titoloxochton*: "Tiene ojos floridos," fr. prov. para indicar la hipocresia...." Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 358. The Spanish text does not quite correspond: "no...yras mirando al cielo, nj tāpoco yrás, mirando a la tierra...."

4. *tlamjaoalli*: cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," p. 147.

5. *Tapepetzton*: "Tapepetzon.—Fr. prov. 'Eres perlita de agua.'" Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 352.

6. *Tinemachxoch*: "Tinemachxoch.—Fr. vbl. 'Eres un ramito de flores.'" Ibid., p. 358.

Do not forget it; for it will become thy torch, thy light, all the time thou art to live on earth.

"Behold yet another thing with which I end my words. If thou art to live, if thou art to continue a little on earth, do not anywhere be friendly by means of thy body, my youngest one, child, dove, little one. Do not anywhere give thyself wantonly to another.

"If still thou hast not been good, if already thou art a woman [and] somewhere thou hast been asked for, never wilt thou be at peace with another, for it will always be remembered of thee; it will always cause thy misery, thy torment. Never wilt thou achieve peace, never tranquility. Thy helpmate, thy husband, will always suspect.

"My youngest one, dove, if thou art to live on earth, do not know two men. And heed it well, guard it well as thy stern commandment: if somewhere thou art dependent upon one, see to it that thou do not presume in something, see to it that thou be not haughty. Let thyself not have allowed thy heart the evil of directing itself elsewhere. Never at any time abuse thy helpmate, thy husband. Never at any time, never ever betray him; as the saying is said, do not commit adultery."

"This, my youngest, my daughter, is the endless, the bottomless [pit] on earth; there is no more a return, there is no more a cure. If it becometh discovered of thee, if it becometh known of thee, thou wilt be cast on the road, thou wilt be dragged on the road, thy head will be crushed with a stone, thy head will be fractured. It is said thou wilt test the stone; thou wilt be dragged. Because of thee fear will fall, because of thee there will be fear.

"And then thou wilt provide them a glory, thou wilt provide them a renown!"<sup>8</sup> — Thou wilt go dis honoring our lords, the lords, the rulers by whom thou art of noble birth, through whom thou art descended. Thou wilt cast dust, refuse upon their memory. Thou wilt disgrace them. There, memory of thee will perish. No more wilt thou be recognized. Of thee it will be said, thou wilt be called, thou wilt be named: 'Thou who liest in the dust.'<sup>9</sup>

"And take heed: even if none see thee, even if thy helpmate, thy husband, see thee not, take heed, for the lord of the near, of the nigh, seeth thee. He will

ca iehoatl moçouh motlavl muchioaz, in jxqujch cavitl timonemjtiz tlalticpac.

Izca oc centlamantli, ic nocontzonquijxtia in notlatol: intla timonemjtiz, intla achi tictocaz tlalticpac: ma nen cana ic ticnjuhti in monacaiotzin noxocoiouh conetzin, cocotzin, tepitzin, ma cana iliviz timotemaca:

intlaca oc tiiectli, intla ie ticihoatl, cana xitlano: ca aic ivian tiez in tepaltzinco: ca muchipa tilnamjqujiloz, muchipa monetolinjiliz, motlaihijoviliz muchioaz: aic ivian, aic tlacaco tichchioaz, muchipa chicolamatiz in motlavical, in monamjc:

nj noxocoiouh, cocotzin intla tinemjz tlalticpac: ma vme oquichtli mjaxco, mocpac ma: auh njzca vel xiccaquj, vel xicpia, vel motepitznaoatil. Intla ie cana tepaltzinco timoetzica: ma nen itla mjtic tiqujto, ma nen itla mjtic ticiocux: ma oc ticahavillacanec in moiollo, ma oc nen canapa itzcaliuh: ma ica, auh ma queman ica timoquavitec in motlavical, in monamjc: ma nen ica, ma nen queman ipan tia, in juh mjtoa tlatolli: ma tictlaxin.

Injn noxocoiouh, nochpuchtzin icentlanca, icenonqujzca in tlalticpac: aoc tle ycuepca, aoc tle ipaio: intla tittoz, intla timachoz, ca vtlica tivetztoz, ca vtlica tivilantoz, vtlica tiquatetzotzonaloz, tiquatepitzinjloz: mjtoa, tetl ticiecoz, tivilanoz: moca maviztli vetciz, moca nemauhiloz:

auh njman ie tiqujnteiotiz, tiqujmjtauhcaiotiz, in quatla tiqujmantinemjz, in totecujoan in tetecutin, in tlatoque, in jnpaltzinco timotlacatili, in jntechcopa timoqujxti: teuhtli, tlaçulli ipan ticpixoz in jntillo, yn jntlapallo, tiqujmavilqujxtiz vncan onpopoliviz in motillo, in motlapallo aocmo tinecujtiloz: mohan mjtoz, titeneoaloz titocaiotiloz: Teuhtitlan tactoc.

Auh xiccaquj: intlacanel ac mjtzitta, intlaca mjtzitta motlavical, in monamjc: xiccaquj ca mjtzitta in tloque, naoaque: iehoatl moqualanalitz, iehoatzin

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "mujra que en ningun tiempo, ni en ningun lugar le hagas traidor, que se llama adulterio..." A personal communication from the late Mons. Garibay K., Apr. 3, 1966, expands upon the meaning of ipan tia in this connection.

8. The context and the corresponding Spanish text suggest that this phrase should be in the negative.

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "de ti se dira el refran: que fuese enterrada en el polvo, de tus peccados."

become angered, he will awaken the anger of the common folk, he will take vengeance. For thee he will require that which he will desire, perhaps paralysis, or blindness, or rottenness. And thou meritest thy tatters, thy rags; there will come extreme privation, for verily thou hast abused the common man [thy husband]. Perhaps then [our lord] will trample thee underfoot, will hide thee, will send thee to our common home, the land of the dead.

"And the master, our lord, is a merciful one. [But] if thou hast acted, if thou hast done it, if thou hast betrayed thy helpmate, and [even] if the lord of the near, of the nigh, doth not make thee known, no longer wilt thou be in peace, no longer wilt thou live in peace. Our lord will inspire the man; he will just ever be in anger; it will increase.<sup>10</sup>

"And this, my youngest one, my daughter, child, little one: live in calm, in peace on earth, if thou art to continue for a while. Do not with anything disonor thyself. And do not with anything raise up the heads of thy lords, the rulers from whom thou art descended.<sup>11</sup> And as for us, may we through thee gain glory; may we gain renown.

"Pay heed, my youngest one, my daughter, little one. Enter with our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh."

quijmotlaqualanjiliz in maceoalli, iehoatzin motzoncujtzinoz: mopan quoalmonequjltiz, in tlein quijmonequjltiz: aço cocototztli, aço ixpopoiotl, aço palanaliztli: auh motzotzoma, motatapa ticmacea, vmpa onquijçaz in tlalticpac: ca nel oica timoquavitec in maceoalli: anoce njman mjtzonmocxipachilviz, mjtzonmotlatiliz, mjtzonmojaliz in tocenchan in mjctlan.

Auh ca icnooacatzintli, in tlacatl, in totecujo: intla otax, intla oticchihu, intla oipan tia motlavical: auh intlacamo njman mjtzmonextili tloque, naoaque aoc ic yvian tiez, aoc ic yvian tinemjz: quijollotiz in totecujo in oqujchtli, ça quaqualanjz, tlatlaveaz.

Auh injn noxocoiouh, nochpuchtzin, conetzintli, tepitzin: ma ivian ma iocuxca, tonmonemjtiz in tlalticpac: intla achi ticmotoqujltiz: maca tle ic tonmjçoloteoaz: auh maca tle ic tiqujmowntzonteconacocujz in motecujoan in tlatoque, in jntechpa timoqujxti: auh in tehoantin, ma mopaltzinco tontenioazque, tonjtauhcaioazque:

tle ticmatcatzintli noxocoiouh, nochpuchtzin, tepitzin: ma itlan ximocalaquj in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque.

10. *tlatlaveaz*: read *tlatlaveyaz*. Corresponding Spanish text: "y el provocara a tu marido, que siempre este enojado contra ti, y siempre te hable con enojo."

11. *Ibid.*: "mira que no ensuies la honrra, y fama de nuestros señores antepasados: de los cuales vienes...."



Twentieth Chapter. Here is told the manner of the discourse of the father, ruler or nobleman, with which he admonished his son that he should look to the humble life, to the bowing, to the knowledge of one's self in order to be pleasing to the gods and to man. Many are the marvelous discourses, and the figures of speech, and the different words of the discourse.

"O my son, O my youth, O boy, O servitor, listen, for our lord hath placed thee here. And now, to thee who art my son, who art my child, who art my precious necklace, who art my precious feather, who art my oldest, my second,<sup>1</sup> my youngest son,<sup>2</sup> I speak, I call out a word or two. Verily, now I form, I say, I reflect upon the word or two which I shall give thee of my motherhood, of my fatherhood. I shall perform my obligation, lest tomorrow, the next day, our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, will have hidden us. Certainly no one enjoyeth the hard, the heavy. Certainly our living on earth is not assured.

"And grasp this, hear this: May thou follow our lord for a little while. May thou live on earth. May thou linger long. Give utmost<sup>3</sup> attention. Be deliberate. Take much care. Certainly it is a dangerous place, a revolting place, a boundless place, a place of no repose, a frightful place, and a painful and afflicting place. And it is very true, as our mothers, our fathers, the old men go saying, that no one escapeth our ultimate home,<sup>4</sup> the place of the winds, of the shattering winds,<sup>5</sup> [where] reside the wind people, the flower people. There is mocking of others on earth. There is rejoicing over the misfortunes of others, there is laughing at others, there is ridicule on

Ic cempoalli capitulo, vncan mjtoa in tlatolli: in quenjn tetatzin tlatoanj, anoço, pilli, injc qujnonotzaia in jpiltzin, injc qujmocujtlaviz in jcnonemjliztli, in nepechtecaltzli: ioan in nenomaiximachiliztli, injc vellamachtilo in teteu, ioan in tlalticpac tlaca: mjec in maviçauhquj tlatolli, ioan in machiotlatolli, ioan in cecencamatl tlatolli

Nopiltze, notelpuchtze, xolotze, xoloatze: tla xicmocaqujti, ca njcan mjtzalmotlalilia in totecujo. Auh in axcan ca cententica, cencamatica njmjtznotza, njmjtzatzilia, in tinopiltzin, in tinoconeuh, in tino-cozquj, in tinoquetzal, in tinoteach, in tinotlacoeauh, in tinoxocoiouh. Ca in axcan njciocoia, njqujtoa: a njqujlnamjquj, in njmjtzmacaz, in cententli, in cencamatl in nonäo, in notaio: a nonequjtil njchioaz, a ma muztla, ma viptla, techtlati in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: mach aiac tlaquaaoac qujmati, aiac hetic: mach amo nellin tinemj tlalticpac.

Auh injn tla xicmocujli, tla xicmocaqujti, ma achi tictoqujli in totecujo, ma tinen in tlalticpac, ma çativedaoa cenca cenca tle ticmati, cenca moiolic, cenca xitlachia: mach tetzauhoujca, mach vellaititlan, ayviaiocan, hacemellecan temamauhtica, auh teellexitican: auh cenca nel conjtotivi in tonaoan, in totaoan in vevetque aiac onqujzca tamooanchan, hecatlan, hecaxaxantlan, hecamecatl, xochimecatl onoc, teca mocacaaoa in tlalticpactli: teca papaquj, teca vevetzcatica, tetennecujlvitica in tlalticpac amo tle nelli: auh amo nelli in qujtoa, in qujteneoa, in qujteilvia: çan tetennecujlhvitica.

1. *tinotlacoeauh*. *Tiacoyewa* means "appears in the middle." It may mean second or third child, depending upon the number of children. As "second," see Siméon, *Dictionnaire*, p. 518 (*tlacoyeua*; note also p. 515, *tlacoeua*). As "third," see Anderson and Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book I, "The Gods," Chap. 13, and Book VII, "The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years," Chap. 2.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "tu eres el primero, y el segundo, y el postero."

3. *cenca* is repeated in the MS.

4. *tamooanchan*: summary discussions of Tamooanchan may be consulted in Garibay, *Poesia náhuatl* I, p. 104, and *Veinte himnos*, p. 71. See also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *passim*.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "con mucha razon dieron, no se escapa nadie, de las decendidas, y subidas deste mundo, y de los turbellinos, y tempestades, que en el ay...."

earth. And what they say, what they praise, what they tell one is not true; there is only ridicule.

"Here is what thou art to do, what thou art to realize: it is that which is guarded, that which is bound; the secret [knowledge] — that which the old men, the old women, those who go white-haired, those who go white-headed, those who go emaciated with age, our forefathers, left as they departed. For they came to live on earth; for they came to live with others. And they came to occupy position and authority among the people.

"They [practised] the bowing of the head, the lowering of the head, the bending of the neck, the weeping, the tears, the sighs. Our forefathers came to know only their misery when they went leaving us.<sup>6</sup> They came living on earth in sadness, in affliction; they came not as fools, they came not panting as they walked, out of breath as they walked. Although they went doing such as that, they were revered. They came exercising military command; in their hands rested the eagle tube, the eagle vessel; they led the eagle warriors; they provided drink for the sun, for Tlaltecutli.<sup>7</sup>

"And although our lord showed them mercy — when, for a while, for a brief time, they came to occupy the realm, those who came ordering things well for our lord of the near, of the nigh, who came bathing the vassals, who came suppressing their tears, who came determining sentences of death — this made no difference to them. Not for this reason did they lose [humility]; not for this reason did they become drunk; not for this reason did they become perverted. And [this] although they enjoyed that which was the property of our lord. The prosperous enjoyed the flowers, the tubes of tobacco, the breech clouts, the capes, the large cotton capes, the clothing. And they came enjoying the land, the houses. And the prosperous enjoyed all manner of drink, of food. And they came honoring one with shields, devices, lip pendants, head bands, ear plugs, lip plugs. And before them there was trembling.<sup>8</sup> Perchance — since such as this happened to them — perchance did they become brazen? Did those mentioned perhaps act superior? Did they perhaps become presumptuous? Did they perhaps, for this reason, come belittling

Izcatquj in taiz, in ticchioaz: in pialli, in nelpilli, in toptli, in petlacalli: in concauhteoaque in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tzonjtzatzivi, in quajatzatzivi, in pipinjxtivi in totechiuhcaoan, injc omonemjtico tlaltecpac, ynjc otetloc, tenaoac monemjtico: auh otetlanmoetzteco in petlaquac, in jcpalquac.

Iehoa in tololli, in pilolli, in malcochtli, in choqujztl, in jxaiotl, in elcicivitzli: çan imjcnoio yn oquijmataco totechiuhcaoan, in techcauhitivi: intolol, in malcoch oqujchioaco in tlalticpac, amo oixtomaoaco, amo ohicicatinemjco, amo oneneciuhtinemjco: macivi in juhque muchiuhtivi, o: in tlalchivic, in acovic oitque: in quappetlapan, in ocelopetlapan oieco, in oimmac manca in quappiazatl, in quauhxicalli, in oquauihacanque, in ocatlitique in tonatiuh in tlaltecutli:

auh macivi in qujnmocnoittili totecujo, in achica, in cuel achic petapan, icpalpan oieco: in ovel contlatetequjlico in tloque, naoaque: in ocâhaltico cujlapilli, atlapalli in oqujxaiopapachoco, yn oqujcotonaco in mjqujztl: ca amo ic oquen muchioaco, ca amo ic otlapoloko, ca amo ic yvintique, ca amo ic mjtonjque. Auh macivi in quexquich oqujmavicoque, in jcococauh totecujo, in amjximati oqujmavicoque in xuchitl, in jietl, in maxtlatl, in tilmatli, in quachtl, in quemjtl: auh in tlalli, in calli in oqujmavico: auh in amjximati oqujmavicoque in atl, in tlaqualli in nepapan: auh in oqujimaloco in chimalli, in tlaviztli, in teçacatl, in tlalpilonj, in nacochtli, in tentetl: auh in jmjaxpan onemamauhiloco, cujx ic oquen muchiuhtque, o, cujx oaquetzque, cujx ocuecuendetque, in mjtoa, cujx oatlamatque, cujx oatlamatico, cujx ic teixco, teicpac onemjco, cujx ic aiac te ypan oqujttaco in tlalticpac. Auh cujx no ce ic otlalcaoaco yn, ma otlapoloko? çä amo vel, oontlan in jntolol, in jnmalcoch, in jnpilol: nelli mach in omocnotecaco, in omocnomatico: nelli mach in omotlanjtlaca, nelli mach in omopopoloco, omomaxaqua-

6. *Ibid.*: "estos nuestros antepasados, de quienes descendimos [sic], vivieron en grande humildad en este mundo..."

7. *Ibid.*: "fueron señores, y capitanes, y tuvieron la autoridad, para matar, y para hacer guerras, y mantuvieron al sol, y a la tierra con carne, y sangre de hombres..."

8. *Ibid.*: "de manera que hacian temblar a todos, con su magestad..."

one? Did they perhaps, for this reason, come regarding no one with consideration? And did they perhaps, also for this reason, come forgetting? Did they lose [their judgment]? Not at all did they end their humility. Most certainly they came humbling themselves, came becoming meek. Most certainly they came becoming contrite. Most certainly they came depreciating themselves, came belittling themselves. The more they were honored, the more they wept, suffered affliction, sighed; they became most humble, most meek, most contrite.

"In such a manner lived on earth those who were the old men, those who go leaving us, thy great-grandfathers, thy forefathers. Thou art their offspring; from them thou art descended. Regard them; look them in the face. And their memory, their torch, their light, their mirror which, departing, they left: take, place, set [the mirror] before thee. See therein how thou art; compare thy way of life, thy being. Seeing exactly how thou art, then thou art to discover where are thy blotches, thy blemishes.

"Behold, here is yet a word. Heed it; thou art my eagle, thou art my ocelot, thou art my son! And know, remember, that it is a time of pain, a time of affliction in which thou hast gained thy desert, in which thou hast gained thy merit, in which our lord hath sent thee; that I thy mother, I thy father am poor, miserable. Although they went as great men who went leaving us, did they perhaps bequeath us their skills? For already poverty, misery, the misery of old men, the misery of old women dominate."

"O my son, look in thy ashes, in thy hearth. [All is] permeated by pain, by affliction; misery, inhumanity dominate; pain, affliction are known; starvation dominateth. We are in want as to that which hangeth from our hips, from our necks. In truth we turn it around and around: from whence cometh the wind, there we place it. And look at us! By the grace of our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, we go dying of hunger and thirst; we go like skeletons.

"And look at thy male cousins, thy female cousins.<sup>9</sup> Do they perhaps reside, do they perhaps exist, do they enjoy abundance by the grace of the lord of

loco: injc cenca maviztililoia, oc cenca quijchoacaia, quijteupoia, quelcicivia: vel mopechtecaia, mocnomaticia, mocnotecaia.

O yvi jn onemjco in dalticpac, in vevetque in techcauhltivi in machcocolhoan, in motechiuhcaoa in tinnecauhca, in intechpa tiquiz, xiqujmonjtta imjxco, imjcpac xontlachia: auh in jntlil, in jntlapal, in jmocouh, in jntlavil, in jntezcauh in concauhteoaque: mjxpan xicmana, mjxpan xictlali, mjxpan xicquetza: vmpa xonmotta in quen tamj, netloc, nenaoac xictlali in monemjz, in moielliz: quen vel tamj, njman tiqujttaz in canjn ca moceio, mecauhio.

Oc izca cencamatl tla xicmocaquji in tinoquauh, in tinocelouh, in tinopiltzin: auh tla xoconmati, tla xoconjlnamjquj ca cocapan, ca teupouhcaiopan in otilhviltic, in otimaceoaltec, in omjtzalmjoali totecujo: ca anavia, ca anjvellamat in njmonan, in njmota: macivi in veveixtivi techcauhltivi, cujx inma, cujx imjcxo techcacavilitiaque: ca ie timalivi in jcnopillotl, in jcnotlacaiotl: auh in jcnotlacaiotl, in jcnotlamaiotl.

Nopiltze xontlachia in monextitlan, in motecujllan, cococ, teupouhquj qujqujztoc, timalivi in jcnotlacaiotl, in nentlacaiotl: cococ, teupouhquj macho, timalivi in cujtlaxcolpitzactli, atontonamjquj in toquezpan in toquechtlan onpilcac: nelli mach in ticmamalacacho, in vmpa oallauh ehecatl, vmpa tictima. Auh tla xitechitta tiçquaotinmj, tomijcauh-tinmj in jpaltzinco totecujo tloque, naoaque:

auh in vecapa in moteiccaoan, in moveltiaoan xiqujmonjtta, cujx onoac, cujx ieloac, cujx ixtonatoque in jpaltzinco tloque, naoaque cujx tlatqujvatoc, cujx

9. Ibid.: "aunque nuestros antepasados, fueron grandes, y ricos no heredamos de ellos, aquella riqueza, ni valor, mas antes tenemos gran falta de todas las cosas, la pobreza es, la que se enseñorea, y tiene sobre nosotros su principado, somos tus padres ancianos, y viejos, y muy necesitados."

10. Originally the corresponding Spanish text read: "Y mira a tus hermanos menores, y a tus hermanas." The Nahuatl text was altered, in vecapa was inserted, and the Spanish text was changed to read: "Y mira a tus primos menores, y a tus primas...." For a recent discussion of Nahuatl kinship terms and the meaning of *in vecapa* see Pedro Carrasco: "Sobre algunos términos de parentesco en el náhuatl clásico," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, VI (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1966), pp. 149-66. The term *in vecapa* indicates a collateral relative.

the near, of the nigh? Do they perhaps remain possessors of property? Do they perhaps remain glorified? Canst thou not see how they live? For it spreadeth on earth; for there is drudgery; all are fatigued. With that, how canst thou be proud, arrogant? That would be but virtual drunkenness, extreme foolishness. This is how thou camest forth; this is how thou wert born. And this is how it is in thy house, and so are these of thy household, thy residents. If thou wouldest in some manner suffer! And wilt thou not so bow thy head, wilt thou not so hang thy head? For in such a time as this wert thou born.

"And still behold, I place all before thee, I cause thee to see all. The third oldest brother,<sup>11</sup> thy responsibility, thy younger brother,<sup>12</sup> my N.: dost thou not look to him, take example from him, learn from him, depend upon him whom our lord hath humbled?<sup>13</sup> Already he commandeth the city; he hath procured his realm; already in his hands rest the blue water, the yellow water; already he washeth, he batheth the vassals; already in his hands, in his mouth is castigation; our lord hath placed him in authority — him whom [our lord] hath humbled. Already he is called Tecutlato, Tlacatecutli; so the city hath called him.

"The prudent one to serve the city existeth, liveth not. The noblemen, the precious noblemen, the sons of rulers exist not, live not. But there are none<sup>14</sup> at all. However, [if there had been any] the lord of the near, of the nigh, would have selected them, and the city would have taken one of them.

"Can he be the tender youth? I am weeping for him. Perhaps he will sink there; perhaps our lord searcheth [for another]. Is [our lord] perchance wanting in friends?

"And how did he live? How didst thou see him?<sup>15</sup> Did he perhaps go panting? Did he perhaps go like a fool? Did he perhaps go brazenly? Did he perhaps perform impetuously? Was he perhaps disdain-

netimalolotoc: hatiquimjita injc monemjtia, ca timalivi in tlalticpac, ca ihijovilo, ca tlaciaoa: quenjn xioalmotzonteconacocuj o, quenjn xaquetza o, amo çä tlaonaiotl caci, amo tequj xolopicaiotl o, in juhcan tijol y, in juhcan titlacat, y, auh in juhcan mocalitic y, auh in juhque yn, moncaoan, mehcaoan, intla quecin ximochioa: auh quen hatitoloz, quen hatimopiloz, in juhcan timoioliti y.

Auh oc izca muchi mjxpan njctalia, muchi njmjtitzitia: in tlacoteach in momamal, in moteiccauh in no. N. amo toconjtta, amo itech tonmjxcuitia, amo ytech timozcalia, amo itech timozqujpiola in oquj-mocnomachiti totecujo: in ie qujmotititlanja, in atl, in tepetl, in oqujmottili in jpetlatzin, in jcplatzin: in ie imac manj in mathalatl, in toxpalatl, in ie quj-papaca, in ie cahaltia, in cujtlapilli, in atlappalli in ie imac ca, in ie icamac ca, in ie atl cecec, in tzitzicaztli, in petlaquac, in jcplatzac oqujmotlalili totecujo, in oqujmocnomachiti: in ie mjtoa tecutlato, in tlacatecutli, ic oqujnotz altepetl:

amo onoac, amo nemoa in uel ixtli, in vel nacaztli qujchivilia altepetl. Auh amo onoac, amo nemoa in tecipipilti, in tlaçopipilti, in tlatocapipilti: tla iece iehoan, ano ca, tla iece iehoan qujnmomapilvili in tloque, naoaque: auh tla iehoan ceme qujnmanjli in atl, in tepetl.

Quen mach vel ie in telpuchtzintli: ic nonchocatica, aço vncan onactiaz, aço ica tlatemoa in totecujo, cujx mocnjuhtolinja:

auh quen onenca, quen otiquittaia: cujx oyycicati-nenca, cujx oixtomaoatinenca, cujx oaquetztinencia? cujx aomotlatlamatcachiuh, cujx aoteixco, teicpac tlachix? ca nelli mach in otlaltech ia, nelli mach in

11. *tlacoteach*: *teach* is read as a variant of *teachcauh* — elder brother. *Tlaco* means, *inter alia*, "middle." By analogy (see n. 1), "third eldest brother" is suggested. Although the corresponding Spanish text relates to an elder brother, the Nahuatl text clearly relates to a younger brother. The corresponding Spanish text, which originally read: "*escuchame que tu hermano, el qual nascio despues de ti, N....*" was changed to read: "*escuchame que tu primo hermano, el qual es mayor que tu. N....*"

12. *moteiccauh*: since often no distinction is made in Nahuatl between *hermano* and *primo hermano*, the term could be translated "cousin," or "younger cousin." Cf. Carrasco, *op. cit.*

13. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*no le veys, no tomas del exemplo, del aujso de la manera, que dios le a humillado.*" The context of the section suggests that this statement may have been intended to be interrogative.

14. *ano*: read *amo*.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a este tu primo hermano, ante que tomase el cargo, bien viste como biuja?*" The word *primo* has been added in the Spanish text.

ful? For certainly he went bowed. Certainly he acted in humility. Certainly he went crying out in sadness unto our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh. At night he held vigil; in truth, he went crawling on elbows and knees at midnight; at the parting of the night he went sighing. So was he by nature. And he arose promptly, he seized the broom, he became diligent in the sweeping, the cleaning, the fanning.

"And in truth, how doth he now live? How doth he perchance behave? Doth he perhaps act superior? Is he perhaps proud? Doth he perhaps say, 'Already I am this'? Rather, he goeth bowed; rather, he is humble, he weepeth, sigheth, calleth out, calleth to our lord in sadness, in tears. Thou dost not now see that he perhaps sayeth, 'I am this,' and 'Already I am like this.' For he holdeth vigil at night, quickly taketh to the sweeping, and is diligent with the incense ladle, the incense, the offering of incense. Blessed is he, for thou art the older brother and he is thy younger brother, O my son.<sup>16</sup>

"Behold, here is yet a word like a thorn, like a spine, like a biting wind, which will urge thee on, which will press thee, bear thee to the ground that thou mayest humble thyself, that thou mayest become meek. Hear it and know it. Know that it is a time of misery, a time of poverty in which thou hast come forth, in which thou wert born, into which our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath sent thee.

"Look at us. In what condition are we who are thy mothers, who are thy fathers? And how do we live? For what is our glory, what is our renown? Although [our forefathers] went as great people, departed leaving us, did they perchance leave their skills? Did they bequeath them as they left? And look at thy relatives, thy neighbors: in nothing can our lord be served, for they bring need.

"And who art thou? Thou art of noble lineage; thou art one's hair, thou art one's fingernail; thou art a ruler's son, thou art a palace nobleman, thou art a precious one, thou art a nobleman; thou art to go holding this, raising it, before thy gaze. Note that the humbling, the bowing, the inclining, the weeping, the tears, the sighing, the meekness — these same are nobility, the estimable, the valued; these are honor. Note that no brazen one, no vain one, no

jtolol, in jmalcoch, yn jpilol oqujchiuh: nelli mach in oqujmotlaoculnonochilitinen totecujo, tloque, na-oaque: iooalli oqujtzoca, nelli mach in jmolicpi, in jitetepon, ic omoquequetzinen, in tlacooaan, in iooalli xelivi oelciciuhtinē, çan njman iuh qujz: auh meuhtiqujçaia, concujtivetzia in ochpanoaztli, itlan oac in ochpanalli, in tlacujcujliztli, in tlaiecapeviliztli.

Auh in nelle axcan quen nemj? cujx quen mu-chioa, cujx mijacocuj, cujx aquetza, cujx qujtoa ie ne, y: ca ilhvice tlaltech iauh, ilhvice mopechteca, choa, elcicivi, qujnotza, qujtlaooculnonotza, qujcho-qujznonotza in totecujo: amo tiqujta in axcan, cujx qujtoa ne yn. auh ie njuhquj y: ca iooalli qujtzoc concujtivetzia yn ochpanalli: auh itlan aquj in tlemaitl, in tlenamactli, in tlapupuchvilitzli: quenmach amj y, ca titeach: auh ca moteiccauh nopiltze.

Oc izca cencamatl, in ma iuh haoatl, in ma iuhquj vitztli, in ma iuhquj itztic checatl, in motech onquj-çaz: in tlaltech mjtzpachoz, in tlaltech mjtzvicaz, injc timocujtivetziz, ynjc timocnotecaz, timocnomatiz. Xiccaquj: auh xicmati, ioan ticmati ca icnoiopan, ca icnotlacapan in tijol, in titlacat, in mjtzalmjota in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque:

xitechitta in timonaoan, in timotaoan quen tamj-que: auh quen tinemj, ca tle toteio, ca tle totoca: macivi in veveixtivi techcauhtivi, cujx inma, imjcxi, qujcauhtiaque, qujtlatlatzoeaque: auh xiqujmjtta in mocotoncaoan, in movilteccaoan, in atle vel onchivil-lilo totecujo: ca tlaciaoa.

Auh tla çä noço ac te, tla tetechpa tiqujz, tla tite-tzon, tla titeizti, tla titlatocapilli, tla titecpilli, tla titla-çotli, tla tipilli: çä mijxco, mocpac tictmantinemjz, tiqueuhtinemjz. Xiccaquj in iehoatl in nepiloliztli, in tololiztli, in nepechtequjzli, in choqujzli, yn jxaiotl, in elciciviliztli, in necnomatiliztli: vel iehoatl pillotl, tlaçoiotl, tlaçotiliztli: iehoatl maviziotl. Xiccaquj: aiac aquetzquj, aiac cuecuenotl, aiac cuecuech, anoço mjtoa cuecuetz in otlatocat: auh aiac iliuviz-

16. *Ibid.*: "aunque tu eres primo hermano mayor, sobrepujate hijo mío, este tu primo hermano menor, en todas las buenas costumbres." In each case, *primo* has been added to the Spanish text.

dissolute or, as is said, shameless one hath become ruler. And no inconsiderate one, no impetuous one, no hasty one, no one untrustworthy with secrets, no rash one hath become ruler, hath been in the rulership.

"And if, at times, a dignitary was seen who spoke in jest, who ridiculed, who was fitful, they gave him the displeasing name of *teccuecuechtli*,<sup>17</sup> and the rulership they entrusted to no one who was a wicked but brave warrior, one furious in battle. The wicked but brave warriors, those furious in battle, those who only came paying the tribute of death, were called *quaquachictin*,<sup>18</sup> *Otomí, tlaotonxinti*.<sup>19</sup> Those who came to occupy the rulership, those who came to oversee the vassals, those who came to direct the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors,<sup>20</sup> were the weepers, the sighers, those who humbled themselves, those who inclined themselves, the bowers, those who became meek, those called the secure, the peaceful, the calm, the gentle.

"Thou knowest, thou rememberest that there is only one ruler, the heart of the city, and that there are two [assisting] dignitaries, one from the military, one from the nobility. The one from the military is the *Tlacatecutli*; the one from the nobility is the *Tlacocheutli*. And of the commanders also, one is from the military, the *Tlacateccatl*; one also is from the nobility, the *Tlacocheccatl*. And in this way doth our lord govern, if it is to continue. And the military one, the *Tlacatecutli*, the *Tlacocheutli*, the *Tlacateccatl*, [or] the *Tlacocheccatl*: did he then come to life in this position? Was he born in it? Did perhaps his mother, his father bequeath it to him? No. For one is just elected on earth, one is commissioned, endowed by him by whom we live.

"O my son, O my son, take it to heart. In what manner dost thou behave? Perhaps it is to no purpose that thou wilt be able to do something? Perhaps he by whom we live will yet designate thee for something. And if possibly thou wilt be assigned to a position on earth, in what manner dost thou do in thy heart? Do not praise thyself, do not take it lightly, do not claim it to thyself; be not vain, be not proud, be not presumptuous. Vanity, presumption, pride

tlacatl, aiac yciuhcatlacatl, aiac hicicanj, aiac iolloca-machal, aiac tlaxcoloanj otecutlatocat, opetlapan oic-palpan catca.

Auh intla aca oquenman ittoc tecutlato, in ahavil-latoa, in cacamanalti, in tlaxcoloa: ocaviltocaiotique, teccuecuechtli: auh in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl, aiac oqujpix quauhtlavelilloc, iaotlavelilloc: in quauh-tlaveliloque, in iaotlaveliloque: çan omjquijztequji-tico, omjtoco quaquachicti, otomj, tlaotonxinti. In oieco petlapan, icpalpan: in oqujpiaco cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, auh in oquauiacanaco, yn oceloiacanaco: iehoantin in chocan, in tlaocuijan, in mopolovan, in mopechtecan, in toloanj, in mocnomatinjme: in mjtoa, vel ca yollo, tlamatcaioque, ivianioque, ioco-caoque.

Auh ca ticmati, ca moiollo itlan ca, ca çan ce in tlatoanj, in jiollo altepetl: auh ca ie vme in tecutlato, ce quappan, ce pilpan: ce quappan, tlacatecutli, tlacocheutli, auh ce pilli: auh in quauhtlato, no ce quappan tlacateccatl, tlacocheccatl, no ce pilli. Auh ca ivi y, tlavica in totecujo, in tlaotlatoctia: auh in quappa tlacatecutli, tlacocheutli, tlacateccatl, tlacocheccatl: cujx njman ipan iol, ipan tlacat? cujx noc inan, yta qujcavilita, ca amo: ca çan motepenja, tlalticpac motechichivilia, moteimachilia, in jpalmemoanj.

Iyo nopiltze, nopiltze: ma quen muchiuh in moiollo, ma quen timuchiuh, at çan nen o, itla vel timahailiz: at noc itla mjtzpoaz in jpalmemoanj: auh acanoço can tonpouhtiaz in tlalticpac: ma quen tic-chiuh in moiollo, ma mjtic titlato ma timonelchiuh, ma timoneltoca, ma ticuecuenot, ma timopouh, ma tatlama: vel yiel, vel iqualan in tloque, naoaque in cuecuenotl, in atlamatcaiotl, in nepoaliztli: at yla momaceoal, at itla ticmaviçalhuz in totecujo: at no

17. *Ibid.*: "le ponjan un nombre tecucuecuechtli; q̄ quiere decir trohan...." The Nahuatl text has *teccuecuechtli*.

18. Corresponding Spanish text: "estos tales se llaman quaquachictin, q̄ es nōbre de hombres alocados, pero valientes en la guerra..."

19. *Ibid.*: "tambien los llamauan a estos otomj o tlaotoxinti, que quiere decir otomj trasquilados, y alocados, esto [sic] eran grandes mardores...."

20. yn: the tilde is in the MS.

truly [provoke] the annoyance, the anger of the lord of the near, of the nigh. Perhaps something is thy merit. Perhaps in something thou wilt honor our lord. Perhaps thou wilt be something, perhaps thou wilt be nothing. Just conduct thyself; especially be thy head bowed, thy arms folded, thy head lowered. Be there thy weeping, thy sadness, thy sighing, thy humility, thy meekness.

"And yet hear: thou art to render, to declare thy very heart unto our lord. Thy humility is not to appear only upon the surface, for it will be said of thee that thou art a charlatan, a deceiver.<sup>21</sup> And verily, our lord is looking to thee; he knoweth, he seeth the interior of stones, of wood. He knoweth one's heart, he heareth, he seeth within us, [what] we merit. Do not harden thy heart in thy humility. As a precious green stone, as a well-formed precious turquoise, offer thy humility to our lord. Be not a hypocrite."

titlatiz, at no acan tonpoviz: çan ximonemjti, cenza ie in motolol, in momalcoch, in mopilol, in mochoquiz, in motlaocul, in melciciviliz, in monecnotechaliliz in monecnomachiliz.

Auh oc xiccaquij, vel moiollo in toconmacaz, in toconjlviz totecujo: amo çan jyio in panj neciz in mocnoio, ca mopan mjtoz titololxochton, titlanjxiquipile: auh ca mjtzmotztiliticac in totecujo in tetl, in quavil yitic tlamatil, tlachia: in teiollo quiximati, in titic techcaquij, techitta timaceoalti, maca tle xoconnenelo in moiollo, in monecnomatiliz: ma onchali-chiuhti, ma onteuxiuhti, vel quijzquij, in xoconmomajli totecujo, in monecnomachiliz, maca çan xitlaixpanj.

21. Corresponding Spanish text: "entóce deziré a de ti, titoloxochton, q es hypocrita, dezirse ya [sic] de ti tābien, titlanjxiquipile, que quiere dezir, hōbre fingido...." In Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 358, Garibay translates titoloxochton as "Tiene ojos floridos" (see also Chap. 19, n. 3) and titlanjxiquipile as "Tú tienes abajo el morral."



Twenty-first Chapter.<sup>1</sup> Here is told the discourse, the manner in which the father, ruler or nobleman, exhorted his son in order to provoke him to chastity. Here he said that the gods befriend, love much those who can be abstinent. Many similes and examples are given expression. Very good are the discourses and the many other things which furnish pleasure.

"Thou who art my son, thou who art my youth, hear the words; place, inscribe in the chambers of thy heart the word or two which our forefathers departed leaving: the old men, the old women, the regarded ones, the admired ones, and the advised ones on earth. Here is that which they gave us, entrusted to us as they left, the words of the old men, that which is bound, the well-guarded [words]. They went saying that the pure life is considered as a well-smoked, precious turquoise; as a round, reed-like, well-formed, precious green stone. There is no blotch, no blemish.<sup>2</sup> Those perfect in their hearts, in their manner of life, those of pure life — like these are the precious green stone, the precious turquoise, which are glistening, shining before the lord of the near, of the nigh. Like them are the precious feathers, the dark green ones, broad, well-formed,<sup>3</sup> which arch over the earth. They are those of pure life, those called good-hearted.

"Heed what the old men went saying: that the children, the youths, the maidens are the real friends, the really beloved of the lord of the near, of the nigh. They live with him; they rejoice with him; he maketh friends of them.

"Because of this, for this reason, the old men, those especially devout in the penance, in the fasting, in the offering of incense, go especially confident in those who are children, youths, maidens. The students of the old men, their sons, they awaken while it is yet dark and while they want the pleasure of sleeping;

Ic cempoalli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa in tlatolli: in quenjn iehoatl tetatzin tlatozan, anoço pilli qujnotzaia in jpiltzin, ynjc qujcuatlaviltia in nepializtli: vncan qujtoa, ca in teteu, cenza qujnmocnjuhtia, qujntlaçotla in vel mopia: mjiec tlaneujuliztlatolli, ioan machiotl moteneoa: cenza qualli in tlatolli, ioan oc cequj mjiec tepapaqujli

In tinopiltzin, in tinotelpuch: tla xiccaquj in tlatolli, tla moiolloaltilian xictlali, xiqujcujo, in cententli, in cencamatl in concauhteoaque in totechiuh-caoan in vevetque, in jlamatque in otlachixque, in otlamaviçoque: auh in otlaztlacoque tlalticpac. Ca izcatquj in techonmacativi, in techonpialtitivi in vevetlatolli in nelpilli, in toptli, in petlacalli: ca conjotivi ca teuxivitl vel popoca: ca chalchivitl ololivic, acatic, vel icucic momati in chipaoacanemjiliztli: acan ceio, acan hecauhio, vel quijzquj in jniollo, in jnnemjiliz in chipaoacanemjliceque: iuhquj o, in chalchivitl, in teuxivitl cuecueiomatica, tonatica, in jxpan tloque, naoaque: iuhquj o, in xopaleoac quetzalli, in patlaoac, in vel iaque, in vitoliuhtoque tlalticpac, in chipaoacanemjliceque: in mjtoa qualli in iollo.

Tla xiccaquj, conjtotivi in vevetque: ca in pipiltzinti, in telpupuchtitzinti, in jchpupuchtitzinti: vel icnjoan, vel itlaçan in tloque, naoaque, itlan nemj, itlan paquj qujmjcnjuhtla.

Ic ica, ic ipampa, in vevetque, in vellateumatinj in tlamacecoaliztica, in neçaoaliztica, in tlenamactica: oc cenza iehoantin qujntemachitivi in pipiltzinti, in telpupuchtitzinti, in jchpopuchtitzinti: in vevetque in jntlazcaltilhoan, in jnpilhoan oc iooan in qujmjxitia: auh in qujvelicachioaznequj cochiztli, qujnpe-

1. For another translation of this chapter, see Garibay, *Literatura*, pp. 123-28.

2. See Chap. 43.

3. See *ibid.*

they strip them; they sprinkle them with water. These sweep; they offer incense; the women wash the mouths. It is said the lord of the near, of the nigh, yet heareth, receiveth their weeping, their sorrow, their sighs, their prayers, because, it is said, they are good of heart, undefiled, still clean, untouched, pure, still true precious green stones, still true precious turquoises. So, it is said, through them the earth yet endureth.<sup>4</sup> They are our intercessors.<sup>5</sup>

"And then there are the priests, the penitents, for they are those who live in chastity; clean, good, fine, precious, washed, white<sup>6</sup> are their hearts. Their way of life is undefiled, without ordure, without dust, without filth. For this reason they approach, they stand before the lord of the near, of the nigh; they offer him incense, they pray to him, they pray to him on behalf of the city. And the ruler nameth them the priests of his gods because of their goodness, their clean life.

"And the old people, the wise ones, the keepers of the books, go saying that the pure in heart are very precious; those who nowhere find and who rejoice not in vice, in filth, those who know it not, are so precious that the gods require them, seek them, call out to them. He who goeth pure, who dieth in war, they say, the sun summoneth; he calleth out to him. He liveth hard by, nigh unto the sun, the valiant warrior. He goeth gladdening him, giving cries to him, causing him to rejoice. Always forever, he liveth in pleasure, he rejoiceth; ever glad, without pain, he sucketh the different flowers, the savory ones, the fragrant ones. For verily he liveth in the house of the sun, which is a place of wealth, a place of joy.

"And such as these who die in war are well honored; they are considered very precious on earth, and they are also very much desired. Also they are much envied, so that all people desire, seek, long for this death, [for such] are much praised.

"Thus is it said of one who died in war, a small youth who came to die in war in Mexico. He was an inhabitant of Uexotzinco named Mixcoatl. His song is intoned; it is told:

*Thou, Mixcoatl, meritest the song.  
Thou wilt live on earth;  
Thou wilt live among Uexotzinco's drums—*

tlaoa, quijmatzelhvia, ochpana, tlenamaca: in ciao tecamapaca, mjtoa: oc quijncaqujlia, quijnmacujlia in tloque, naoaque, yn jnchoqujz, in jntlaocul, in jmelciciviliz, in jntlatlatlauhtiliz: ca nel noço mjtoa qualli in jniollo, aiatle neneliuhquj, oc chipaoac, oc qujzta, oc macitica, oc vel chalchivitl, oc vel teuxi-vitl: iuh mjtoa, oc iehoan inca man jn tlalli, totlaiolcevicaoan.

Auh njman ie izcatquj in tlamacazque, in tlama-ceuhque: ca chipaoacanemjliceque, chipaoac, qualli, iectli, tlaçotli, tlapapactli, toztic yn jniollo: in jnne-mjliz atle neneliuhquj, atzoio, ateuhio, atlaçollo: yc ipampa in jtech aci, in jixpan moquetza tloque, naoaque in qujpopuchvia, in qujtlatlauhtia, in qujtlatla-tlauhtilia in atl, in tepetl: auh in tlatoanj, qujntocatiota yteuan in tlamacazque: ipampa in jnqualtiliz, yn jnchipaoacanemjlijz.

Auh ioan conjtotivi in vevetlaca, in tlamatjin, in amoxhoaque: ca cenza tlaçotin in chipaoacaiolloque, in acan qujttia, auh in amo qujmaviltia teuhtli, tlaçulli, in catzaocaiotl, in amo qujximati: ynjc tlaçotin qujnnequj, qujntemoa, qujnoaltzatzilia in teteu, yn aqujn mohotqujtiuh iaomjquj: qujtoa, quoalno-tza, quoaltzatzilia in tonatiuh, vel itloc, jnaoac nemj in tonatiuh, in tiacauh caviltitinemj, coiovitinemj, quelelqujxtia: muchipa, cemjac pactinemj, motla-machtia, qujchichina in nepapan xuchitl, in velic, in aviac: aic quen muchioa, aic tle yiolipan: ca nel tonatiuh ichan in nemj, ca necujtonoltitlan, netla-machtiltitlan.

Auh in juhque yn, injque yn, iaomjcque: vel maviçolo, vellaçocamacho in tlalticpac: auh no cêca vel elevilo, no vel intech neiolcocolo: injc muchi tla-catl qujnequj, qujntemoa, quelevia injn mjqujtzli cenza iecteneoalo.

In juh ipan mjtoa, ce iaomjquj, in telpuchtепitzin iaomjqujco mexico, in vexotzincaitl itoca Mixcoatl: ca onmeoa, ca onmjtoa in jcujcaio. Timjxcoatl toco-mamaceoa, cujcatl tiioliz tlalticpac, aaia ve: veveti-tlan tinemjz in vexotzinco, in tiqujmonaviltiz in tepilhoan, in mjtzittazque in mocnjoan a, ooiaia.

4. Read *mani in*.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "dejâ que por estos sustentava dios al mundo, y que ellos eran nuestros intercesores, para con dios."

6. Read *testic*.

*Wilt gladden the nobles.  
Thy friends will behold thee.*

"Here is the reply to this song to give much praise  
to Mixcoatzin, the small youth who died in war.

"It saith:

*Like fine burnished turquoise thou givest thy  
heart.*

*It cometh to the sun.*

*Thou wilt yet germinate —*

*Wilt once again blossom*

*On earth.*

*Thou wilt live among Uexotzinco's drums —*

*Wilt gladden the nobles.*

*Thy friends will behold thee.*

"And then those who have been drowned," those struck by lightning: the old men went saying that they who are good of heart are struck by lightning because the Tlaloque desire them; they long for them. They take them there to their home, Tlalocan. They live by the master, Xoxouhqui, he who is provided with rubber, with incense, Tlamacazqui, lord of Tlalocan. For verily in Tlalocan those who enter, those taken, those struck are submerged there.<sup>7</sup> They live in eternal spring; never is there withering; forever there is sprouting, there is verdure; it is eternally green.

"And then here are the words which tell of those who die prematurely, the tender youths, the tender maidens, the inexperienced, the uninstructed on earth. To him who went not experiencing, not approaching vice, filth, it is said, our lord showed bounteous mercy. The tender youth, the tender maiden are like precious bracelets, like precious green stones.

"And still here is a word to be guarded, to be taken, to be heard, for it is said that the children who die become as precious green stones, as precious turquoises, as precious bracelets. When they die they go not there where it is fearful, the place of sharp winds, the region of the dead. They go there to the home of Tonacatecutli; they live in the garden of Tonacatecutli, suck the flowers of Tonacatecutli, live by the tree of Tonacatecutli; by it they suck [the flowers].<sup>8</sup>

Izca icuepca injn ihiiotl, injc cenca coniecteneoa in Mixcoatzin in telpuchtepitzin moiaomjqujli: qujtoa. Çan teuxiuhtlamatiloltic moiollo tocomacan tonativitz, oc titzmolinjz y: oc ceppa tixotlaz tlalticpac aia ve, vevetitlan tinemiz in vexotzinco y, tiqujmonaviltiz in tepilhoan in mjtztazzque in mocnjhoan aooaia, ooaia.

Auh njman ie iehoantin, in elaqijlo, ioan in jnpan tlatlatzinj in viteco: ca iuh conjtotivi in vevetque, ca iehoantin in qualli in iollo, in jnpan tlatlatzinj in viteco: ca qujnnequj, qujmelevia in tlaloque: vmpa qujnvica in jnchan in tlalocan, vel itloc, inaoac nemj in tlacatl in xoxouhqui, in ollo, in jauhio tlamacazqui in tlalocatecutli: ca nel noço tlaloca in calaquj, in vico, in viteco vmpactivetzi: cemjcac xopan in nemj, aic tlacuetavia: cemjcac tlatzmolinj, tlacelia cemjcac tlaxoxovia.

Auh njman ie izcatquj in tlatolli, in jnpan mjtoa in motlalmjqujlia telpuchtzintli, ichpuchtzintli: in amo onmattiuh, ontlachixtiuh tlalticpac: in amo qujximattiuh, in amo itech acitiuh teuhtli, tlaçulli: ca mjtoa. Oqujmotaçoiçnelili in totecujo: maqujztiuh, chalchiuhitiuh in telpuchtzintli, in jchpuchtzintli.

Auh oc izcatquj cencacamatl, in pialonj, in cujanj, in caconj: ca mjtoa in coconetzitzinti momjqujlia chalchiuhti, teuxiuhti, maqujzti: in mjquj, amo vmpa vi in temamauhctica in jtzehecaia in mjcta: vmpa vi in tonacatecutli ichan, tonacaquauhtilan in nemj, qujchichina in tonacaxuchitl, itech nemj in tonacaquavil, itech tlachichina.

7. Read *ilaquito*.

8. Read *umpa actiuetzi*.

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "van a la casa del dios, que se llama tonacatecutli, que vive en los verdes, que se llaman tonacaquauhtilan, donde ay todas maneras de arboles, y flores, y frutas...."

"It is not in vain, O my son, that children, babies are buried in front of the maize bin, for this signifieth that they go to a good place, a fine place, because they are still as precious green stones, still as precious bracelets; still pure, they become as precious turquoises.

"And here is still a little: the babies, the children are very precious; they are beloved, desired, because they are the clean, the yet pure ones. They become as precious green stones, as precious bracelets, as precious turquoises: precious.

"Behold also the good, the fine, the good of heart, those worthy of confidence. They are respected, honored. They do nothing reprehensible, they are nowhere reprehensible. And they live in happiness and peace. Nowhere do they spread fear; they live in contentment.

"And now, O my beloved son, O my youth, take heed if thou art to continue with our lord a while. Listen to the way in which thou art to live. Thou art not to lust for vice, for filth; thou art not to take pleasure in that which defileth one, which corrupteth one, that which, it is said, driveth one to excess, which harmeth, destroyeth one: that which is deadly. So the old men went saying: in childhood, in the yet tender years, then is when our lord showeth compassion for one. Then is when he distributeth, giveth as one's desert, the rulership, the governed,<sup>10</sup> valiant warriorhood. And then, then in the time of childhood, in the tender years, at that time the lord of the near, of the nigh, giveth one, giveth one as merit, joy and prosperity.<sup>11</sup> And in the time of childhood, still in the time of purity, the good death is merited.

"Take heed, O my son: also such is the condition in the peopling, the replenishing of the world. For the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath said, thou art ordained one woman [for] one man. However, thou art not to ruin thyself impetuously; thou art not to devour, to gulp down the carnal life as if thou wert a dog.

"Especially art thou to become courageous, art thou yet to become strong, art thou yet to reach maturity. Even as the maguey, thou art to form a stalk, thou art to ripen.<sup>12</sup> Then, thereby, thou wilt become strong in the union, in the marriage. Thy

Amo çan nen o, nopiltze in cuezcomatl ijxpan toco coconetzitzinti, in pipiltzitzinti: ca iehoatl quijnezcaiotia in qualcan in ieccan vi: in jpampa in oc chalchiuhti, in oc maqujzti, in oc vel motqujicate teuxiuhti.

Auh oc izca achiton: ca in pipiltzitzinti, in coconetzitzinti, ca cenca tlaçotin tlaçotlalo, nêneco: ypampa in chipaoaque, in oc motqujicate chalchiuh-ti, maqujzti, teuxiuhti, tlaçotin.

Izca ioan in qualtin, in iectin: in qualli iniollo, intech netlacaneconj, ixtililo, maviztililo: atle imaioca, acan ca imaioca: auh pactinemj, iocuxcanemj, acampa nacazmavi, tlacaconemj.

Auh in axcan notlaçopiltze: notelpuchtze: xiccaquj intla achi tictoqujiliz totecujo: xiccaquj ivi y, tinemjz y, amo tiqueleviz in teuhtli in tlaçulli: amo ticmaviltiz in teiçolo, in tecatzauh: in mijtoa tetlacaçotili, in teitlaco, in tepolo, in mjcoanj. Ca iuh conjtotivi in vevetque in pillopan, in oc tlacaxoxouhcaionpan: vncan in moteicnoittilia totecujo, vncan in tetlamamac, vncan in qujteilviltia in petlatl, in jcpan, in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj, in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl: auh njman vncan, njman pillopa, tlacaxoxouhcaipa in qujtemaca, in qujtemaceoaltia, in jtzopelica, in javiaca in tloque, naoaque: auh pillopan, oc chipaoalizpan in maceoalo qualli mjqujztli:

Xiccaquj nopiltze: ca tel noço ic manj in cemana-oac in nepixoloz, in netlapiviloz: ca oqujmjtalhvi in tloque naoaque in titlanoz ce cioatl, ce oqujchli: iece amo timjciuhcapoloz, amo iuhquj tichichi, tiquativetziz, ticquetzontivetetziz in tlalticpacaiotl:

oc cenca timoiollotechioaz, oc tichicaoaz, oc timaciz: in ma iuhquj timetl, tiquijotiz, titeteçaviz: vncan o, ic ipan tichicaoaz in tlapaliuhcail in nena-mjctiliztli: in mopilhoan iezque tzôtzomoclique, têtecujcistique: auh têtetzcaltique, chichipactique,

10. See Chap. 43.

11. See *ibid.*

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "mja que el maguey, si lo abren de pequeño, para quitarle la mijel, nj tiene substacia, nj da mijel, nro pierdesse ante que abran al maguey, para sacarle la mijel, le dexan crecer, y venir a su perfection: y entóce se saca la mijel."

children will be rugged, agile,<sup>13</sup> and they will be polished, beautiful, clean. And well wilt thou enter into thy mundane life, thy carnal life: in thy carnal life<sup>14</sup> thou wilt be rugged, strong, swift; diligent wilt thou be.

"And if thou ruinest thyself impetuously, if too soon thou seducest, thou discoverest [women] on earth, verily the old men went saying, thou wilt interrupt thy development, thou wilt be stunted, thy tongue will be white, thy mouth will become swollen, puffed; thou wilt go tasting thy nasal mucus, thou wilt be pale, thou wilt go pale on earth, thy nasal mucus will go dripping, thou wilt go coughing, thou wilt be enfeebled, weakened, emaciated; thou wilt become a tuft of hair. Possibly already thou wilt linger a short time on earth, very soon to be old, old and wrinkled.

"And thou art as the bored maguey, thou art as the maguey: soon thou wilt cease to give forth liquid.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps it is so with thee, a man, when already thou consumest thyself, when thou canst no longer say anything, no longer do anything to thy spouse. Soon she hateth thee, soon she detesteth thee; for verily thou starvest her. Perhaps presently there ariseth her desire; she longeth for the carnal relations which thou owest thy spouse. Already thou art finished, thou hast completed all.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps thou art incapable. She will ignore thee, she will betray thee. Verily, thou hast ruined thyself impetuously, thou hast consumed thyself.<sup>17</sup>

"Heed yet. May thou in good time reach manhood. Thou art not to ruin thyself impetuously. Although she is thy spouse, thy body, when thou wilt live with her, when thou wilt know her, it is as with food [which] thou art not to eat hastily; that is to say, thou art not to live lustfully; do not give thyself excessively to it. Moderately, temperately art thou to perform [the act]. Perhaps otherwise to no avail it cometh to pass that thou thinkest to find plea-

chichipaccaltique iezque: auh vel itlan taqujz in motlalica, in motlalticpacaiouh, in motlalticpaciaouh, titzomoxic, titlapaltic, titzicujctic tiez: mehel tiez.

Auh intla çan xonmjciuhcapolo intla çan cuel xonlamati, xontlachia tlalticpac. Ca conjtotivi in vevetque: timozcallapuztequjz, ticacamacpil, tinenepliztacapil tiez, ticamaçapil, ticanponaton timuchioaz moicacujtlapil ticpalotinemjz, tipinectontli tiez, tipineoatinemjz in tlalticpac, moicacujtl chipintinemjz, titötölcatinemjz, tiiäiacatontli tivivitoctontli tiez, tiquequetotzpil, timamalichtontli timuchioaz: haçaço ie tiquezqujlvitia in tlalticpac, çan cuel iça tivevapil, tivevexolochton.

Auh in mahan titlachictli, in mahan timetl: çan cuel in timocaoaz timeia, aço qujn vel ica toqujchtli, in oc uel tonmotlamj, in aoc cuelle tiqujlvia, in aoc cuelle ticaitia monamjc, ie cuel mjtzihija, ie cuel mjtztaelitta, ca nel noço ticapizmjtia: aço qujn ie ic itlati in qujnequj tlalticpacaiotl, injc timaceoalti in monamjc, ie te oc uel timocauh: muchimmopanti acaço y iatlamatia mopan iaz mjtzontlaximaz: ca nel noço otonmjciuhcapolo, ca otonmotlamj.

Oc xiccaquj: ma nel noço ic ipan, ie qualcan in titlapaliuhcatiz: amo timjciuhcapoloz, ma nel monamjc, monacaio, in jtlan tinemjz, in jtlan tiaz: in mahan tlaqualli, amo tiqujciuhcaquaz, qujtoznequj, amo titlahelnemjz, amo ticmotequjmacaz: çan ipan, çan ipan qualli in ticchioaz: ach anoço nen muchioa tipaquj timomati, in ticmotequjmaca in paqujztli: ca ie timomjctia, ca timovitilia:

13. Read *tetecuictique*.

14. The repetition is accepted as deliberate, the variation in spelling as copyist's error.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y quando te casares, seras assi como el que coge mjel del maguey, que no mana, porque le acogeraron ante de tiempo, y el que chupa para sacar la mjel del, no saca nada, y aborrescerle a y desecharle a...."

16. Read *muchí* in *mopanti*.

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "y buscara otro, porq tu ya estas agotado, y aunque no tenja tal pensamiento por la falta, que en ti hallo, hazerte a adulterio: y esto porque tu te destruyeste, dandote a mugeres ante de tfo, te acabaste." In *Literatura*, p. 126, Garibay has translated the passage thus: "Un maguey que se raspa deja de manar. Y también el hombre deja de dar lo que da el varón. Ya nada dice, ya nada hace a su consorte de lecho: ella sentirá repulsión por ti, te verá con asco porque la estás matando de hambre. Y es cuando a ella se le despierta y se le anardece el placer que tú tenías que darle, pero tú ya acabaste, ya estás agotado, ya no puedes satisfacerla y ella hará por buscar en otra parte el sustituto: parará en adultera y te será infiel. Antes de tiempo eres un hombre agotado y consumido." The translators are also indebted to the late Mons. Garibay, personal communication, Apr. 3, 1966, for the clarification of a number of points in this passage.

sure when thou givest thyself excessively to pleasure, for already thou killst thyself, thou endangerest thyself.

"The old men said, as they left, as they went leaving their commandments: 'Thou art only a maguey which they have sucked excessively. Be not so. The cape wetted, washed, when tightly wrung, quickly drieth; also thou art the same when thou hast given thyself excessively to the carnal act. Not only art thou useless, but soon thy nasal mucus goeth hanging; thou wilt go toothless, thou wilt go on hand and knees, thou wilt go pale.'

"Behold, it came to pass that a man was seized, was imprisoned — a decrepit old man, white-headed — because he knew another's woman; he had committed adultery. And he was asked if it were possible that he still required the carnal act. He said that presently was aroused his desire for the carnal act, because in the time of his childhood, in the time of his youth, he looked not upon a woman, nor did he ever anywhere know carnality. In the period of his virility, already in the time of his old age, then he went seeking the carnal act.

"Behold, here is yet a word or two. Let it inspire thee, that all may be thy measuring stick, thy model. Thou art to take all as an example as to how to live in purity on earth.

"In the time of the lord Neçualcoyotzin, two old women were seized. They were white-headed; their heads were like snow; it was as if they were wearing shredded maguey fiber. They were imprisoned because they had committed adultery, had betrayed their spouses, their old men. It was young priests, youths, who had violated them.

"The ruler Neçualcoyotzin inquired of them; he said to them: 'O our grandmothers, listen! How do ye feel? Do ye perhaps still require the carnal act? Are ye not satiated, being [as old] as ye are? And how did ye live while still in your girlhood? Just say it, just tell me, since ye are here for this reason.'

"They said to him: 'Master,<sup>18</sup> ruler, our lord, receive it, hear it. Ye men, ye are sluggish, ye are depleted, ye have ruined yourselves impetuously. It is all gone. There is no more. There is nothing to be desired. But of this, we who are women, we are not the sluggish ones. In us is a cave, a gorge, whose only function is to await that which is given, whose only

conjotivi in vevetque, injc concauhtivi intenaoatil. In ma çan timetl, in omjzonterquichichinque, amo ie tiuhquj: in tilmatl paltic, in tlacactli, in cencatequipatzca, in motetepatzca: ca hiciuhca oaquj: no tiuhquj, in otoconmotetequimacac tlalticpacaiotl, amo ca tinentlacatl: auh aca quel moicacujiplapil pilcatinemj, titlanpixqujinemj, tixonaughtinemj, tipineoatinemj.

Izcatquj muchiu: ce tlacatl anoc, ilpiloc vevetpul quaztapul, ipampa tepan ia, tetlaxi: auh tlaltanjloc, in cujx noma quijnequj tlalticpacaiotl, quijto; ca qujn ieie itlati in quijnequj tlalticpacaiotl: ipampa in jpiltian in jtelpuchtian, acan oqujttac cioatl, ano ic ocana tlalticpac tlama, ie ichicaoalizpan, ie ivedetilizpan, in qujn oqujttaco tlalticpacaiotl.

Oc izca cententli, cencamatli, xicmoiolotli: injc muchi moctacauh, momachiouh iez: muchi itech ticanaz, in quenjn tchipaoacanemj tlalticpac.

In jpan tlacatl neçaoalcoiotzin: omentin anoque ilamapipil quaztapatoton: ca iuhqujn cepaiavtl intzontecon: ca iuhqujn ichthli onacticate: ipampa ilpiloque, inpan iaue, qujntlaxinque, in jnnamjcoan, in jnvevetcaon: tlamacazcatonti, telpupuchtoton-ti in tepan iaue.

Qujntlatlanj in tlatoanj Neçaoalcoiotzin: qujmjl-hvi. Tocioane, tlaxiccaqujcan: quen anmomati, cujx noma anqujnequj in tlalticpacaiotl, amo oaceuhque, ca ie amjuhque, y: auh, que çan oannenque in oc amopiltia: ca xiqujtocan, ca xinechilvican, ca ie vncan yn ancate:

qujlvique. Tacatl, tlatoanj, totecujo: ma xicmocujli, ma xicmocaqujti: in amoqujchtzitzinti, ca amehoantin antlatzivi, ca amehoantin anmocaoanj in amo mjciuhcapoloque: ca ie ixqujch ca aoc te amo necoca: auh injn in ticioa, ca amo titlatzivinj: ca oztotl, ca tepexitl in totech ca: ca çan tequjtl ima-

18. Read *Tlacatl*.

function is to receive. And of this, if thou hast become impotent, if thou no longer arousest anything, what other purpose wilt thou serve?"

"And this, O my son: be very careful on earth. Live very calmly, very peacefully. Live not in filth. Do not live in filth on earth."

coca quijchia, ca çan tequjtl tlacelia: auh injn intla  
otitlamjcti, intlaca oc titlaxitia: tle oc tiez.

Auh injn nopiltze: cenza moiolic in tlalticpac,  
cenca iocuxca, cenza yvian in xinemj, maca can xitla-  
helnemj: ma titlahelnen in tlalticpac.



Twenty-second Chapter. Here are told the admonitions of the father, nobleman, or ruler, to counsel his son regarding prudence in public, and how to sleep, to drink, to eat, to talk, and how to dress. And he told him never to eat anything from the hands of the whores, the harlots, because they feed one, they cause one to drink the bad food, their potions.

"Behold still a word to finish my talk. Perhaps I shall deceive if I have hidden a word left by our forefathers as they departed, in order that thou mayest dwell with others on earth, in order that thou mayest be prudent in all things, in everything.

"First: thou art to be one who riseth from sleep, one who holdeth vigil through the night. Thou art not to give thyself excessively to sleep, lest it will be said of thee, lest thou wilt be named a heavy sleeper, one who goeth falling asleep, a constant sleeper, a dreamer. By night thou art to arise, thou art to pass the night awake, thou art to sigh, to cry out to, to make demands of our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind. And thou art to turn quickly to the sweeping, thou art to take care as thou art to hold vigil, as thou art to arise, in the offering of incense.

"And second: thou art to be prudent in thy travels; peacefully, quietly, tranquilly, deliberately art thou to go, to take to the road, to travel. Do not throw thy feet much, nor raise thy feet high, nor go jumping, lest it be said of thee, lest thou be named fool, shameless.<sup>1</sup> Neither art thou to travel very slowly, nor to drag thy feet, lest it be said of thee that thou art a dragger, thou art a lout, thou art a fat one; lest it be said of thee that thou goest waddling, that thou goest like a mouse; also lest thou turn thyself into an object of derision, incline thy head, travel like a pregnant woman.<sup>2</sup> Nor art thou to go trampling; thou art

Ic cempoalli omome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in jtenonotzaliztlatol in tetatzin in pilli, anoço tlatoanj: injc qujnonotzaia ipiltzin, in jtechpa in nematiliztli in teixpan: auh in quenjn cochiz, atliz, tlaquaz, tlatoz, ioan in quenjn motlalpiliz: ioan qujlviaia, in ma yca inmac tlaqua in cioatlaveliloque, in avianjme: ichica ca qujtequaltia, qujteitia: in amo qualli tlaqualli inpaio.

Oc izca cencamatl, ic onaci in notlatol: ach ac ic njcqueloz, intla cencamatl njctlati, in concauhteoaque totechihuahcaon: injc tetlan timonemjtiz tlalticpac, vel timjmatiz in jpan muchi, in jpan ixqujch.

Injc centlamantli: ticochiçanj, tixtoçoanj tiez: amo tictmotequijmacaz in cochiztli, injc amo titoloz, titocaiotiloz: ticochipilotl, ticochipichi, ticochmjml, ticochiztli: iooac timeoaz, iooalli tiquijtztoz, telciciviz, tictzatziliz tictlaitlanjliz in totecujo in tloque, naoaque, in iooalli, ehecatl: auh toconcujtivetziz in ochapanalli, tictmocujtlaviz ipan tixtoçoz, ipan tiçatoz in tlenamactli.

Auh injc vntlamantli: timjmatiz yn ipan monenemjliz, ivian, iocuxca, matca, tlamach in tiaz, in totlatocaz, in tinenemjz: amo cenza tocontepeoaz, in mocxi, amo no cenza ticahacocujz in mocxi, amo no tichochoholotiaz: injc amo titoloz, titocaiotiloz tixtotomac, ticuecuetz: amo no cencan moiolic in tinenemjz, amo no tiqujnvivilanaz in mocxi: ynjc amo mopan mjtoz tivilaxpul tixocotexpul, teticapul: injc amo mopan mjtoz titlatlaztimjnjinemj, tiqujqujmi-chintinemj: injc amo no ticamanalli timocuepaz, titoloz: timjmjxiuhcanênmj, amo no tiquequecin-nênmjz, amo tixoxotlamatiz, amo timocuecuelotiaz,

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "los que no lo hazen ansí, llamanlos yxtotomac, cuccuetz, que quiere decir, persona que va mjrando, a diueras partes, como loco, y persona que va andando sin honestad, y sin gravedad, como liujano bullicioso...."

2. Ibid.: "assimismo dizen de los que van muy espacio, viujlaxpul, xocotespul, heticapul: que quiere decir, persona que va arrastrado con los pies, que anda como persona pesada, y como persona que no puede andar, de gordo, y como muger preñada...."

not to seem like a firefly, not to strut, not to bustle about, lest it be said of thee that thou art only an old thing, that thou art shameless.

"Also thou art not to hang thy head, not to incline thy head much, not to stand up off balance, not to look sideways, not to look out of the corner of the eyes, lest it be said of thee that thou art an imbecile, very much a commoner, that thou hast not been counseled, that thou art very much an orphan, that thou bringest thy orphanhood upon thyself.

"Third: thou art to speak very slowly, very deliberately; thou art not to speak hurriedly, not to pant, nor to squeak, lest it be said of thee that thou art a groaner, a growler, a squeaker. Also thou art not to cry out, lest thou be known as an imbecile, a shameless one, a rustic, very much a rustic. Moderately, middlingly art thou to carry, to emit thy spirit, thy words. And thou art to improve, to soften thy words, thy voice.

"Fourth: thou art to pretend not to dwell upon that which is done, that which is performed. Especially art thou to depart from, to forsake evil. And thou art not to peer at one, not to peer into one's face, not to stare at one. Thou art not to peer into the face, at the head of — not to stare at — the esteemed one; especially a woman; much less at someone's wife, for it is said he who stareth at, who peccereth into the face of another's wife, with his eyes committeth adultery, and that some they there imprisoned, punished.

"Fifth: Guard, take care of thy ears, of that with which thou hearest. Do not gossip; let what is said remain as said. Ignore it. Pretend not to understand the words. If thou canst not ignore it, respond not. And speak not; only listen; let what is said remain as said. And when something is said, if something evil is told there, that which meriteth imprisonment, that which meriteth death, and on thee — if thou dost withdraw with others, if thou actest foolishly with others, especially if thou lendest a word, if thou speakest among others — on thee it will be laid; [then] thou wilt expiate the words of others, thou wilt atone for others, and thou wilt be taken, thou wilt be seized, and furthermore, thou wilt be imprisoned. It is said, because of thee words will be denied, there will be defending, there will be excusing. And he whose words they are, perhaps he is there, perhaps he remaineth thereby virtuous, and perhaps he is content. But thereabouts thou art made a fool.

amo timotlatlacuechinjiaz: injc amo mopan mjtoz, ca çan titleinpul, ca ticuecuetz:

amo no tiquechpilcatiaz, amo cenza titoloz, amo timonacaciqetziaz, amo avic titlatlachixtiaz, amo tinanacaztlachixtiaz: injc amo mopan mjtoz ca tixolopitli, ca titequijmaceoalli: ca acententli, ca acen-camatl titlamactli, titequijcnopilpul: ca motequij-nopillo timaitia.

Injc etlamantli: cenza moiolic in titlatoz, cenza ticnematzaviz: amo ticiuhcatlatoz, amo ticicaz, amo no tipipitzcaz: injc amo mopan mjtoz, ca tiquiquin-ton, tiquiquinapil, ca tipipitzton: amo no titzatziz, injc amo tixolopitli, tixtotomac, timllacatl, titequij-mjllacatl ipan timachoz: çan tlaco, çan tlanepantla in ticvicaz, in ticquixtiz in mjhiyo in motlatol: auh ticqualtiliz, ticiamanjiliz in motlatol, in motozqui.

Injc nauhtlamantli: amo ticmolvicanenequijz in tlein muchioa, in tlein aioa: oc cenza iehoatl in amo qualli: timjquanjz, titlatlalcaviz. Auh amo titehit-taz, amo teixco titlachiaz, amo titececemjttaz: amo ijkco, icpac titlachiaz, amo ticcecemjttaz in mavizti: oc cenza ie in cioatl, oc cenza iequene iehoatl in tecioauh: ca mjtoa, teixtlaxima in aqujn qujcecemjta, ixco tlatlachia in tecioauh: auh ca cequij vncan oac-taque, oqujtzacutiaque.

Injc macujllamantli: xicipia, xicmalhvi in monacaz, in motlacaqua maça xitlatolmocujcujtlavi: in tlein itolo, ma ie itolo: xitlatlalcavi, maça xicmocac-canenequij in tlatolli: intlaca vel titlatlalcavia maça xitlananqujli: auh maça xitlato, çagan xitlacaquij, ma ie itolo, in tlein itolo. In jquac tlatolo, intla itla aqualli vncan mjtoa, in tlatzaqualonj, in tlamjcoanj: auh in tehoatl intla tetlan timjquanja, intla tetlan timototochoa: oc cenza intla tonmocencamavia, intla tehoan tonlatoa: te motech motemaz, te motech tzopiz in tlatolli, te ticcenmamaz: auh te tonanoz, te tontzitzqujloz: auh iequene, tehoatl tocontzacutiaz: te mjtoa moca tlatenceviz, moca nemapatlaloz, moca onnequjtiloz: hace vñca, hace iectli ic ca: auh hace pactica, in aqujn tlatole: iece tehoatl njpa tixtotoma-oaltilo.

"Thus this is very necessary; thou art to be prudent, O my precious son. Do not die somewhere in vice, do not die somewhere in vain. Take good heed, take care; see to it that thine eyes are open.

"Sixth: when thou art summoned, be not summoned twice, be not called twice. The very first time, thou art to arise responding, to arise quickly. If thou art to be sent as a messenger, thou art to run, to be swift. If thou art ordered to get something, thou art to get it promptly. Thou art to travel swiftly, to travel bounding, in no wise sluggish; like the wind art thou to go. Thou art to be diligent, and thou art to do things at only one bidding, for if thou art twice summoned thou wilt be considered as perverse, lazy, languid, negligent, or thou wilt be regarded as one disdainful of orders, as a haughty one. This is the time when the club, the stone should be broken on thee.

"Seventh: as thou art to array thyself, as thou art to clothe thyself, thou art not to dress vainly, thou art not to array thyself fantastically, thou art not to place on thyself the gaudy cape, the gaudy clothing, that which is embroidered. Neither art thou to put on rags, tatters, an old loosely-woven cape. The unhappy, the discontented, our lord honoreth with this, giveth as merit, giveth as one's lot, so that he causeth them to be the miserable, the useless, the unhappy, the discontented ones, to suffer tribulation, pain. The forest, the plains they completely cover; they go searching for the herbs, the wood, the wild bean [roots], the roots. Thou art not to imitate this, not to take joy in it, not to find merit in it; for it is a matter of ridicule. This is what it meaneth.

"Thus art thou to tie on thy cape: do not tie it on so that thou goest tripping over it; neither art thou to shorten thy cape. Moderately art thou to tie it on. Nor art thou to expose thy shoulder. The *quachic*, the so-called furious in war, he who goeth confidently encountering his death, and the entertainer, and perhaps the buffoon, or perhaps the dancer and the mad one, all snatch the cape of whatever kind; they drag it; they trip over it; they go about mocking, they go rudely, they go drawing it to the arm pit, shoulder bared; they go in conceit, graceless, dragging their feet, twisting and turning as they travel. And their sandals are wide and long, the straps dragging, and their excessively long sandal thongs [also] dragging. But as for thee, be thou always prudent as to the

Ic cenca monequj y, timjmatiz notlaçopiltze ma cana tavilmjc, ma cana titlapicmj, cenca tle ticmati, cenca moiolic: ma nen tonmjxcueionj.

Injc chiquacentlamantli: in tinotzaloz, amo oppa in tinotzaloz, amo oppa in titzatzililoz: çan ceppa titlananqujliteoaz, timoquetzteoaz: intla tititlanoz, timotlaloz, titzicujnjz: intla itla ticujtlanoz, ticcujtiuetziz, titzitzicujcatinemjz, tichôcholotinemjz, acan tetic: iuhqujn tehecatl tinemjz, titzicujctictiez, auh çan ce monacaz ticchioaz: ca intla oppa otinotzaloz o, ie titlaeliloc, titlatziuhquj, ticujtlatzol, ticujtlananaca ipan timachoz: anoce a timoxicollanj, timopoanj ipan tittoz: ie vncan o, in quaujtl, in tetl mutech paianjz.

Injc chicontlamantli: injc timuchichivaz, injc timotlaquentiz: amo timotopalquetzaz, amo timoxanca-chichioaz, amo motech tictlaliz in topal tilmatl, in topallaquemjtl, in tlamachio: auh amo no iehoatl motech tictlaliz, in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli, in aiaçolli: in ahaiavia, in avellamatli qujtimaloa, in qujmaceoaltia, in qujlviltia totecujo: injc qujtlamaceoaltia, in jcnotlacatl, in nentlacatl in haiavia, in avellamatli, in toneoa, in chichinaca, in cenquavitl, in cemjxtlaoatl tentimanj, in qujmjxtmolitinemj in qujlitl, in quavitl, in cimatli, in tlaneloatl: amo tictlaiciecalviz, amo ica timaviltiz, amo ica timaceoaz: ca tlaquequelolizli qujtoznequj o.

Injc timotlalpiliz: amo timotlaxopeoallalpiliz, amo no tictitchoz in monetlalpilil: çan vel ipan in timotlalpiliz, amo no ticpetonjz in macul: Ca in quachic: in mjtoa iaotlaeliloc, in ça imjqujz qujpopouhtinemj: ioan in tlaquetzquj, in at tetlavevetzqujti, in at noço maceuhquj: ioan in iollotlavelilic, muchi qujcujtiuetzi in tilmatl, in çaco quenamj tlatlavilana, tlatlaxopeoa, tlaquequelotinemj, tlaxocotinemj, iciacapta tlaqujxtitinemj, acullapetonjtinemj, xoxotlamati, xoxoquappitznêinemj, qujvivilana yn jcxi, monenecujlotiuh in nenemj: auh in jcac cocoiactic, viujlactic in jnacaz: auh ixachchi in jcacmecaiouh vivilactic. Auh in tehoatl: muchipa ximjmati in tilmatl, in cactli: çan muchipan qualli, ipan ipan iectli, muchi colotic, in motech xictlali.

cape, the sandals; place on thee that which is always good, proper, all fine.<sup>3</sup>

"Eighth: Listen! Above all thou art to be prudent in drink, in food, for many things pertain to it. Thou art not to eat excessively of the required food. And when thou dost something, when thou perspirest, when thou workest, it is necessary that thou art to break thy fast. Furthermore, the courtesy, the prudence [thou shouldst show] are in this wise: when thou art to eat, thou art not to be hasty, not to be impetuous; thou art not to take excessively nor to break up thy tortillas. Thou art not to put a large amount in thy mouth; thou art not to swallow it unchewed. Thou art not to gulp like a dog, when thou art to eat food.

"Thou art not to let thyself choke on the food, not to strangle. Thou art to drink, to eat slowly, calmly, quietly. Thou art not to stir up the pieces, not to dig into the sauce bowl, the basket. Take care lest the choking on food, the strangling, should befall thee there. How hath it come about that thou hadst caused laughter at the place of eating? Quickly hadst thou fallen to the ground if thou hadst choked. And they would mock thee for it; a great quantity of that which is savory they would arrange for thee, for thou wouldst yet nourish thyself. But because thou wert a glutton, thou wouldst fall to the ground when thou wert to eat. Rather, thou wouldst be intemperate. Therefore also art thou a spectacle.

"And when already thou art to eat, thou art to wash thy hands, to wash thy face, to wash thy mouth. And if somewhere thou art to eat with others, do not quickly seat thyself at the eating place with others. Quickly thou wilt seize the wash water, the wash-bowl; thou wilt wash another's hands. And when the eating is over, thou art quickly to seize the wash-bowl, the wash water; thou art to wash another's mouth, another's hands. And thou art to pick up [fallen scraps], thou art to sweep the place where there has been eating. And thou, when thou hast eaten, once again art thou to wash thy hands, to wash thy mouth, to cleanse thy teeth.

"In brief, these are as many words as I give thee, as I now cause thee to hear; as many words lie guarded, those to live by, those worthy of being guarded. Our forefathers, the old men, the old women, the white-

Injc chicuetlamantli: xiccaquj, oc cencu iequene ipan timjmatiz in atl, in tlaqualli, ca uel mjiectla- mantli yn jpan ca: amo titequjtlaquaz, cochcailotl, in neuhcailotl in monequj: auh in tiitla ay, in timjtonja in titlatequjpanoa: ca monequj titençaz. Çan ie izcatquj in nematcailotl, in nematiliztli: in jquac titlaquaz, amo ticiuhtoz, amo tixtomaoaz, amo ixachchi ticcujz, tictlapana in motlaxcal: amo ixachchi in mocamac ticaqujz, amo ticpepetztoloz, amo tixmetzotoz in titlaquaz,

amo timehelcintoz, amo timeheltepotlamjtoz: çan moiolic, çan ivian, nematca in tatlis, in titlaquaz: amo titlatetexcoloz, amo titlamatatacáz in molcaxic, in chiquivic: cencu moiolic, vncan mopan oallaz in neelcimaliztli, in neeltepotlamjlistli, quen nenti otitlauetzqujti, in olaqualoian timemelaoatiuetz, in otimelci: auh ic mjtzquelozque, ixachi mjtztlatlilizque in tlein velic, ca no çä timozcalia: auh ca noço tixxicujn, tontlalvitoz in titlaquaz: ne tonmxujtiz, ca nocic titlatlatto.

Auh in ie titlaquaz, timomatequjz, timjxamjz, timocamapacaz: auh intla cana tetlan titlaquaz, amo teoan timotlalitietziz in olaqualoian: toconcujiuetziz, in nematequjlatl, in nematequjlcaxitl, titematequjz: auh in ontlaqualoc, toconcujiuetziz in nematequjlxicalli, in nematequjlatl, titecamapacaz, titematequjz: auh titlacujcujz, tochpanaz in vncan olaqualoc: auh in tehoatl, in otitlaqua oc ceppa timomatequjz, timocamapacaz, timotlancujcujz.

Çan cuel izquijcamatl yn, in njmjtzmaca, in njmjtzaqujta in axcan: quexqujch in mopixtoc tlatolli, in nemoanj, in pialonj: in concauhteoaque in totechiuhcaoan in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tzonjta-

3. *ipan* is duplicated in the MS.

haired ones, the white-headed ones, departed leaving them. The many words — O that thou couldst later take them to heart!

"Right here are a word or two which merit being taken, being guarded, being grasped, which our forefathers went putting in their coffers, in their reed chests; for all courtesy, all prudence come from [and] are taken from this.

"They went saying that on earth we travel, we live along a mountain peak. Over here there is an abyss, over there is an abyss. Wherever thou art to deviate, wherever thou art to go astray, there wilt thou fall, there wilt thou plunge into the deep.<sup>4</sup> That is to say, it is necessary that thou always act with discretion in that which is done, which is said, which is seen, which is heard, which is thought,<sup>5</sup> etc. And further, behold, thou art to take care, thou art to go remembering, not to swallow things carelessly; thou art to leave a little. That which thou wilt see, or whatever is placed before thee, thou art not to eat quickly, for on earth there are inhuman conditions. There are inhuman people, evil ones, haters of men, who will somewhere cause thee to swallow something in drink, in food. Proceed cautiously with thine enemies, or those who were thine enemies. Especially art thou to proceed cautiously with, to live in fear of, the women, above all the whores. Thou art not to eat, thou art not to drink the things offered. Such is said of the evil ones, the disloyal, the agitators, those with potions. Some, it is said, seek revenge.

"This, it is said, is pleasurable; one [kind] causeth one to discharge one's fluid when the whores, the harlots cause one to eat it, swallow it, or drink it to provoke lewdness. This endangereth one; and it is very deadly because one is dried up. For it useth up our blood, our color, our oils; it useth up our moisture; it useth up the turpentine, the resin.

"So, it is said, he who partaketh of the *maçacoatl*<sup>6</sup> is moderate, drinketh it moderately. [If immoderate,]<sup>7</sup> he will have carnal access to perhaps four, five, perhaps ten women. And to these women he hath access not only once with each one, but four or five

que, in quiaztaque: a mijec in tlatolli, quenmach ie ne ximotlaiollotianj.

Çan izca cententli, cencamatli cujoanj, pialonj, tzitzquijlonj: in jntop, in jnpetlacal qujchiuhiti totechihucaoa: ca muchi itech qujça, muchi itech mana, in nematcailotl, in nematiliztli.

Conjtotivi, ca tlachichiquijco in tivi, in tinemj tlaticpac, njpa tlanj, njpa tlanj: in campa tonchicope-tonjz, in campa tonchicooaz vmpa tonvetziz, vmpa timotepexiujz, qujtozneq': moneq' muchipa mone-matcachioaz in quexquich muchioa: in mjtoa, in motta, in mocaqij, in molnamj etc. Oc izca ioan ticpiaz, tiqujlnamjctinemjz amo iliujz titlacampaxoz, amo çan titlacentocaz: in tlein tiqujttaz, in tlein noço mjxpan tlaliloz: amo ticquatiuetziz, ca amo tlacapan in tlaticpac: ca onnemj in atlaca in tlaue-liloque, in tecocolianj: vel cana itla mjztololtizque, in jpan atl, tlaqualli: intechcopa timjmatcanemjz in moiaoan, anoço in moiaoan ocatea: oc cenza iehoan intechcopa ivicpa timjmatcanemjz, ioan timauhcanemjz in ciao: oc cenza iequene iehoan in cioatlaueliloque: amo ticquaz, amo tiqujz in tetlamactli: iuh mjtoa in amo qualli, in amo cemelle, tlanello, paio: cequj mjtoa tetlacuepili.

Injn qujl nepapacio, cequj temeialti in qujtequaltia in qujitetololtia, in aço qujteitia cioatlaueliloque in aujanjme, injc tlaelpaquiznequj: injn ca teuvitili, auh nel mjcoanj: ipampa ca tepatzcac, ca tlamj in tezço, in totlapallo, in tochiaocca ca taio tlamj, tlamj in oxiutl, in ocoztioitl:

iuh mjtoa in momaçcovavia qujxieiecoa, çan ix-qujch quj, in aço navi, macujlli cioatl qujnamjqujz, manoço matlactli: auh injn ciao, amo çan ceceppa in jntech aci: aço quen nanappa, mamacujlpa: auh aiac vecaoa in momaçcoavianj, intla elti, iciuhca

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "El camjno seguro, por donde deuemos caminar en este mudo, es muy alto, y muy estrecho, y desugado a qualquera parte dese camjno, no podemos, sino cayer, en vna profunda barranca, y despeñarlos [sic] de vna gran altura...."

5. Read *molnamiqui*.

6. *Maçacoatl*: cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, "Earthly Things," p. 80.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "... si lo toman destempladamente...."

times with each one, more or less. And no one endur-  
eth. He who partaketh of the *maçacoatl*, if aggres-  
sive, quickly dieth. As he dieth he becometh well  
dried up, veritably a little lock of hair, having long  
tufts of hair, locks of hair on the face.

"Perhaps he had been a mere child; perhaps he  
endureth for some time; perhaps he liveth yet a  
while; perhaps he continueth in the service of our  
lord. Eventually he is only little old eyes, only little  
locks of hair, tufts of hair, very white, nasal mucus  
hanging, trembling of neck; his flesh only hangeth  
in wrinkles; he quickly dieth.

"Guard thyself well, O my son. Perhaps someone  
giveth thee something to be eaten, to be drunk. If  
thou art suspicious of him, let him eat first, let him  
drink first that which he giveth thee. Pay attention.  
Continue with caution on earth, for thou hast heard  
that moderation is necessary."

mjmjquj: injc mjquj vel oaaquj, vel malichavi, vel  
pilinj, vel quequetotztzitzin muchioa, ixmalichpipil:

aço qujn piltontli, ac ace quexquijchcaujtia, aço  
qujn achi quoalmana in tonatiuh ac ace tlc quijtoquj-  
lia in totecujo, ie cuele ça ixveventon, ça mammalich-  
pil, quequetzopil, iztalecpil, iacacujtlapilopil, quech-  
vivichpil: ça pipilcac in jnacaio, iciuhca onmjquj.

Vel ximopia nopiltze: at aca itla mjtzmaca in  
qualonj, in joanj: intla itech tichicoolloa, ma oc ie  
achto conj, ma oc ie achto conqua, in tlein mjtzmaca:  
tle ticmati xonmjmattinemj in dalticpac, ca oticcac  
in çan tlanepantlacaiotl monequj.



Twenty-third Chapter. Here is told what the natives did when they would have their sons marry.

Here is related how the natives sought wives. When one's mother, one's father already saw that their youth was already matured, already strong, then they assembled, they consulted with one another.

[The father] said: "Poor is this, our youth. Let us seek a woman for him, lest he somewhere do something. He may somewhere molest a woman; he may commit adultery. For it is his nature; he is matured."

Thereupon they summoned their youth; they placed him before them. [The father] said to him: "Thou art here, thou who art my youth. Behold, we talk because we are concerned regarding thee. Thou poor one, already thou art this way, for thou hast matured. We say: 'Let us find thee a woman. Seek permission: take leave. Let the masters of the youths,<sup>1</sup> the rulers of the youths learn of it.'"

And their youth then replied to them: "Ye have shown me favor, ye have inclined your hearts; in my behalf ye have suffered anguish, in my behalf ye have suffered affliction. I shall inflict sickness upon you, I shall visit you with sickness and pestilence. May it happen as ye desire, for so also are the desires of my heart. Oh, may it be that my heart suffer pain, affliction! Oh, may it be that I behold the dangerous places on earth! Where shall I go to experience it?"

Then tamales were prepared, chocolate was ground, sauces were prepared. They bought youths' axes — cutters of wood, splinters of wood. Then they summoned the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths. Then they served them food, served them drink, gave them smoking tubes. And when they had eaten, when they had taken drink, thereupon the [youth's] old men, the guardians of the quarters, the guardians of the boundaries seated themselves; and they placed the youths' axes before them.

Injc cempoalli vmei capitulo, vncan mjtoa: inlein quijchoiaia in njcan tlaca, in jquac ie qujnnamjtizque in jnpilhoan.

Nican moteneoa, injc cioatlanja in nican tlaca. In iehoatl in tenan in teta: in ie quitta in jntelpuch ie omacic in ie chicaoac: njman mocentlalia in mononotza

qujtoa. Motolinia injn totelpuch: ma cana ticci-oatlanjcan, ma cana itla quijchiuh: ma cana cueit, vipilli tepan ca, ma cana tepan ia: ca ie iuhquj ca omacic.

Niman ie ic qujnotza in jntelpuch imjxpan qujtlilia, qujlvia: ca njcan tica in tinotelpuchtzin, ca izcat-quj tiqujtoa, ic tintentlamati motechcopa: timotolinja ca ie tiuhquj, y, ca otimacic, ca tiqujtoa: ma timjtzcioatlanjcan, ma ximotlanaoatili, ma ximotlatlalcavili: ma qujmocaqujtican yn tiachcaoan, in telpuchtlatoque.

Auh in jntelpuch, njman qujnnanqujlia. Oanechmocnelilique, otlacauhquj in amoillotzin, in noca anmotequipachivitia, in noca in amonentlamachitia: cocolizli namechnocujtiliz, temuxtli, ehecatl namechnecaviltiliz: ma muchioa, in juh anqujmonequjtlia: ca no iuh qujnequj in noiollo, macueliehoatl ma toneoa, chichinaca in noiollo: macueliehoatl, ma nocotta in temacauhtican tlalticpac: can nel njtlamattiuuh.

Niman ie ic tamaloa, cacaoatexo, muchichioa in molli: qujcova telpuchtepuztli, in quauhconej, in quauhxelolonj. Niman ie ic qujnotza in tiachcaoan, in telpuchtlatoque: njman ie ic qujntlamaca, qujmmacula, quimjiemaca: auh in ontlaquaque, in onatlique: njman ie ic onmotlalia in vevetque, in tla-xilacaleque, in axocheque: ioan imjxpan conteca in telpuchtepuztli.

1. *tiachcaoan*: the term *tiachcauh* applies to "elder brother" and to "master of youths." In this context, the latter is meant. See Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, Book III, "The Origin of the Gods," p. 53.

Thereupon [one of] the old men spoke: he said [to the leaders of the youths]: "Ye are here present, ye who are our sons, ye who are youths, ye who have labored, ye who have worked. Your youth<sup>2</sup> will disquiet you, for he wisheth to withdraw; he wisheth to enter the company of women. Verily, here are the youths' axes in order that he be separated; thus is the judgment of the Mexicans."<sup>3</sup>

Thereupon [the master of] the youths responded; he said: "Ye have shown favor to your sons. Here your sons comprehend all, hear all. This is enough. Verily, he leaveth forever the youths [and] their leaders with whom for a little time he hath worked, hath labored."

Then the masters of the youths departed bearing the axes.

Then, later, all the kinsmen [of the youth] assembled. There was consultation with one another; there was consideration as to which woman they would request. And when they had become of one accord as to which woman would be requested, the old women, the matchmakers, while it was yet early morning, passed to her home. They urgently solicited the parents of the maiden.

Then the matchmakers took their leave; they said: "Once again, early in the morning, we shall come by; we shall not remain." Then the next day, once again, very early in the morning, they passed by; they went to the home of the woman. They solicited [the parents of the maiden] in the same manner.

And when it was already the fourth day, [the parents of the maiden] said to them: "The maiden hath caused you trouble. To what purpose doth she deceive our humble man?<sup>4</sup> For her uncles, her aunts are in agreement. May then all learn what they will say, and may the maiden also hear of it. Once again on the morrow ye will come; ye will come to hear of her pleasure."<sup>5</sup>

And the next day, when the matchmakers had gone, deliberately, in tranquility, there was consultation. There was no one who disputed; there was no one who spoiled the discourse. When an amicable

Niman ie ic ontlatoa in vevetque: qujtoa. Ca njcan ammonoltitoque in antopilhoan in antelpupuchtin, in antequijti, in antlacoti: amechmotlapololtiliz yn amotiahcauh, ca oncalaquijznequj in xomolco, oncalaquijznequj in cuetitlan, in vipiltitlan: ca njcan catquj in telpuchtepuztli, injc tlatzicuevalo: injc tlatzontequj in mexica.

Niman ie ic tlacuepa, in telpupucti: qujtoa. Oanqujnmcnelilique in amopilhoan: ca njcan qujcen-cuj, qujcencaquj in amopilhoan: ca ie ixquijch, ca ie ic cenmaian qujncaoa in telpupucti in oc cemjlvitzintli inoan ontequjt, ontlacotic intachcaoan:

njman ie ic vi in tiachcaoan, qujtzquj in tepuztli.

Niman ie ic çatepan mocentlalia in jxquijchtin ioaiulque: nenonotzalo, nepanotl nettitilo in ac ie cioatl qujtlanjzque: auh in omocemjto in ac iehoatl ciatzintli in mijlanjz. Auh in jlamatque in ciatlanque, oc uellavizcalpan in qujça in jchan: çan oc qujnoalnavatia in jchpocheque.

Niman ie ic ontlacuepa in ciatlanque, qujtoa: ca oc ceppa ioatzinco in tioalquijçazque, amo titocaoazque: njman imuztlaioc, oc ceppa veca tlavizcalpan in qujça, in vi ichan cioatl: çan no ivin qujnoalnaotia.

Auh in ie ic navilhvitl, qujnvallilia: Amechmotolinjlia in jchpochtontli: tle ic qujmjxcuepilia in toquauh, in tocelouh: ca onavac in jtlacon, in javivan: ma oc qujcencaqujcan, quen conjtozque: auh ma oc no qujcaquj in jchpochtontli: oc ceppa muztla anvalmovicazque, iveliaca anqujmocujliqujvi.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, in oiaque ciatlanque: çatlamach, çatlivian in nenonotzalo: aocac tlachalanja, aocac qujtlacoa in tlatolli in oneiecnnonotzaloc. Niman ie ic qujtoa, in jchpucheque. Ca ie qualli, ma tlaiiec-

2. See n. 1.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "aqui esta esta hacha, es señal de como se aparta, ya de vña compañía (según es la costumbre de los mexicanos)...."

4. Cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "pero pues, que con tanta importunacion hablays en este negocio, es necesario que pues que la muchacha tiene tíos, y tías, y parientes, y parientas, sera bien q todos iunctos, y [sic] vean lo que les parece, veamos lo que diran: y también sera bien, que la muchacha entienda esto: y así venjós mañana, y llevareys la determinació, y conclusió de este negocio."

agreement had been reached, thereupon the parents of the maiden said: "It is good. May it be consummated. Will she move the humble one, the unembittered one, the unseasoned one? And if at times they will be poor, [if] her heart will suffer pain and affliction, how will he regard the maiden? Will she perhaps perform something? Will she perhaps do something?"

Then they said to the parents of the youth: "Rest your bodies. Learn when the union can occur."

And the [youth's] old men then sought out when it would be, which one was a good day. And when they had learned the good day, then they went to give the information; they told the maiden's parents when this would be: the proper day. They said the good days were Reed, Monkey, Crocodile, Eagle, House. Thereupon there were preparations: the ashes were prepared, ground cacao was prepared, flowers were secured, smoking tubes were purchased, tubes of tobacco were prepared, sauce bowls and pottery cups and baskets were purchased. Then maize was ground; leavening was set out in basins. Then tamales were prepared. All night they were occupied; perhaps three days or two days the women made tamales. So they passed the night. That which transpired in their presence let them sleep very little.

And the day before [the marriage] was to take place, there were invitations to banquet: first those who were illustrious, the lords, the captains, the seasoned warriors, and those who guided the groom, and the moderately matured youths, those same among whom [the groom] belonged, and then those who were the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths; then those who were all the kinsmen of the man and of the woman.

And when it had dawned, when the groom was to marry the bride, and the bride was to marry the groom, thereupon the invited guests entered. First the rulers of the youths, the masters of the youths entered. When they were fed, they drank only chocolate, for they drank no pulque. And at midday all the old men, the old women entered. To each one it was undertaken to give food, to give drink, to give flowers, to give tubes of tobacco. And the women came bearing, some of them, maguey fiber capes; some of them, coarse maguey fiber capes; some of them, small capes; and we poor people only grains of maize. They placed all the gifts before the

cavi: cujx quijmotlavelchiviliz in quauhtli, in ocelutli, in acococ, in apuec: auh in quenmanjan in juhquj meaozque, in juhquj cochizque: a toneoaz, a chichinacaz in jiollotzin: quen oquijmotlachieltli in jchpuchtontli, cujx ie vel itla ai, cujx ie itla vel quijchiao.

Niman ie ic quijmjhlvia in telpucheque. Ma oc xicmocevilican in amonacaiotzin: ma oc concaquijcan in jqujn vel onmuchioaz in nenepanoliztli.

Auh in vevetque: njman ie quijtemoa in jqujn iez, in catleotl qualli tonalli: auh in oquijtaque qualli tonalli, njman ie ic vi tlanonotzazque: quijmjhlvia in jchpucheque. Ca iquac iez in: iehoatl ipan in tonalli: Qujl in qualli tonalli: iehoatl in acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, calli. Niman ie ic nechichialo, nenexquetzalo, cacaoapinolli muchioa, xuchiitlano, acaquaujtl mocoua, ijettalli muchioa, molcaxitl mocoua, ioan çoquijtecomatl, ioan chiquujtl: njman ie ic texoa, xocotextli apatzica momamana: njman ie ic tamalolo, ceiooal in nemoa, aço eilvital, anoço omjhlvitl in tamaloa ciao, iuh qujtlaca ceioal: cenza çan achiton in concochi, in jmijxtlan onqujça.

Auh in ie imuztlaioc ie muchioaz: njman ie ic tecanoatzalo achtopa iehoantin in maviztilonj, in tetecutin, in achcacauhtin, in tequjoaque, ioan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, ioan in çan uel tlapalivi: in mach vel iehoan, ie intech ompovi: njman iehoantin in tiachcaoan, in telpuchtlatoque: njman iehoantin in jxquijchtin in teoaiulque, in jtechcopa oquijchtli, ioan itechcopa cioatl.

Auh in otlathujc, in ie iquac tlapaliuhcati in oquijchtli: ioan in mocchotia cioatl: njman ie ic calaquij in tlacouanotzalti. Achtopa iehoantin calaquij in telpuchtlatoque, in tiachcaoan: in ontlaquaque, çan cacaoatl in quj: ca in octli, camo quja. Auh in ie ixquijch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: iquac in nepantla tonatiuh in calaquij: nececenquetzalo in tetlamaco, in teamaco in texuchimaco, in teiiemaco. Auh in cioatzitzinti in conjtquj: in aca ichilmatl, in aca aiatl, in aca tequachtli: auh içan ticnotlaca, çan tlaultzintli: tlecujiixquac in qujtlaliaia in jxquijch teicnelilli. Auh in vevetque, ioan ilamatque, qujntlaoantia: auh in tlaocanxitl, injc tlaocanai, cenza

hearth. And they caused the old men, the old women to become besotted. And the drinking bowl with which they became besotted was very small: the little black bowl. Some drank three bowls, some four bowls, some five bowls. This was sufficient to drink in order for the old men, the old women to become besotted. And that which they drank was yellow pulque, honeyed pulque.<sup>6</sup>

And when the sun went hanging low, then they bathed the woman; they washed her hair with soap; they pasted her, arm and leg, with red feathers, and bedizened her face with pyrites. But if one was still somewhat a girl, they bedizened her face with yellow.<sup>7</sup> And when preparations had been completed, then they placed her before the hearth upon a reed mat. Thereupon the [youth's] old men addressed her, greeted her, animated her.

They said to her: "O my daughter, thou art here. For thy sake thy mothers, thy fathers have become old men, old women. Now thou approachest the old women; already thou commencest the life of an old woman. Forever now leave childishness, girlishness; no longer art thou to be like a child, no longer art thou to be like a girl. Be most considerate of one; regard one with respect, speak well, greet one well. By night look to, take care of the sweeping, the laying of the fire. Arise in the deep of night. Do not embarrass us; do not reject us as old men, do not reject thy mothers as old women. And perchance thy grandfathers, thy grandmothers still acknowledge thee, for already they have gone beyond; already the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath hidden them."

"Thou poor one, animate thyself, for already thou forever abandonest thy mother. No longer art thou to incline thy heart; no longer art thou to recognize thy mother, thy father, for thou abandonest them completely. Pay close attention, O my daughter."

Then the woman replied. She wept much; she was saddened. She said [to the one who had spoken]: "My lord, precious persons, ye have shown me favor, ye have inclined your hearts. I shall impose sickness upon you. I shall visit you with sickness

çan tepiton in tlilcaxtonli: in aca qujia ecaxitl, in aca nauhcaxitl, in aca macujlcaxith: ie vncan onaci in quja, injc ivintia in vevetque, in jlamatque: auh in qujia iehoatl in aoctli in tlachioaloctli.

Auh in ommopilotonatiuh: njman ie ic caaltia in cioatl, camovia, qujpotonja tlalavilistica in jmac, in jicxic, ioan qujxaoa apetztica: auh yn oc achi ich-puchtli, tecocauhtica in qujxaoaia. Auh in ocōn-cauhque: njman ic contlalia tlecujlixquac, petlapan: njman ie ic qujnonotza in vevetque, qujtlapaloa, quellaquaaoa:

qujvia. Nochpuchtze ca njcan timoietztica, ca mocha veveti, mocha ilamati, in monanoan, in motaoan: in axcan, ca ic intech tompachivi in jlamatque: ie toconpeoaltia in jlamanemjiztli: axcan xiccencaoa in pipillotl, in coconeitl: aiocmo tiuhqujn tipiltontli tiez, aiocmo iuhqujn ticonetontli tiez: vel xiteixtili, xitemauhcaitta: vel xitlato, vel xitetlapalo: iooalli xiqujtzto, xicmocujtlavi in tlachpanaliztli, in tletlaliliztli, veca iooan ximeoa, ma titechpinauhti, ma titechvevetlaz: ma tiqujmjlamatlaz in monanoan: auh cujx oc mjtzalmati in mocolhvan, in mocioan: ca ie nachca mantivi, ca ie oqujntlati in tloque naoaque,

timotolinja ma ximellaquaaoa: ca ie ic ticcencaoa in monantzin, aocmo itzcaliujz in moiollo, aocmo tiqualmatiz in monantzin, in motatzin, ca ie ic cenn-maian tiqujmocavilia: tle ticmatcatzintli noch-puchtze.

Niman ie ic tlacuepa in cioatzintli: cenza mocho-qujlia, motlaocoltia: qujmjlvia. Noteco, tlaçotitlaca, oannechmocnelilique, otlacauhquj in amoiollotzin: cocoliztli namechnocujtiliz, temuxtli, ehecatl na-mechnecaujtiliz: ca njcan njcnocujltonoa, njcnol-

6. On pulque or *oxtli*, see Chap. 14, n. 5. *Oxtli* is identified as "yellow wine" in Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," p. 150. In Molina's *Vocabulario*, Spanish-Nahuatl section, fol. 117v, *vino del miel* is *oxtli*, and *vino con miel* is *tlachimaloxtli*; in the Nahuatl-Spanish section, *oxtli* (fol. 6v) is *vino hecho de miel y agua*, and *tlachimaloxtli* (fol. 117v) is *vino de miel o de granadas o de cosa semejante*.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "ponjanlas vnos poluos amarillos, que se llaman tecocahuatl..."

8. *Ibid.*: "míra hija, que no auergunceys, q̄ no deshonrreys, a los que somos vuestros padres, y madres, vños abuelos, que ya son defuncionados, no os an de venir a decir, lo que os cumple, porque son ya defuncionados, nosotros lo deiximos en su nombre...."

and pestilence. Here I have enriched myself; I have prospered by your motherhood, your fatherhood. Ye have inclined your hearts, precious persons."

And when the day had ended, when there was yet a little sun, then older relatives of the youth came to take the daughter-in-law. All of them were old women. When they had come to enter [the bride's house], then they said: "We shall cause you to be frightened, for we have come to take our daughter. May she undertake the journey."

Thereupon [the relatives of the maiden] broke up; there was agitation. And a woman whose task it was, one already strong, was to bear her upon her back. Then she took a black manta by the corners. The daughter-in-law knelt upon it, whereupon [the woman] took her upon her back. Then the torches were lighted to show that already she was borne to her man's place. They went ordered in two rows, one on each side, as they provided her with light. And all the woman's kinsmen went in concourse about her; they went surrounding her; it was as if the earth rumbled behind her. And as they accompanied her, it was as if all eyes were fixed upon her; all the people looked at her.

And some said to their daughters: "Oh, blessed is the maiden! Open thy miserable eyes. Thou canst not reflect. Thou art lazy in hearing the stern words; thou art perverse in accepting the exhortations, the indoctrination, the responsibility. Blessed is this woman, for she is observant, she is reared, she understandeth; she doth not dishonor, doth not reject her mothers, her fathers as aged."

And when this was done, when they had gone to take her to the home of the man, then they placed her before the hearth. Then they also placed her bridegroom there before the hearth. And when the two were together, they placed the woman to the left, and they placed the man to the right of the woman. And the mother of the man then went to give gifts to her daughter-in-law. She placed the shift on her, but her skirt she placed before her. And the mother of the woman then also went to give gifts. She tied a cape on [the man], but his breech clout she placed before him.

And the elderly matchmakers<sup>9</sup> then tied them together. They took the corner of the man's cape; also they drew up the woman's shift; then they tied these

machtia in amotenaiotzin, in amotetaiotzin: otla-cauhquij in amoillotzin tlaçotitlaca.

Auh in jquac in otlainmantic, in ça achiton tonatiuh: njman ie ic vitze in telpucheque, in canazque in cioamontli: çan much iechoantin in jlamatque. In oncalaquijo: njman ie ic qujtoa. Tamechtomauh-tilizque: ca tictanjlico in tochpuchtzin, ma icxitzin qujmanjli:

njman ie ic tlatzomonj, neacomanalo: auh ce ite-qujuh catca in cioatl, in ie chicaoac, in qujmamaz: njman ie ic connacaçana in tilquemjtl, ipan ommo-dlanquaquetza in cioamontli: niman ie ic commâma: njman ie ic contlatia in tlepilli, ic neztiuh in ie ujco ioqujchoacan: nenecoc mamantiuj in qujtlavilia: auh in jxqujchtin yoaiulque cioatl qujtepeujtiuj, cololujtiuj: iuhqujn tlalli cuecuetlaca icampa: auh in ie qujvica, iuhqujn cemjxtli ivic: muchi tlacatl qujttta:

auh in cequjntin qujmjlvia in jmjcphuchvan. O quenmach amj y, in jchpuchtli: tla xonmjxtzaian-polo, in avel timonotzcapul, in amel ticcaquij in vapaoac tlatolli, in çan avmpa ticcaquij in tenonotzaliztli, in tlatconj, in tlamatmalonj: quenmach amj yn, in cioatzintli, anca tlachie, anca muzcalia, anca tlacaquij: amo qujmixtlaça, amo qujnueuetlaça in jnanoan, yn itaoan.

Auh in ie uhquj, in ocaxitito in vmpa ichan oqujchtli: njman qujtlalia, tlecujlixquac: njman ie ic no contlalia in joqujchvi, in vncan tlecujlixquac. Auh in ie neoan cate: in cihoatl ie tlaopuchcopa qujtlalia: auh in oqujchtli, imaiauhcampa in cioatl qujtlalia. Auh in jnan oqujchtli: njman ie iauh qujtlauhtiz in jcioamon, conaqua in vipilli: auh in jcue ixpan contlalia. Auh in jnan in cioatl: njman ie no iauh qujtlauhtiz, conjlpilia in tilmatl: auh in jmax-tli ijxpan contlalilia.

Auh in titici: njman ie ic qujnnetechilpia, connacaçana in jitilma oqujchtli: no contilinja in jvipil cioatl: njman connetechilpia. Auh in jnan oqujch-

9. *Ibid.*: "las casamenteras."

together. And the man's mother then went to wash her daughter-in-law's mouth. Then she set out tamales in a wooden bowl, and sauce, [called] *tlato-nilli*, which went in a polished sauce bowl. Then she fed her four mouthfuls. The woman took the lead in eating four mouthfuls; thereafter she also fed the man four mouthfuls. Then the elderly female matchmakers stood them up, introduced them into a chamber, put them to bed. When they had gone to put them to bed, then they shut them in. When the elderly matchmakers had shut them in, they came out, and [these] old women remained there; they remained guarding them, remained becoming besotted.<sup>10</sup> They went not to their respective homes; they just awaited the dawn there.

And when four days had passed, then their straw mat was raised; they shook it out in the middle of the courtyard. Later they placed the straw mat where they were to sleep. At this time there was also eating; it was called *uexiuhtlauana*.<sup>11</sup> There the in-laws took counsel with one another.<sup>12</sup> Then they went their ways, they dispersed, they each went to their homes. They went already content; they went feeling good in their hearts.

And also the [groom's] old women then admonished her; they counseled the daughter-in-law. They said to her: "My daughter, thy mothers, thy fathers encourage thee here. Unfortunate art thou; thou hast undertaken that which is like a great burden, a large carrying frame, which is truly heavy, which cannot be lifted. Pray to our lord that perhaps he may sustain you a little. It is as if ye scale a mountain; perhaps ye can reach the summit. Perhaps ye will encounter the reprimand of our lord. How will he incline his heart? Put thy trust in him. Behold, here the husband provideth thee with merchandise, five large cotton capes with which thou wilt negotiate at the market place, with which thou wilt procure the sustenance, the chili, the salt, the torches, and some firewood, that thou mayest prepare food.<sup>13</sup> This is as thy forefathers went bequeathing [thee]. Go diligently; go covering thyself with dust; for it

tli: njman ie iauh, quijcamapacaz in jcioamon: njman conmana in tamalli, quauhcaxtica: ioan in molli in tlatonjlli molcaxxipetzica mantiuh: njman ie ic conqualtia, nauhcamatl: ie iacattiuh in cioatl, in qujqua nauhcamatl: çatepan quijqualtia in oqujchtli no nauhcamatl. Niman ie ic quijnquetza, qujncalaqua in tlecopa, qujmonteca in cioatitici: in oqujntecato, njman ie ic quijmontzaqua: in oqujmontzacque, valqujça in titici: auh in jlamatque vncan onoque, qujnpixtoque, tlavantoque, amo vivi in jnchan: çan vncan tlavilia.

Auh in oacic navilhvitl: njman inpetl meoa, ithoal-nepantla quijzetzelo: çatepan conteca in petlatl, in canjn vel cochizque: in jquac yn, oc no tlaqualo: mjtoa: vexiuhtlaoana: vncan monanaoatia in ve-xiuhti, njman ie ic viuj, momoiaaoa, vivi in jnchan: ie ijollo pachiuhiuh, ie uel ietiuuh in jiollo.

Auh ioan jlamatque: njman qujnonotza, qujnanaoatia in cioamontli: qujlvia. Nochpuchtzin: ca njcan mjtzellaquaoa, in monanoan, in motaoan: timotolinja ca itlan otonmaqujlti, in juhquj in vei tlamalli, in vei cacaxtli, in vel etic, in acoaliztli: ma xicmotlatlauhtili in totecujo, aço uel achi amechmotoctiliz: in ma iuhquj antepetlecozque, aço uel anqujmopantlaxilizque: acaço tle iquahtzin, itetzin anqujmonamjctizque in totecujo: quē ie tlacaoaz, yn jiollotzin: ma xicmotemachilican. Ca njcan catquj mjtzmotiamjctilia in tlalapalivi: macujltzin quachtli, ic tonmonentlamachitiz in tianqujznaoac: ic toconmonextiliz in cochcailtl, in neuhcailtl: in chiltzintli, in jztatzintli, in ocotzintli: auh in cetzin quauhtlatziantzin, injc tonmotlapopuchilitiez, in vncan y, ontla-cauhtiuj ū motechiuhcaoan: ma xonmopilqujito, ma xonmotlalvitito, ca tonenejxcaujl in tlalticpac: ca aiac teca, ca ie ic timjtztocaujlia: tle ticmomachitia.

10. *Ibid.*: "las viejas casamenteras, que se llaman titici (que eran como mijinistras del matrio [sic]) estauíllos guardando, a la puerta: y allí  
bienven...".

<sup>11</sup> *seerikthawana*: "the in-laws become intoxicated."

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "en este tiempo comjá, y beujan, dentro de casa los parientes de la novia, con los pariétes del nobio, y se trataban todos como cuñados, y afines, y como tales se hablaban, y conocian...."

13. Cf. *ibid.*: "con que aveys de guisar la comida . . ." Derivation of *tonmotlapopuchilitez* is problematical; possibly it may be connected with *coconatl*.

is our way of doing things on earth; for no one is concerned with one; for already we abandon thee. Take heed of this."

Then also the woman's mother, his mother-in-law, spoke to the groom: "Thou art here; thou art our eagle, our occlot; already thou art our precious necklace, our precious feather, our child. May [the marriage] not seem to thee as in jest, for already it is thy [new] world, already it is thy [new] nature, already thy life is another; for no more will thy heart be evil; for already thou hast left behind the evils of youth—intoxication, laughter, scoffing; for already thou art a married person.<sup>14</sup> Exert thyself with the staff, the carrying frame. Place the strands of chili, the salt cakes, the nitrous soil, the strings of fish on thy back; travel from city to city. Torment, suffering will afflict thy heart, thy body, in another's corner, by another's wall, in another's portals.<sup>15</sup> Thou art to struggle when thou wilt cross the gorges, the mountains, the plains. Thou art to suffer the heat, thou art to endure the wind. Thou art to suffer patiently when thou art to eat the dried provisions, the toasted tortillas, the parched maize. Wilt thou perhaps acquire the sweetness, the fragrance, the warmth of our lord?<sup>16</sup> Doth that which someone eateth, drinketh perchance just fall before him? Are the necessities of life not procured by work? Exhaust well thy force to witness the mercy of our lord. This is all thou must hear, for already we leave thee."

Niman ic no quijhvia in tlatalivi, in cioatl ynan: in jmonnan. Ca njcan tica in titoquauh, in titolouh: ca ie titocozquj, ca ie titoquetzal, ca ie titocnetzin: macaçamo xommaujlmati, ca ie motlalticpac, ca ie mjxcotian, ca ie centel in monemjliz, ca aiocmo aviliez in moiollo, ca ie oticcauh in telpuchtlavelilocoautl in neivintiliztli, in vetzqujztli, in camanalli, ca ie titlapaltzintli: ma itlan xonmaqujti in topilli, in cacaxtli: ma mocujtlapan xocontlali in chilçolotl, in jztatapalcatl, in tequjxqujtlatzin, in mjchtlacultzin: ma xoconmotlatocili in aoacan, in tepeoacan: a toneoaz, a chichinacaz in moiollotzin in monacaotzin: in texomolco, in tecaltech, in tetlatzacujltitlan: a ticmjhioujltiz in ticmopanaviliz in atlauhtli, in tepetl, in jxtlaoatl: a titonalciauhtiaz, a tehecaciauhtiaz: a ticmopaccaihijoujltiz in ticmoqualtziz in jtacaquavaccatzintli, in totopuchtzintli, in jzqujtzintli: cujx ticmaxcaviliz in jtzopelica, in javiaca, in jtononca, in jiamanca in totecujo: cujx aca çan jxpan vetzi in qujqua, in quj: ca amo axcaujlo, ca uel ontlamj in tlatalivitzli: injc motta in jtetaocoll totecujo. Ca ie ixqujch in ticmocaqujta: ca ie ic timjtztocavilia.

14. Corresponding Spanish text: "porque ya soys del estado de los casados, (que es tlatalivij)...."

15. Ibid.: "dormiendo a los rincones, en las casas ajenas, en las portadas de las casas donde no conoceys...."

16. Ibid.: "no penseys hijo, que de aquj adelante aveys de viujr e rregalos, y en delicadeces...."



Twenty-fourth Chapter. Here is told that which the natives did to inform their daughter when already she was pregnant.

When the child began to develop, when the baby was conceived, drink was prepared, a banquet was arranged, food was prepared. Our leaders displayed flowers, canes of tobacco. They assembled, they gathered together the mothers, the fathers, the relatives of the woman [and] of the man.

First there was drinking, there was eating. Then the man's old men, the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones, seated themselves. [One of them] said: "Ye have settled yourselves here; our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath seated you here, ye who are revered. I speak in the manner of the commoner. Our lord hath assembled ye here, ye who are our in-laws, ye whom the lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind, hath accorded [life]; ye who provide the shade, who provide the shadow; ye who conduct yourselves on earth as silk cotton trees, as cypresses. Unto ye enter all who reside in the mountains, on the deserts — the common people, the humble eagle warriors, the humble ocelot warriors. Unto ye there is crying out, and from ye there is encouragement.

"Perhaps ye are without tranquility; we shall trouble you, we shall embarrass you. Perhaps that which ye administer for our lord is immense, immeasurable, infinite. And ye [are concerned with] the city, and with the load, the burden, the city subdivisions. We shall trouble you, for here we set before you a word or two, a trifle — your task, your affairs, your creditable works which ye grasp, which ye heed.

"And let those who are here, the old men, the old women, the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones, hear it! Our lord hath shown his mercy, our lord desireth now to show mercy to the girl, the child, the maiden, N.; he desireth to place within her a precious necklace, a precious feather; for the child

In jc cempoalli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tlein qujchiaoia, in njcan tlaca, in jquac ie otztl imjchpuch, injc qujtemachitiaia.

In jquac chipini, in motlalia piltzintli: achivalo, tlaqualolo, tlaqualchioalo: in toueliacaoan xuchitl, ijtl qujnextia: qujnoalcentlalia, qujnoalololoa in tenaoan, in tetaoan, teoaiulque, in jtech cioatl, in jtech oqujchtli.

Achtopa atlaoa, tlaqualo: njman oalmotlalia in vevetque, in jtech oqujchtli in tzonjztaque, in quaiztaque: qujtoa. Ca njcan anoalmouetzitza: a ca njcan amechalmotlalilia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: in amehoantzitzin in maceoallopan nontlatoa, in antovexiuhtzitzioan ca njcan amechmocentlalia in totecujo: in amehoantzitzin in oc amechmocavilia in tloque, naoaque in iooalli, in checatl: in oc amehoantzin amecauhioa, aceoalloa: in oc anpochome, amaveveme anmuchiuhtimanj in tlalticpac, in amotlanzinco mocalaquja, in cenquaujtl, in cemjxtlaotl manj, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, in jcnoquauhlti, in jcnoocelutl, ca amotech oalmotzatzilia: auh ca amotech oalmellaquaaoa:

at amo ivian ammoietzicate, tamechtotlapololtilizque, tamechtotlalcaoaltilizque, at ixachi, at amo tamachiuuhquj, at amo tlanqui in anquimachililia in totecujo: auh in atl, in tepetl: auh ie ie in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli: auh in tlaxilacalli. Tamechtotlapololtilizque: a ca njcan cententzin, cencamatzin: achi-tzin, amjxpantzinco tictlalia in amotequjtzin, in amo-machitzin, in amoqujztequjtzin: anqujmocujlia, anqujmoqujzia:

ah qujmoqujzia in monoltitoque in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tzonjztaque, in quaiztaque: ca otlaocux in jiollotzin in totecujo. A ca nelle axcan in piltonli, in conetontli, in jchpuchtontli in. N. ca qujcnomatiznequj in totecujo: cozcatl, quetzalli ijtic qujmaqujlijznequj: ca oitlacauh, ca oitlacauhpilo in

hath conceived, hath become pregnant; for it seemeth that our lord desireth to place life within her.

"And behold, verily, now, what doth our lord desire? Perhaps some little thing is the desert, the merit of the youth, the young man. And perhaps some little thing is the merit of your commoner, your indigent person, N.<sup>1</sup>

"And those who already have gone to remain beyond, who briefly, for a day, came to behold one, the old men, the old women whom our lord hath destroyed, whom he hath hidden, those who have departed, those who have gone to reside in the water, in the cave, those who have gone to reside in the land of the dead, where they lie resting: verily are they perchance now still concerned? For they have all departed, not even for a little while to come forth. Yet may it still be in their presence that with a word or two they might exhort you.<sup>2</sup>

"And verily, might perchance one yet grow, mature, become white-haired? Who will exhort you? Who will extend to you a word or two? Now, verily, unfinished, stuttering, stammering, unsettled, useless are the word or two which we deliver in your presence, which we intone to your ears.

"No doubt our lord wisheth to give a baby to you who are miserable people. This is all that ye receive, that ye heed. Find repose! Rest, my beloved sons! Be heedful!"

There were always two who prayed, who greeted. The other old man talked; he spoke to, he addressed those who had become in-laws.

"O my beloved sons, O our lords, we would not give you a headache, we would not give you stomach pains. We cause you fatigue. May we here not expose you to sickness and pestilence. Ye have taken, ye have grasped a word or two. And now, verily, our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, desireth to set life within the girl, the child, the maiden. What doth the lord require? Let us have faith in him. May ye find repose, O our lords, O my sons."

The one who had been addressed responded; he returned the speech. He said: "Pay heed, for our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath assembled

piltontli: anca ioliliztli ijtic qujmaqujiliznequj in totecujo.

Auh iz nelle axcan, aquen qujmonequjltia in totecujo: cujx itla yicnopil, cujx itla imaceoal in telpuch-tontli, in tlapaltonli: auh cujx itla, imaceoal in amo-maceoal in amocnotlacauh in. N:

auh ie iehoantin in ie nachca onmantuij, in ocuelachic, in ocemjlvtl, teixco teicpac tlachiaco; in vevet-que, in jlamatque: in oqujnpolo, in oqujntlati in totecujo: in oiaque, in omotecato in atlan oztoc: in omotecato in mjctlan, in ie qujcevitoque. A cujx nelle axcan, oc oallamat: ca oceniaque, caocmo ma-cujl, matlac onqujçaqujvi: auh ma oc imjxpan, ca iehoantin: a cententica, cencamatica, amechmotla-tlauhtilizqua:

auh nelle axcan, cujx oc tlachamaoa, cujx oc tlapi-pinja, cujx tlatzonjztaia: aqujn amechmotlatlauhti-liz, aqujn cententli, cencamatl, amechmomaqujiliz. A ca nelle axcan aiuhtlancautl, popolonj, tzatzacuj: aitlaliloian nen tiuhque cententli, cencamatl tocon-qujxtia in amjxpantzinco: amonacazpantzinc to-coneoa.

A ca piltintli qujnmomaqujiliznequj in totecujo, in amocnotlacaoa: ca ixqujch anqujmocujlia, anquj-mocaqujlia: ma tlattech ximaxitican, ma ximovetz-i-tican nopolhoantzitzine, tle anqujmomachitia.

Muchipa omentin in tlatlatlauhtia, in tlatlapaloa, In oc ce tlacatl vevetlacatl, tlatoa: qujtoa, qujmjlvia in vexiuhti.

Nopolhoantzitzine, totecujoane: amotzontecon-tzin, amelchiqujuhtzin, atoconeoa tamechtocianmjctilia: ma njcan temuxtli, ehecatl, atamechtecaviltiliti: ca oanconmocujlique ca oanconmanjlique, a icen-tentli, a icencamatl: aviz in nelle axcan, in ioliliztli ijtic qujmotlaliliznequi in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: in piltontli, in conetonli, in jchpuchtontli: aquen qujmonequjltia in totecujo: ma noço tictotemachili-can, ma tlattech ximovetzitican, totecujoane, nopol-hoantzitzine.

Tlananqujlia in nonotzalo, qujcuepa in tlatolli: qujtoa. Tle anqujmomachitia: a ca njcan amechal-motlalilia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: auh at amo-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Pues que sera agora, la voluntad de nuestro señor: si merecera este mancebo, gozar de la merced de nuestro señor, y vuestra hija. N. si sera merecedora, por uentura de que venga a luz, lo que a concebido...."

2. Ibid.: "pluguera a dios, que esto aconteciera en su presencia, para que oyeras las palabras de vuestra salutacion, de su boca...."

ye here. And that which occurreth, which is said, is perhaps not by way of rejoicing, not by way of friendship; perhaps it is of weeping, of tears. Here we thus assemble, here where our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath brought us together.

"Verily, now, we here open the coffer, the reed chest; here we marvel at, we behold that which we should not see, which we should not hear. Perhaps the old men, the old women, the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones, should hear this. Nowhere can we still summon them, for they have departed, for they have gone to reside in the water, in the cave; for our lord hath destroyed them, hidden them. These were our forefathers who lived as the really old men, the really old women, who went casting a shadow, who went providing shade, who went forming the great silk cotton trees, the cypresses for those who became their subjects. And they were the ones who went not hiding their hands, their feet; rather, those who went extending their wings, their tail feathers, those who went working in behalf of others, those who went not neglecting things. So did that one do. May ye esteem your ancestor, N. And so did that [other] one, N., do.

"Might it yet have been in their time! Might it yet have been in their presence! Might it have been they [who yet lived]! Might it yet have been in their presence! O that they might have heard, might have known of this marvel, which we understand, which we heed, which our lord wisheth to bring down upon us, wisheth to create for us, the precious necklace, the precious feather, which he wisheth to give us, the life which he wisheth to place within the girl, the child, the maiden; for they would have wept over it, would have been apprehensive over it, would have marveled, would have considered it a precious thing.

"But behold, verily, now, certainly such is the condition. Our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath left [us] in need. No more is there strengthening, no longer is there encouragement, no more is there aging, no more are there the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones, the old men, the old women, the real weepers, the sorrowers, those who went becoming great. Who will weep for it? Who will be apprehensive for it? Who will be the one who marveleth?

"Here our lord bringeth forth sons, bringeth forth children. We are these, and we are such as these, we the spoilers of our lord, we the neglecters. Here we

coaiotica, at amo icnjuhiotica: at choqujztl, at ixaniotl in qujca, in mjtoa: in njcan ic titocentlalia, in njcan ic techmocenqujxtilia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque.

A ca nelle axcan: ca njcan tictlapoa in toptli, in petlacalli: a ca njcan tontlamaviq, a tontlachia in atotlachiaia, in atotlacaqua: at vevetque, at ilamatque, at tzonjztaque, quaiztaque in tlacaquian yn: acan oc ie tiqujmontanjilizque, ca oiaque, ca omo tecato in atlan, in oztoc: ca oqujn mopolvi, ca oqujn motlatili in totecujo, in totechihuahaoan, in vel vevetque, in vel ilamatque muchiuhtij: in vel ceoallotij, in vel malacaiotivi, in vevei puchotl, avevetl muchiuhtivi yn ointlan necalaqujloc: auh in amo ointlan cahaujco in jimma, in jmjcx: in oqujocoaco in jmazhaz, in jncujtlapiltzin: in oteca muchioaco, in aotlaxiccaoco: ca iuhquj muchiuhtiu o, ma xoconmottilican in amotechihuahau in. N. auh ca iuhquj muchiuhtiu o, in N.

A ma oc ymatian, ma oc imjxpan: a ma oc iehoan, ma oc imjxpan: a ma oc iehoan qujcaqujn, qujmatinj, injn tlamaçolli: a in ticcu: in ticcaquj in topan qujmotaemoujliznequj, in topan qujmochiujliznequj in totecujo: a in ce cozcatl, in ce quetzalli, a in techmomaqujiliznequj: a in ioliliztli ijtic qujmaqujiliznequj in piltontli, in conetontli, in jchpuchontli: a ca qujchocazqua, ca qujteupoazqua: ca iehoantin tlamaçozqua, auh tlatlaçocamatizqua.

Auh iz nelle axcan: ca nelli mach in tlaiuhcan, in tlaiuhcatlatilia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: aoc tlaoapaoa, aoc tlachicaoa, aocmo tlapipinj: aocque in tzonjztaque, in quaiztaque, in vevetque, in jlamatque, in vel chocanj, in tlaocujan, in veucintin muchiuhtij: aqujn qujchocaz, aqujn qujteupoaz, aqujn oc nen tlamaçonj:

ca njcan motlapilqujxtilia in totecujo, motlacone-qujxtilia, ca tehoan, yn: auh ca tiuhque yn, in titlalacocaoan totecujo, in titlanenqujxticaoa: njcan titla-

neglect things, here we ruin things. Who will exhort you? Who will return, who will respond to your discourse?

"If it were yet in the presence of, yet in the time of your forefathers whom we have named, whose heads we have uplifted, whom we have grasped by the head, they would have returned your discourse in grand manner, and they would have wept, sighed, marveled considerably. But now, thus are we useless; useless are we; unfinished, incomplete, stuttering, stammering, unsettled, unpronounced is that with which we return, with which we respond to your discourse.

"And now, verily, behold the mysteries of the lord of the near, of the nigh, which are not determined here, for they are his possessions. Perhaps we shall deserve some little thing, perhaps we shall merit some little thing. Perhaps some little thing will become the desert, the merit, of our progenitors, those who have already gone beyond to reside, those whom our lord hath destroyed, hath hidden; those who have departed, those who have gone to reside in the place of no openings, of no outlets. Perhaps their thorn, their magucy, which they departed leaving, which they planted deep, will bud, will blossom. Perhaps their weeping, their sorrowing will come to earth. In what manner doth our lord array the girl, the child? For our merit, our desert is in the coffer, the reed chest of our lord. We speak in darkness; we dream, we see in dreams."

"And behold, verily, now, perhaps our lord will bring to pass the feast day, the marvel. Perhaps in some manner that with which she is adorned will be born — a baby boy, a baby girl. Perhaps we shall look into the face of that of which we here dream, that which we here see in dreams.

"And now we cause you headaches, stomach pains. May there yet be devotion. May we yet have faith in our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh. Shall we perhaps deserve, shall we perhaps merit that we shall behold its face? Shall, however, this perhaps be all? Will she lose the tender little thing? Will it perhaps not see the light of day? Will it perhaps not come to be born?

"Rest your bones, your bodies. May our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, rest you in peace."

nenqujxtia, njcan titlanenpoloa: aqujn amechmodlauhuitliz, aqujn qujcuepaz, aqujn qujlochtiz amjhijotzin:

intla oc imjxpan, intla oc inmatian in amotechiuhsaoan in tiquimonteneoa, in tiquimontzonteconacocuj, in jnquatla tiquimonana: ha vei injc qujcuepazquja in amjhijotzin: auh ha vei injc chocazquja, tlaocoiazquja, tlamaçozquja. Auh in axcan: ca nen tiuhque, ca nen tehoan aiuhlancautl, aiuhqujiquj popolonquj, tzatzacquj, aitlaliloia, aitenqujtilian: ic toconcuepa, toconjlochia, in amjhijotzin, in amotlatoltzin.

Auh iz nelle axcan: ca itoptzin, ca ipetlacaltzin in tloque, naoaque: aiz in njcan in moteneoa, ca incaviltzin: aço itla tolhviltiz, aço itla tomaceoaltiz: auh aço itla imjlhvil, inmaceoal muchioaz in totechiuhcaoan, in ie nachca onmantivi: in oqujnmopolhvi, in oqujnmotlatili totecujo: in oiaque, in omotecato in apuchqujiaoaiocan, in atlecallocan: aço xotlaz, aço cueponjz in jnvitz, in jnmeuh, aço vecatlan in contlazteoaque, in qujtlalaqujtaque: aço tlalticpac qujçaqujuh, in jnchoqujz, in jntlaocul, quenamjic qujmapanjlia in totecujo, in piltontli, in conetonli: ca itoptzin, ca ipetlacaltzin in totecujo: anca tle tomaceoal, anca tle tolhvil, ca iooan in titlatoa: a ca titemjquj, ticochitleoa:

auh iz nelle axcan, cujx qujmochiviliz in totecujo, in jlhviçolli, in tlamaçolli: cujx tlalticpac qujça in quenamjic qujmapantica in piltontli, in jchpuchtonli: cujx ijkco, cujx ijcpac titlachiazque, in njcan tictemjquj, in njcan ticochitleoa:

Auh in axcan: amotzontecontzin, amelchiqujuhtzin tiqueoa, ticquauhtilia: manoçoc dateumachiliztli muchioa, manoçoc tictotemachilican in totecujo in tloque, naoaque: cujx tolviltiz, tomaceoaltiz, cujx ijkco titlachiazque: cujx noço ixqujchtzin conmopoliz in atzintli, cujx amo qujmottitiliz in tlanextli, cujx amo tlalticpac qujçaqujuh.

Manoço xicmocevilican: in amomjotzin, in amonacaiotzin: ma amechmotlamatcatalili in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque.

3. Ibid.: "porque la merced, que nos a hecho nro señor, esta en ella abscondida, como en un cofre: por uentura no mereceremos, ni seremos dignos de verla, y gozarla: por uentura sera, como sueño que se pasa en vano...."

Then the orator turned to the one who had conceived, the one already pregnant. If she were a noblewoman, he said to her:<sup>4</sup>

Niman ivicpa mocuepa in tlatlatlauhtianj: in oitla-cauh, in ie otztli: intla pilli; qujlhvia.

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4. See Chap. 11, n. 6.



Twenty-fifth Chapter. Here are told the words of greeting with which they greeted or with which they exhorted the pregnant one; with which the youth's parents admonished her.<sup>1</sup> And they told her to thank the gods for their blessings; and to guard herself that nothing abort the conceived baby. They made her see all the ills by which abortion might result. And when they had admonished her, they exhorted her mother, her father. And they also replied. And the pregnant one likewise exhorted her father-in-law, her mother-in-law.

"O my beloved granddaughter, O precious person, O precious bracelet, O precious green stone, O precious turquoise, O hair, O fingernail: truly now the god, the ruler, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath remembered thee. Within thee he wisheth to place a life; he wisheth to provide thee with a precious necklace; he wisheth to provide thee with a precious feather. [Is it because] perhaps thou hast sighed? Perhaps thou hast wept? Perhaps thou hast reached out thy arms unto him? Perhaps thou hast supplicated our lord, the night, the wind, [at] the division of the night, [at] midnight? And perhaps thou hast held vigil? Perhaps thou hast been industrious in sweeping, and in offering incense? Perhaps at this time our lord hath instructed thee, hath shown thee mercy? Perhaps for this reason it was determined above us, in the land of the dead, in the beginning, that our lord wisheth to place life within thee?<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it is true that, perchance, the lord, our prince, Quetzalcoatl, the creator, the author, hath permitted it? And perhaps Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl stated it? Perhaps the instruction was that a child be born.<sup>3</sup>

"And speak not to thyself; say not: 'Already I am carrying something; already I am this way; already I am pregnant.' And do not become proud, do not

ic cenpoalli onmacujilli capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetlapaloliztlatolli, injc qujtlapaloia: manoço injc qujtlatlaughtiaia in otzli, injc qujnonotzaia in tel-pucheque: ioan qujlviaia injc qujntlaçocamatiz in teteu, in jpampa in jntecneliliz: auh injc mopiaz in ma itla ic oli, in omotlali piltzintli: muchi qujttiaia in tecoco injc netlaolinjlo. Auh in oconnonotzque: njman qujntlatlaughtia in jnan, in jta: auh no tlananqujliaia: auh in otzli no qujntlatlaughtiaia in jmonta, in jmonnan.

Noxviuhticatzine, tlaçotitlacatle: maquijtle, chal-chiuhtle, teuxivitle, tzontle, iztitle. A ca nel axcan: amjtzmolnamjqujlia in teutl, in tlatoanj, in tloque, naoaque: a mjtic qujmaqujlijznequj, in ioliliztli: mjtzmocozaçaiotiliznequj, mjtzmoquetzallotiliznequj: cujx otonelciciuh, cujx otonchocac, cujx oivic tonmaçouh cujx otoconmotlaitlanjlili in totecujo: in iooalli, in ehecatl: in iooalli xelivi, in tlacoiooan: auh cujx otoncochiçac, cujx oitlan tonac in ochpanalli, auh in tlenamactli, cujx vncan omjtzmocaqujti, cujx vncan omjtzmocnoittili in totecujo: cujx ic itolo in topan in mjctlan, in iooaan, in mjtic qujmotlaliliznequj in totecujo, in ioliliztli: cujx ie nelli, cujx oqujmacauh in tlacatl in topiltzin in quetzalcoatl in teiocoan, in techioan: auh cujx oqujto in vme tecu-li, in vme cioatl: cujx omoquapano in tlatolli.

Auh ma cuel mjtic titlato: ma cuel tiqujto: ca ie njtlatqujatica, ca ie ivin nonca y, ca ie notzli: auh ma ticpopouh, ma mjaxco, mocpac tiqueuh: mjtic tlama-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Es platica de alguno de los parientes del..."

2. Ibid.: "por uentura esta fue la causa, porque se determino en los cielos, y en el infierno, ante del principio del mundo, que se os hijiesse esta merced..."

3. Ibid.: "por uentura a lo determinado el que reside en el cielo, un hōbre, y una muger, que se llama ome tecutli, y vme cioatl: por uentura esto ya a sido determinado..." In Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, p. 162, the end of this passage reads: "esto esté ya así determinado"; in the MS, the -do in *sido* may have been imperfectly erased.

become arrogant! Our lord will know of that within thee; he knoweth of things,\* he seeth within the rock, the tree. Soon something will befall thee; our lord will bring about for us the death of our child. Soon something will therefore cause the baby, the tender thing, to be stillborn. And also the lord of the near, of the nigh, will bring sickness, pestilence down upon thee. For truly our desire for a child is fulfilled by our lord. And indeed thou hast blasphemed, thou hast taken it jokingly.

"Perhaps, as thy merit, perhaps there emerge the thorn, the maguey of thy great-grandfathers, of thy forefathers, which they go bequeathing to thee." Perhaps [our lord] desireth that the spine, the maguey which the old men planted deep in the soil, should sprout, should flower. Perhaps our lord wisheth to make images, likenesses of those whom he hath destroyed, whom he hath hidden. Perhaps he wisheth to lift the heads of those who will go increasing in dignity.

"And now, O my beloved daughter, O youngest one, be especially welcomed! Be especially careful; let there be thy tears, thy sighs. Be diligent in the sweeping, the cleaning, the arranging of things, the cutting [of wood], the fanning [of the fire], and the offering of incense. Hold vigil. Do not practise the sweetness, the agreeableness of sleep. Especially sigh with all thy might; [say]: 'How will it be in a few days? How will this be with us?'

"And behold still another thing: be a guardian of the treasure of our lord. Let there be no mockery by thee. And do nothing to cause sickness to the blessing of our lord with which thou art adorned. Guard thyself never to seize, to raise up anything very heavy. Do not take excessively, do not give thyself excessively to the sweat bath. Do not kill it; do not overdo the heat [of the sweat bath].

"And behold also: may the eagle, the ocelot hear it, that is to say, her husband, our son, the eagle, the ocelot, N., who is seated [here]. Here is a word with which we command thee, because we are knowledgeable, we who are the old men. Do not make too much sport with the one who is with thee. Especially are ye not to be excessive in the carnal act, for you

tiz in totecujo, in tetl, in quaviti ijtic tlamat, tlachia: çan cuel itla mopan oallaz, topilmjccao techmaitiliz in totecujo: çan cuel itla ic onolinjz in piltzintli, in atzintli: auh noce temuxtli, checatl mopan qujoal-motemoviliz in tloque, naoaque: canel noço topil-neccaio techmaitilia in totecujo, ioan canel noço otichicotlato, oc uel timonelchihuca:

acace mote momaceoal, aço oalpanvetzi in jnvitz, in jnmeuh in machcocolhoan, in motechiuhcaoan in mjtzmocavilitivi: aço quijmoxotlaltiznequj, aço quij-mocueponaltiznequj in vitztli, in metl in vecatlan: tlallan contlazteoaque in vevetque: aço iehoantin quijnpatlitznequj, quijmjxiptlatiznequj in totecujo, in oqujnopolhvi, in oqujnmotlatili: aço quijnmtzontecaconacocujiliznequj in veveixtitivi.

Auh in axcan nochpuchtze, xocoiotle: ma oc cenca moiolicatzin, ma oc cenca tle ticmomahtitia, ma oc mochoqujz, ma oc melciviliz ic xoie, xonmoietztie: ma oc itlan xonaquj in ochpanoaztli, in tlacujcujliztli, in chico, tlanaoac tlaviqujliztli, tlatequjliztli, in tla-ecapeviliztli: auh in copalli, in tlenamactli: ma iooalli xoconjtzto, macamo xoconvelicachioa, macamo xoconaviacachioa in cochiztli: oc cenca oc moceniollocopa in xonelcicivi, quenmach nenti in macujl, in matlac: anca quen tamjque o.

Auh izca oc centetl: ma oc xoconmomahvili, in jaxcatzin in totecujo, ma ic tontlaquelo: auh ma ne aticma itla ic toconcocolizcujti in jtlamacaoaltzin totecujo, in quenamj ic timapantica, oc xonmomahvili: maca oc tle cenca etic xoconmotzitzqujli, xoconmaco-cujli: ma cenca tocontequjcu, ma cenca toconmote-qujmaca in temazcalli: ma titlamjcti, ma titlatleten.

Auh izcatquj ioan: manoço qujcactic in quauhtli ocelutl, qujtoznequj, in jnamjc, in topiltzin in quauh-tli in ocelutl in N. in mevilitica: ca izca cencamat ic timjtznaoatia, tel titoltequjuh in tivevetque: ma cenca oc mahavillacanec in mocetca, ma oc cenca oc anmotequjquati: ca anqujtlacozque in quenamj, ic mjtzmapanjlia totecujo: oalxoxoleuhtiaz mapiltza-

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "mirad que no atribuyays esta merced a vuestros merecimientos, porque si esto hizierdes, no se le podra absconder a nro señor, lo que dentro de vos pensardes...."

5. Ibid.: "por uentura hija, por tu soberuja no mereceras, que salga a luz lo que esta principiado, y viene ya: por uentura ya quiere brotar la generacion de tus visabuelos, y tartarabuelos de tus padres, que te hecharon aca...."

will harm that with which our lord hath adorned thee. It will cause it to be feeble; it will come forth with lamed fingers [and] toes. If perhaps something is our merit, if the creation of our lord is born, it will be covered with filth. And verily it is said: 'Thou wilt die in childbirth. For this will cause the baby to be stuck, when no longer at the proper time the semen goeth forth; for it exceedeth glue in adhesiveness. It is so adhesive, so viscous, that thou wilt thereby perish.'<sup>6</sup>

"And do not view that which is evil, that which frighteneth one. The old men, the old women departed saying how thou wert to act. O my beloved daughter, O youngest one, O little dove, O little one, this is all. By this thy mothers, thy fathers, thy forefathers, the old men, the old women who are here encourage thee,<sup>7</sup> animate thee. And all things they make clear to thee; everywhere they cause thee to conduct thyself, everywhere they instruct thee that thou art their precious necklace, that thou art their precious feather. They hide nothing, they cover nothing, because they are wise. And of this may thou take much heed; may thou be especially welcomed. May thou not be endangered by something, may nothing cause thee to take sick, may thou not be harmed by something. May we all yet have faith in our lord, as to how it will grow light, how it will dawn, what he by whom we live will dispose. O youngest one, be heedful."

Then [one of his kinsmen] admonished the mothers, the fathers, or the mothers-in-law, the fathers-in-law. He supplicated them; he said to them:

"Ye who are present, ye who possess precious necklaces, ye who possess precious feathers, here verily now are those who were cut from your bosoms, from your laps, N. [and N.], who are here; they are your hair, they are your fingernails. Truly, now, we have acquired veritable wealth by virtue of our lord, for we have beheld in the coffer, in the reed chest, that which we should not discern, that which we should not behold, that which we should not understand.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps our lord hath mistaken us for others, for they have gone, our lord hath removed those who go

tzapal, xopiltzatzapal in quijcaqujuh: intla ca nen yyla tomaceoal, intla tlalticpac quijcaquj, in jtlachioalitzin totecujo: auh oallaelneliuhtiaz: auh nel mjtoa, timociaoquetzaz: ca iehoatl quijtlaçaloltiz in piltzintli, in aiocmo ymonecian oniauh xinachtli: ca quijpanavia in tzacutli injc çäçaltic, injc çäçalic, ic timjqujz:

auh macamo xiqujta in tlein haiectli in temamauhti: conjtotivi in vevetque, in jlamatque, iuhquj ticchioaz. O nochpuchtze, xocoiotle, cocotze, tepitze: ixqujch y, aic aco mjtzilpia, mjtzetzeloa in monan-oan, in motaoan, in motechiuhcaoan in vevetque, in jlamatque, in njcan monoltitoque: auh muchi mjzonmoottitilia, novian mjzonmonemjtilia, novian mjzonmotlatlachialtilia, injc tincozquj, injc tinquel-tzal, hatle contlatia, hatle conjnaia, ca tel imjtolte-qujuh. Auh injn ma oc cenca tle ticmatcatzintli: ma oc cenca moiolicatzin, ma itla ic tonmococotzino: auh ma itla ic tontlacocolizcuiti, ma itla ic tonmotlamjctili: ma oc timuchintin tictotemachilican in totecujo, anca quen tonaz, tlatvitz qujmuchiviliz, in jpalne-moanj. O xocoiotle: tle ticmatcatzintli.

Niman quijnnonotza in nanti in tati: in anoço monnanti, montati: in iehoatl tlatlatlauhtia, quijmjlvia.

Ca amonmeviltitate in amehoantzin, in ancoz-queque, in anquetzaleque: aviz nelle axcan ino amoxillantzinco, ino amotozcatlantzinco, tlacoton, in oneoatica in N: a in antzoneque, in amjzteque. A ca nelle axcan: ca onelli titocujltonoque: in jpaltzinco totecujo: ca otontlachixque in topco, in petlalcalco: in atotlacaquja, in atotlachiaia, in atotlamatia: at techtlanevia in totecujo, ca oiaque, ca oqujnopolvi in totecujo, in vel nanti, in vel tati, in veveintin muchiuhtivi: auh imônjca, in teputzco xolopicaiotl: a pillotl, coneiutl toconchiosa: ie can nel çan tiqujm-

6. Ibid.: "si plugujere a dios, que mereczamos que nazca vuestra criatura, que dios os a dado, y veniere muy embuelta de la suziedad, que causa el acto carnal: por uentura murireys en el parto, porque aquella vescosidad es pegajosa, y impidira la salida de vuestra criatura, porq' suo efusion de simjente, sin auer para que, y asi se haze pegajosa, como engrudo, y podreys murir del parto...."

7. Ibid.: "y son palabras de los viejos antiguos, vuestros antepasados, y de las viejas que aqui estan presentes...."

8. Ibid.: "porque avemos sabido, lo que esta en el cofre, y en el arca encerrado, que es la criatura, que esta en el vientre de la moja...."

becoming the real mothers, the real fathers, the old ones. And in their absence we perform foolishness, babyishness, childishness. Where, verily, can we get them? Have they perchance departed to a place whence they will not return? Will they perchance in a short time come passing by? Will they come appearing? Will they perchance perform the duty of mothers, the duty of fathers? For they have departed forever; for our lord hath placed them in a coffer; he hath placed them in a reed chest. For we know that it hath been forever; they are gone forever, completely finished. For here we obtain the reward in their behalf; in their absence we listen for them.

"And behold, verily now, what doth our lord desire? Perhaps we shall obtain something as merit; something as desert. Perhaps we shall merit that of which we here dream, that which we here see in dreams. We speak in the land of the dead. In what manner is your precious necklace, your precious feather, our granddaughter, arrayed? Yet in our time, in our presence, may we marvel at the coming of light, the dawning, which our lord will bring about. May we look into his countenance [to know] in what manner our lord will reward us.

"For ye are already here; motherhood, fatherhood are exercised here. Consummate your motherhood, your fatherhood; still admonish, still cry out to them although they are already like those not babies, not children; no more wishing to perform in negligence, no more wishing to perform reluctantly on earth, [and yet] they are rude, peevish." We beseech you that your spirit, your words, may yet be consummated. May they yet weep, may they yet sorrow, may they yet sigh. Perhaps it will come to pass in that which we desire as merit. Certainly we only dream, we only see in dreams; likewise the lord of the near, of the nigh, may be wrathful, may change the manner in which he will dispose. May you be here that your words [not] be in vain."<sup>10</sup>

The mother, the father [of the maiden] replied to those who had made the entreaty. They said: "You have inclined your hearts, your bodies; you have suffered aches and pains in your heads, in your stomachs; may we not here have exposed you to maladies,

ontanjlianj, cujx çan cana viloaia oalmjlochtizque; cujx muztla, viptla onquijcaqujvi, onmoquetzaqujvi, cujx quoalmatizque in nantequjtl, in tatequjtl: ca ocenmaian movicaque, ca oqujnmotoptermjli, oqujn-mopetlacaltemjli in totecujo: ca ocenmaian catca, ca cenonqujz, ca centlamjc ticmati: ca ie njcan inpal-tzinco tontlacnopilvia, imônjca, in teputzco tiquim-ontotlacaqujllilia.

Aviz nelle axcan:anca quen qujmonequjltia in totecujo, cujx itla maceoalli, cujx itla ilhvilli, cujx tocnopiltiz, cujx tomaceoaltiz, in njcan tictemjquj, in njcan ticcochitleoa: ca mjctlan in tontlatoa, quenamj ic mapantica in amocozquj, in amoquetzal, in toxvihuztin: ma iê oc tomatia, ma oc tixpan, ma titlamaviçocan in tona, tlatvi qujmuchiviliz totecujo: ma ijkco, ma icpac titlachiacan, in quenamj in tec-momaqujlliz totecujo.

A ca ie njcan amonmeviltiticate: a ca njcan onquijca, in naiotl, in taiotl: manoço ontlanie in amonaiotzin, in amotaiotzin, ma oc xiquimonmonochilican, ma oc xiquimonmotzatzililican, macivin ie iuhque, in: ápipiltotonti, ácoconetotonti, aoc tla-aviliecoznequj, aoc tlaqueliecoznequj in tlalticpac, amonotzallanj, amotzatzillanj: ca tamechontotl-tlauhtilia, ma oc ontlanito in amjhijo, in amotentzin, in amotlatoltzin: ma oc onchocacan, ma oc ontla-ocoiajan, ma oc onelcicivican: cujx nelli yn, in tlein topanti, in tlein tomaceoaltiznequj: ca çan titemjquj, ca çan ticcochitleoa: ca çan no iehoantzin moçomaz, monenequjz in tloque, naoaque: quen quoalmon-quejltiz: ma oc nen amotentzin, ic xonmoietztiecan.

Tlatoa in tenan, teta qujnnanqujlia in otlatlatlauh-tique: qujtoa. Otlacauhquj in amoijollotzin, in amonacaiotzin: amotzontecontzin, amelchiqujuhtzin eo, amotzontecontzin quauhti: ma cocoliztli, ma temux-tli, ma checatl, a njcan tamechtecaviltiliti, ca oancon-

9. Ibid.: "hagays vño oficio de padres, y madres, con mucha diligencia, conviene que exorteyas mucho a vños hijos, aunque son ya adultos, pero el es muchacho, y ella es muchacha, no saben aun de quanta importancia sea este negocio, porque aun burlan, y juegan como muchachos, segun la costumbre del mundo...."

10. Ibid.: "perseverad en hablar, los, para que hagan, lo que conviene."

to sickness and pestilence. Ye have taken to yourselves, ye have grasped the word or two of your duty as mother, as father, which yet our lord accordeth you. In the meantime, ye become protectors: ye become the silk cotton tree, the cypress.<sup>11</sup> Still ye take from them the bundle, the carrying frame; ye help carry the bundle for those who already reside beyond, those whom our lord hath destroyed, hath hidden: our forefathers, those who bequeathed, who as they departed placed on your backs, on your shoulders the bundle, the carrying frame, the burden, that which is to be carried, that which is to be borne, the duty of motherhood, the duty of fatherhood.

"And now the coffer, the reed chest are open; there issueth the word or two of thy motherhood, thy fatherhood, which the old men, the old women, our ancestors, brought forth for you as they departed, and which ye have taken from them, which ye have learned from them: that which lieth inert, which lieth folded in your laps, in your breasts; which ye have preserved, guarded, for your beloved children, the teachable ones, the trainable ones, the babies, the children who are here. Though like these, perhaps they already think themselves discreet; they do not yet imagine that to no avail they live on earth. They know not if perhaps the earth is a very good place where perhaps there is rejoicing. Perhaps they will contrive to find pleasure in sleep. Perhaps they will not engage in sweeping, in the offering of incense. And perhaps they will not say: 'What, if anything, is the lord of the near, of the nigh, determining for us in perhaps five days, in ten days?' Perhaps we shall obtain, perhaps we shall merit, perhaps we shall realize that of which we dream, that which we see in dreams, his possession, his creation, the life which our lord wisheth to present. Ye have finished your words; everywhere ye have made them known to them; everywhere ye have caused them to reflect; nothing more have ye left out. And also like them, we who are the old men, we who are the old women have once again taken, grasped [the counsel] such that ye are our mothers, ye are our fathers, such that once again we become your sons. Ye have shown mercy; ye have inclined your hearts. We take, we clutch in our fists that which hath come forth, that which flew out as a spark, your motherhood, your

mocujlique, ca oanconmanjlique in cententli, a i cencamatl in amonantequitzin, in amotatequitzin, in oc ic amechmocavilia in totecujo, in oc amehoantzitzin ancuxaneque anteputzeque amonmuchiuh-tzinoa oc amehoantzitzin amonpuchoti, amonaveti: oc anqujnqujmjlpatla, anqujncacaxpatla, anqujnqujmjlcevia in ie nachca onmantivi in oqujn-mopolhvi, in oqujnmotlatili in totecujo, in totechiuh-caoan in oamocujtlapantzinc, amoteputzinco concauhteoaque, contlaliteoaque in qujmilli: in cacaxtli, in tlamamalli, in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj, in nantequjtl, in tatequjtl.

Auh in axcan ca ooallapouh in toptli, in petlacalli: ca oonalquijz in cententzin in cencamatzin in amoniotzin, in amotaiotzin: in amechonmomaqujliteoaque in vevetque, in jlamatque in totechiuh-caoan: auh in anqujnmcujjlilique, in anqujnmcocaqujlilique: in amoxillantzinco in amotozcatlantzinco cepoatoc, cuelpachiuhtoc: in anqujnmotqujlilitoque, in anqujn-mopialilitoque in amopilhoantzitzin, in jzcaltilonj, in oapaaoalonj: ca iz vncate in pipiltonti, in cocone-totonti, mace iuhque in, mach ie onmozcalia, aoc nen quipiquj in nemj tlalticpac: amo mati in aço quaqualcan, in aço papacoa tlalticpac: aço convelica-chiuhtozque in cochiztli, acaço conjcelizque in ochpanalli, in tlenamactli: auh acaço conjtozque intla ça tlein topan qujmonequjltitica in tloque, naoaque: in quen macujl, in quen matlac: cujx tocnopiltiz tomaceoaltiz, cujx nelli in, in tictemjquj, in ticco-chitleoa in jaxcatzin, in jtachioaltzin, in ioliliztli: in qujmomacaviliznequj in totecujo: ca oontlatlatlan in amjhijotzin, ca onovian anqujmonmahaxitilique, onovian anqujmonmonemjtilique: aoc tle oanconmocavitzinoque. Auh no ivi in tehoantin in tivevetque, in tilamatque otoconcujque, otoconanque in oc ceppa ic antonantzitzinoan, in antotatzitzinoan: ic oc ceppa, ic tamopilhoan titochioa: otlaocux, otla-cauhquj in amoillotzin: a ca tocontocujlia, ca tocontomapiqujlia in oonalquijz, in ooalchiton in amonati-zin, in amotaiotzin. A ca ie oanconmocujlique, oanconmanjlique ÿ cententli, in cencamatl: injc njcan tontocentalia, in jpaltzinco totecujo tonnechi-cavi tocenqujça: in jca in jtechpa in piltontli, in conetonli, in jchpuchtontli, in amocozquj, in amoquetzal, in amotzon, in amoxti: auh yn jnvitzio, in

11. cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

fatherhood. Verily, ye have taken, ye have grasped a word or two, wherefore we assemble here by the grace of our lord. We are gathered, we come together in behalf of, in regard to the baby, the girl, the maiden, your precious necklace, your precious feather, your hair, your fingernail, and the spine, the thorn of those who have gone, those whom our lord hath destroyed, whom he hath hidden, those who have gone on to remain beyond, your ancestors. And behold, verily, our lord wisheth to show mercy in giving a precious necklace, a precious feather. He wisheth to give it to your humble one. Our lord wisheth to place a life within the maiden. For this, he by whom we live hath assembled you here. And this ye have received, ye have heeded. And behold, this is that which we shall say, for certainly we still dream, we see in dreams that perhaps something will be the desert, the merit of the children who are here. Perhaps [our lord] will cause his creation to emerge on earth, for we exist, we live, we speak in darkness. Let us yet have faith in our lord as to how he will determine, for he still reigneth, for verily he still disposeth for us. Pay good heed, O our lords, O my sons. Find repose. May our lord rest you in peace."

The one with child, the one already pregnant, responded to the words which the old men had spoken. She said:

"My progenitors, my lords, precious persons, I have caused you to fall, to falter on the road; I have caused you torment. And ye know so much<sup>12</sup> of our lord, ye know his secrets. No little thing have I caused you to forget, for already here I have rejoiced exceedingly, have enjoyed pleasure, for I have taken your motherhood,<sup>13</sup> your fatherhood, the incomparable in your breasts, the wonderful, the precious. Perhaps somewhere I shall reject them; perhaps somewhere there we shall reject them. For here, hearing them, is your humble one, N. Our lord hath bound us together; he hath made us one. Who will so remember it? Verily, ye have grasped [the news], ye have received it; for in truth ye have heard that our lord inclineth his heart to grant such as is a precious necklace, a precious feather. Ah, verily, our lord wisheth to concede [the child]. Ah, it is said I have ruined my pregnancy. And behold, in what manner is our lord determining for me? Perhaps something is my

jimaaoao in oiaque in oqujnmopolvi, in oqujnmotlatili totecujo, in ie nachca onmantivi in amotechiuhcaoan: aviz nelle in qujnmocnomachitiznequj totecujo, in cozcatl in ce quetzalli in qujmomaqujliznequj in amoquauh, in amocelouh: in ioliliztli ijtic qujmaqujliznequj in totecujo ijchpuchtontli: ca iehoatl can ic amechalmotlalilia in jpalmemoanj. Auh injn ca oanqujmcujlique, ca oanqujmcuaqujlique: aviz tlein ie toconjtozque, ca can nelli mach in oc titemjquj, ticochitleoa: aco itla imjhvil, inmaceoal muchi-oaz, in njcan oncate in pipiltotonti: aco qujmotlaliticpacqujxtiliz in jtlachioaltzin, ca iooan in ticate in tinemj, in titlatoa: amanoçoc tictotemachilican in totecujo, quen qujmonequjltia, ca oc motequjtilia, ca oc nelli techmoiocolia. Tle anqujmomachitia tote-cuane, nopolhoantzitzine: ma tlaltech ximaxitican, ma amechmotlamatcatlalili in totecujo.

Tlatoa in oitlacauh in ie otzli: qujncuepilia in intlatol vevetque, in otlatoque: qujtoa.

Notechiuhcatzitzinoan, totecujoan, tlaçotitlaca: ma namechnotlaxili, ma namechnotecujnjli, ma namechnococolhvi: auh quexquijchtzan anqujmomachitia, anqujmomachililia in totecujo: mac itla namechnol-caoaltili: a ca ie njcan onjnonocujltono, onjnolatamachi: ca onoconan in anemjuhquj in amoniotzin, in amotaiotzin, in cepoatoc, in cuelpachiuhtoc, in amoxillantzinco, in amotozcatlantzinco maviztic in tlaçotli: aco cana nocontlåtlaçaz, aco nipa tocontlåtlaçazque: ca iz concactica in amoquauh, in amoquauh in N. in otechnetechilpi, in otechcetili totecujo: ac iuh conmatizque A ca ie oanconmanjlique, oan-commocujlique: ca onelle ancommocaqujlique, ca tlacaoaznequj in jiollotzin in totecujo: anca cozcatl, anca quetzalli: a nelli qujmomaçaviliznequj in totecujo, a mjtoa onjtlacappolo: aviz quen nechmonequjlilitica in totecujo, cujx itla nocnopil, nomaceoal, cujx tlalticpac qujçaqujuh, cujx qujmottitiliz in tlaxextli in totecujo, in quenami ic nechmapanjlia.

12. Read *quexquichtzin*.

13. Read *amonaiotzin*.

desert, my merit; perhaps the child will come to be born on earth; perhaps our lord will cause that with which I am adorned to see the light of day.

"And here is thy humble one. Our hands are together; we go holding hands. Perhaps he will see, perhaps he will know, perhaps he will behold the face of that which is his blood, his color, recognizable as his. Perhaps it will be his image. But on the other hand, the lord of the near, of the nigh, may laugh at us. Perhaps our lord will completely destroy the tender thing. Perhaps something will cause the baby, the tender thing to sicken. Perhaps something will cause it to be stillborn; our lord will leave us [still] desiring a child. Certainly we are weepers, we are sorrowers. Let us have faith in our lord; perhaps something is our desert, perhaps something is our merit. My progenitors, precious persons, my lords, find repose."

Auh can iz onca in amoquauh, in amocelouh, in tomatech tontantinemj: cujx quijtaz, cujx quiximatz, cujx ijkco, icpac tlachiaz in jiezio, in jtlapallo, in jneiximachiliz, cujx mijxiptlatiz: auh ano ie tictotlavevetzqujtilia, in tloque, naoaque: cujx ixquijchtzin atzintli, conmopolviz in totecujo: cujx itla ic oncocolizcujz in piltzintli, in atzintli, cujx itla ic onolinjz, topilneccaio techonmaitiliz in totecujo: mach tichocanj, mach titlaocoianj: ma oc tictotemachilican in totecujo: acaço tle tolhvil, acaço tle tomaceoal: notechiuhcaoan, tlaçotitlacatzitzinti, notecujiotzitzinoan: ma tlaltech ximaxiticán.



**Twenty-sixth Chapter.** Here it is told how, when the pregnant one was already in the seventh or eighth month, the mothers, the fathers of the married couple assembled one's kinsmen; and they drank, they ate. And thereafter there was consultation as to some midwife to be sought out, to be supplicated to bathe their maiden in the sweat bath and to serve as midwife.

When that which was within the little woman was already enlarged, when it was time, when that within her was apparent, thereupon the old men, the old women assembled themselves for the second time. Food, drink were prepared. When there had been eating, when there had been drinking, then they summoned, they supplicated a midwife, the one who brought about birth, the one who delivered, the one in charge of birth. First, the parents spoke with one another; they greeted, they entreated one another. One of the old men, either of the youth's people or of the maiden's people, spoke. He said:

"Ye who are here present, ye who are mothers, ye who are fathers, verily, now, the child, the girl, the maiden, suffereth. For already it is thus. But behold, what hath our lord willed? Perhaps there is death. May ye help her; may ye show her to the sweat bath. May she come unto, may she come to know our mother, the grandmother of the baths, Yoalticitl, who adviseth one, who arrayeth one. In her hands we mature, we achieve our merit. May this verily be the time. Place her in the lap, on the shoulders of the wise one, the skilled one, the midwife. Entreat her with a word or two. May she take, may she know of your motherhood, your fatherhood, for here present are the parents, the possessors of these precious necklaces, the possessors of these precious feathers. Is there perhaps anyone else here after [ye] are here, when [ye] will be absent? Where else will they find you when our lord hath destroyed you?<sup>1</sup> But [as for] this, [our lord] yet awardeth you your deserts. Pay good heed."

Ic cempoalli onchiquacen capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenjn in jnnanoan, in jntaoan in monamjctique: in jquac ie chicome, anoço ie chicuei metztl quijcentlaliaia in teoaiulque: ioan atlja, tlaquaia: auh çatepan mononotzaia, injc ce aca motemoz, motlatlauhtiz tictil, injc qujtemaz, ioan in qujmjxivitz in jmjcphuch.

In ie tomaoa in ijtli in cioatzintli: in noço ovel macic, in ovel nez in ijtli: ic oppa mocentlalia in vevetque, in jlamatque, mocencaoa in qualonj, in joanj. In otlaqualoc, in oatlioac: vncan qujnotza, vncan qujtlatlauhtia in tictil in tetlacachivilianj, in temjxivitlanj, in jmac tlacatioanj. Achtopa nepanotl monotza, motlapaloa, motlatlauhtia in pilhoaque: ce vevetlacatl tlatoa, aço telpucheque, anoço ichpucheque: qujtoa.

Ca njcan ammonoltitoque in annanti, in antati: a nelle axcan motolinja in piltontli, in conetontli, in jchpuchtontli, ca ivin ie vnca, y, aviz tlein qujmonequjltia in totecujo: cujx a vncan cā mjqujztli, manoço xicmotlaoculilican, manoço qujmottiti in temazcaltzintli, manoço itech aci, ma qujmottiti in tonan in temazcaltecitzin, in iooalticitl: in teimati, in techichioa, in jmac titetzaoa timaceoalti. A manoço nelle axcan: ma icuexanco, ma iteputzco xicmotlalilican in amantecatl, in toltecatzintli, in ticitzintli: ma cententica, ma cencamatica, xicmotlatlauhtilican, ma qujcu, ma qujximati, in amonaniotzin, in amoataiotzin: ca njcan monoltitoque in pilhoacatzitzinti, in cozqueque, in quetzaleque: cujx aocac tlacatl, ma qujn amonjcatzinco in quen polivizque: can nel oc amechonmanjilizque, in oamechmopolhvi totecujo: auh injn ca oc amechonmocnopilhilia: tle anqujomachitia.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "y no os a apartado dios dellos, despues de vña vida, y en vña ausencia, no teney obligacion de mirar por ellos: y despues de vña muerte, despues que nuestro señor os aya llevado, donde os yran a buscar?"

Then they seated the midwife; they entreated her. The old men, the old women seated themselves. One of the old women spoke. She said to the midwife:<sup>2</sup>

Niman qujoallalia in ticitl, qujtlatlauhtia: oalmo-tlalia in vevetque, in jlamatque, ce ylamatlacatl in tlatoa. qujlhvia in ticitl.

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2. See Chap. II, n. 6.



Twenty-seventh Chapter.<sup>1</sup> Here it is told how an old woman relative of the youth, or one of the [old women] relatives of the girl advised, entreated the midwife to receive the pregnant woman whom they had left in her charge; and how the midwife replied as she received the discourse. And then [are told] those various things which she said to the pregnant woman, in order that she should not much hurt the baby when it was born, in order that she should be quickly delivered. Much is mentioned which is memorable — very good discourses of the sort which women say; and very good are each of the metaphors.

"Here thou art seated; here our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath placed thee, precious person, our lady, noblewoman. And here are the old men, the old women, thy progenitors. For thou understandest, thou takest heed because the baby, the girl, the maiden, hath conceived — she who is married to thy commoner, N. Thy elders have seated her before thee. For verily our lord now wisheth to show the mercy in his heart; the lord of the earth wisheth to give a precious necklace, a precious feather; he hath wished to install a life — our lord hath wished to insert it within thy humble one, the child, the maiden, N., married to thy humble one, N. And with this thou art informed that he delivereth, he placeth her in thy hands, in thy lap, upon thy shoulders. Here are the old men, the old women, the parents, those with offspring.<sup>2</sup> And those who are the mothers, who are the fathers now deliver thee the child.

"Verily now, introduce her into the *xochicaltzin*<sup>3</sup> of our lady, the place where the mother, the grandmother,<sup>4</sup> the lady Yoalticitl fortifieth [the body of

Ic cempoalli onchicome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenjn ce ylamatlacatl in telpucheque, anoço ceme in jchpucheque: qujnonotzaia, qujtlatlauhtiaia in ticitl, injc qujceliz in jtech qujcaoaia in otztl: ioan in quenin tlalanqujliaia in ticitl, injc qujcelia in tlatolli: auh njman ie iehoatl, in jzqujtlamantli qujlviaia in otztl: injc amo cenca qujtolinjz in piltontli in jquac tlacatiz, injc vel iciuhca mjaxiviz: mjiec in moteneoa in neiollotilonj, cenca qualli in tlatolli in juh tlatoa ciao, ioan cenca quâqualli in metaphoras.

Ca njcan tioalmovetzitia: njcan mjtzalmotlalilia in totecujo in tloque, naoaque, tlaçotitlacatzintli, totecujo, cioapilli: auh ca iz onmonoltitoque in vevetque, in jlamatque in motechiuhcaoan. A ca ticmocujlia, ca ticmocaqujta:anca otlacauh in piltontli, in conetontli, in ichpuchtontli: in jnmatech onmantinemj in momaceoal in N: a mjxpantzinc, qujmotlalilia in motechiuhcaoan: a ca nelle axcan, icnotlamatznequj in jiollotzin totecujo: ce cozcatl, ce quetzalli qujmamacaviliznequj in tlaticpaque, ioliliztli qujmotlaliliznequj, iijtic qujmocalaqujlijznequj in totecujo: in iehoatl mocnotlacauh in piltontli, jchpuchtontli in N: in jnmatech onmantinemj in mocnotlacauh in N: auh ca ic ticmocaqujta, momatzinc, mocueantzinc, moteputzinc conacao, contlalia: a in jz onmonoltitoque in vevetque, in jlamatque, in pilhoaque, in tzonque, in jzteque, auh iehoantin in nantin, in tati, mjtzmopilmaqujlia in axcan:

manoço nelle axcan, manoço itech xicmaxitili in ixuchicaltzin totecujo: in vncan motetetzavilia in nantli, in tecitzin, in tlacatl in iooalticitl: manoço

1. Of this and the next two chapters, a translation by Thelma D. Sullivan is to be found in *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, VI (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1966), pp. 63-96.

2. Lit.: "the ones having hair, having fingernails."

3. *xochicaltzin*: "flower house."

4. *tecitzin*: cf. *teci*, lit., one's grandmother (so appearing in the Spanish text, fols. 129v, 133r — "la abuela"); otherwise the term may appropriately be regarded as epithets applied to Yoalticitl.

the baby]. May she take to, may she encounter the sweatbath since, indeed, the droplet of a baby is already three [or] four months [formed]. How dost thou regard it? Let us not cause her to sicken; perhaps it is not [the time] to massage her.

"This is all that thou acceptest, that thou hearest, O precious person, our lady, noblewoman. But be not troubled in heart, in body; be not angered. Who [else] would entreat thee? Who [else] would draw forth a word or two — would lift a clear voice, would set forth, would say the well-spoken, well-ordered [words] which thou dost accept, which thou dost heed? The old men, the old women, those with offspring;<sup>5</sup> the grandfathers, the grandmothers who, departing, released — who, departing, left — the maiden, the girl N., and this one, thy commoner, thy humble one, N., would not hide her, would not conceal her from thee."

"In their absence are they perchance still informed? For our lord hath placed them in retreat; for they have departed, they have gone to reside in our eternal home, the place with no outlets, with no openings; for already they have gone to rest near, next to our mother, our father, Mictlan tecutli.

"O that it were still in their time! O that it were still in their presence! Ah, they would weep for, would feel anguish over that of which we dream, that which we see in dreams, the feast day, the marvel which is the life which our lord wisheth to insert within her, their offspring. And they would have entreated thee. But in their absence we perform in childish, in baby-like fashion. Stuttering, stammering are the word or two which we here deliver; ill-spoken, disordered is what we intone, what we set forth.

"With a word or two we here entreat thee. Show favor to the baby, the girl, the maiden. Perform thy task, thy duty, since thou art the skilled one, the artisan of our lord; since thou art empowered by him. This is all which thou dost grasp, which thou dost heed. Perform thy office; do thy work. Aid our lord; help him."

The midwife spoke, the one in charge of birth, the

qujcu, manoço qujmottiti in temazcaltzintli: ancaça nel ie cuel ei, navi metztli in chipinpiltzintli: quentictmottilia, ma ne tontlacocolizcujtiti, acacemo pacholonj.

O ca ixqujchtzin in, ticmocujlia, ticmocaqujitia tlacotitlacatzintli totecujo cioapilli: auh ma quen tictuchivili in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin: ma timotlatlavelchivili, aqujn mjtzmotlatlauhtiliz, aqujn cententli, cencamatl conqujxtiz in melaoac coneoaz, in vel ijtolioan, in vel itlaliloian contlaliz conjtoz: a in toconmocujlia, in toconmocaqujitia: ca amo mjtzmoneinaililia, amo mjtzmoneatililia in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tzzoneque, in jzteque, in aoaiaoaque, in vitziooaque, in coltin, in citi in contlazteoaque, in concauhteoaque in jchpuchtontli, in cioapiltontli in N. auh iehoatl in amomaceoal, in amoquaah, in amoceolouh in N:

cuix oc imonjca, inteputzco, oalmotlamachitia, ca oqujnmotoptemjli, ca oqujnmopetlacaltemjli in totecujo: ca oiaque, ca omotecato in tocenchan in apuchqujiaoaiocan, in atlecalloocan, ca ie qujcevitoque in jtloc, in jnaoac in tonan, in tota in mjtlan tecutli:

tlaloc inmatian, tlaloc imjxpan: a iehoantin qujchocazqua, qujteopoazqua in tictemjquj, in ticcochitleoa in jlviçolli, in tlamaviçolli in centetl ioliliztli ijtic qujmaqujliznequj, in jntzon, in jmjzti in totecujo: auh a iehoantin, mjtzmotlatlauhtilizquja: auh injn imonjca, inteputzco pillotl, coneiutl ticchioa: popolonj, tzatzacuj, njcan cententli, cencamatl toconqujxtia aijtolioan, aitlaliloian toconeoa, tocontlalia:

cententica, cencamatica, a njcan timjtzontotlatlauhilia: manoço xicmocnelili in piltontli, in conetonli, in jchpuchtontli: a manoço xicmochivilia in motequjqujtzin, in monaoatiltzin, injc amjtoltecaoan, in amjamantecaoan totecujo, injc amjtlanaoatiloan. Ca jxqujch in ticmocujlia, ticmocaqujitia: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ma xicmonanamjqujli in totecujo: ma xicmopalevili.

Tlatoa in ticitl: in jmac tlacatioanj, in jtitl qujvel-

5. Lit.: "the ones having hair, having nails, having thorns, having spines."

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "no ay otra persona mas habil, para hablarlos con aquella cortesia, y concierto de palabras, que señora mereceys: y si la oviera no la escondieran estos viejos, y viejas, padres, y madres de los casados, que aqui estan, que am brotado, y procedido de los abuelos, y antepasados señores, y progenitores, desta señora. N. y de su marido, vuestro siervo, y criado. N."

one who set the womb aright, the one who delivered. She said:

"Behold, ye who are here: our lord, the lord of the earth, hath seated you — ye who are old men, ye who are old women, ye who are possessors of precious necklaces, ye who are possessors of precious feathers, ye who have offspring;" and ye who are here, ye who are seated here, ye who are our progenitors, who are already the old mothers, the old fathers whom our lord hath set up as gods, who already have become as Oxomoco, who already have become as Cipactonal: verily I grasp, I accept your spirit, your words, and your weeping, your compassion with which ye weep, ye feel compassion; with which ye are anguished for the sake of your precious necklace, your precious feather, the little woman who is perhaps your second child, perhaps your eldest, or perhaps your youngest.

"For verily now ye cry out, ye call to summon Ticitl, the mother of the gods, Tonan, Yoalticatl, who governeth — in whose hands, in whose charge is — the *xochicalli*, which on earth is called 'sweatbath.' Here Tecu, Yoalticatl, provideth for one, adorneth one, fortifieth one. For in her hands, in her lap, upon her back ye have placed your precious necklace, your precious feather, as well as that wherewithsoever she is arrayed, that wherewithsoever our lord of the near, of the nigh, hath arrayed her, whatsoever he hath placed within her.

"And this is all that I say. Alas, it hath come to pass that I am an unfortunate old woman. How indeed can you have chosen me, who am imprudent; who in nothing have pleased our lord; who am indiscreet, unintelligent? For there are, there exist, there dwell the skilled ones of our lord, the wise ones. And behold, there are the trusted ones whom the master our lord hath stimulated, hath inspired, those who have his authority. And behold once again also they have made proxies, they have made deputies to replace them, [they are] his true servers. This is their affair, this is their task, which I grasp, which I heed.<sup>7</sup>

"But behold now in truth, why have ye addressed me? Perhaps it is by command of our lord of the

lalianj, temjxitianj: qujtoa.

Ca iz ammonoltitoque: ca amechalmotlalilia in totecujo in tlalticpaque, in amehoantzitzin in anvetque, in amjlamatque: in ancozqueque, in anquezaleque, in anvitziooaque, in amaoaiooaque, à in antzoneque, in amjzteque, in amjxquamuleque. Auh ca iz anmoietzticate, iz ammonoltitoque in antotchiuhcaoan in ie anveleinanti, in anveveitati, in oamechmoteutlalili totecujo, in ie amoxomoconti, in ie ancipactonalti: ca noconana, ca noconcuj in amjhijotzin, in amotlatoltzin: auh in amochoqujz, in amotlaocul, injc ica anchoca, antlaocoia, injc ica anentlamati in amocozquj, in amoquetzal in cioatzintli, in at amotlacooeauh, in at amotiacapan, in at noço amoxocoioouh.

A ca nelle axcan, anquimonochilia, anqujomotzatzililia, anqujticinotza in teteu innan: in tonan in iooalticatl, in qujtqujatica, in jmac ca, in jpial in xochicalli, in tlalticpac mjtoa temazcalli: in vncan teimati, techichioa, tetetzaoa, in iehoatl in tecitzin, in iooalticatl: ca imac ca, icuexanco, icujtlapan, ancontlalia in amocozquj, in amoquetzal: auh iehoatl in quenamj ic mapantica, in quenamj ic qujmapanjlia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque, in quenamj ijtic quijmaqujlia.

Auh ca ixquijchtzin noconjtoa: omuchiu, onotlueliltic in njlama: quen vel nehoatl, in annechmomapilujlia, in auel ixtli, in auel nacatzli, in atle vel onchivililo in totecujo, in anjnozcalia, in anjtlacaquj: ca onovac, ca ieloac, ca tlaxquaotoc in jtultecaoan totecujo, in jxeque, in nacaceque: aviz in pialeque, in qujxox, in qujmipitz, in tlacatl in totecujo in vel itlanaoatilhoan: aviz in oc ceppa, no iehoantin qujnmovivitria, qujnmopatillotia, in vel itlatequjpanocaoan, in jnmachiz yn, in jntequjuh yn, in njcan njccuj, niccaquj.

Aviz nelle axcan quen oannechmjtahvique: aço itencopatzinco in totecujo in tloque, naoaque, in tla-

7. Lit.: "ye who have spines, ye who have thorns, ye who have hair, ye who have fingernails, ye who have eyebrows." The corresponding Spanish reads: "que an nacido, y tenido principio de vuestras personas, como la espina del árbol, y como los cabellos de la cabeza, y como las viñas de los dedos, y como los pelos de las cejas de la carne, que esta sobre el ojo." For the metaphorical meaning of the terms, see Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," pp. 19–21. Cf. also Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "y ellas tienen discípulas enseñadas, que son como ellas, y imágenes de ellas, y estas saben, y estas saben [sic] este oficio, y ellas lo ejercitá: de lo qual me aveys aquí hablado."

near, of the nigh, the master, the night, the wind; perhaps at this time I am chastised, perhaps at this time I am annihilated; perhaps our lord hath become adverse; perhaps I have aroused repugnance.<sup>9</sup>

"But although it is said that I am a midwife, will I perchance by my hand produce, be successful with the precious necklace, the precious feather, in a manner we deem deserving — the precious necklace, the precious feather which our lord hath placed within her, your precious necklace, your precious feather? And although I am a skillful practitioner, will I perchance be diligent in the matter of the shield, the small shield of my daughter, of my youngest daughter, who is here seated, for whom ye suffer affliction? Perhaps our lord will show aversion. Though indeed I work — though indeed it be done, I seem not to succeed; perchance I will arrange [the child] crosswise, perchance I will extend it obliquely; or else I will break [the womb]. Alas, it hath come to pass that I am unfortunate.<sup>10</sup> Perchance our lord bringeth about my death.

"But, my children, our lords, precious persons, my grandchildren, perhaps ye do not create a person when ye lament; perhaps it is by command of the lord of the earth. Now may the inspiration of our lord be complied with; may it be satisfied. And may you be answered. Let us attend to this; let us do our work with what our lord hath sent, with what he hath granted: that wherewithsoever he hath arrayed the woman, the dove, our little one. And what indeed shall we say? Shall we perchance say that the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath shown us mercy, that he yet wisheth to bless us? For we speak of that which is yet in the land of the dead, of that which is yet in the beginning.

"What shall we say? Let us yet have faith in him by whom all live; let us yet have faith in what is said, and also in what hath been determined above us, in the land of the dead, in the beginning. How hath it been determined for us? How hath it been told of us? How have we been apportioned? Shall in truth — shall the lord of the near, of the nigh, cause the sun to shine, bring the dawn? Shall we see the face, the head of whatsoever precious neck-

catl, in iooalli in checatl: aço vncan nechmaqujlia, aço ie vncan nopoctlan naiauhtlan, aço omotlatziviti in totecujo: aço onjlatlatzivilti.

Auh maço mjtoa njticitl: cujx nomac njcchioaz, njqujmatiz in cozcatl in quetzalli, in quenamj toma-ceoaltiznequj in cozcatl, in quetzalli, in jitic qujma-qujlia totecujo, in amoquezquj, in amoquetzal: auh maço namantecatl, cujx nchoatl itlan naqujz in jchimal, in jtevevel, in nochpuchtzin, in noxocoiouh, in njcan onmevilitica: in jca ammonentlamachitia: aço itlatzivia qujmochiviliz in totecujo, tla nel njte-qujpano. tla nel muchioa, anjcnejnealtoca, aço njtlaxtlapallaliz, aço njtlanacacictecaz: auh anoce njtlapitzinjz: omuchiu, onotlaveltic, aço naqujan qujmochiviliz in totecujo.

Auh injn nopolhoantzitzin totecujiooan, tlaçoti-tlaca, noxviuhtzitzinoan: acaçomo anmotlacaiocux-tzino, in anmotatzititia: aço ie itencopatzinco in tlalticpaque. In axcan ma popovi, ma ixtlavi in jhijotzin totecujo: auh ma cuepi in amotlatoltzin, ma itlan taqujcan, ma tictequjpanocan in jtlaoaltzin, y in jtlamacaoaltzin totecujo: in quenamj ic qujma-panjlia, â in cioatzintli, in cocotzin, in totepitzin: auh tlein ie cuel toconjtozque, cujx tiqujtozque in otechmocnelili in tloque, naoaque, ca çan oc tech-mocneliliznequj: ipampa ca oc mjctlan, ca oc iooain in tontlatoa:

tlein ie toconjtozque, ma oc tictotemachilican in jpalmemoanj, ma oc ie tictemachican in tlein mjtoa: auh in noço tlein omjto, in topan in mjctlan, in iooian, quen otitoloque, quen otitalhviloque: quen oticonjiloque: cujx nelli, cujx tonaz, tlathuiz quj-mochiviliz in tloque, naoaque: cujx ijkco, ijcpac titlachiazque, in quenamj cozcatl, quetzalli qujmo-macaviliznequj totecujo: cujx noço çan ixqujchtzin onmopolivitz, cujx atzintli conmopolhviz: cujx

9. Ibid.: "por uentura es por mi mal para que aqui acabe mi vida, por uentura ya tengo heredadado a nño señor y tengo heredadado a los hombres, y por esto me quiere acabar...."

10. Read onotlaveltic.

Jace, precious feather our lord wisheth to accord?  
Or will everything be made to perish? Will he  
destroy the droplet of a child? Or will perchance  
my daughter, the little one, the dove, be his com-  
panion?<sup>11</sup>

"I cause you headaches, stomach pains, my chil-  
dren, our lords. Let us aid our lord, the lord of the  
near, of the nigh. Let the water be heated, boiled,  
for the *xochicalli* of our lord. Let my daughter  
approach our eternal mother, Tecu, Yoalticitl."

The mother [and] the old women answered the  
one who spoke. They said:

"Take up thy charge, precious person, godly  
mother, our progenitress. Aid Ciuapilli, Quilaztli,  
and cause the baby, the girl, to go to the *xochicalli*  
of our lord, the sweatbath, where is to be found,  
where guardeth the grandmother, the grandmother  
of the sweatbath, Yoalticitl."

And at once, of her own accord, the midwife fired,  
heated the sweatbath, and she put the maiden in  
the sweatbath, where she massaged the pregnant  
woman's abdomen; she placed aright [the unborn  
child]. She placed it straight; she kept turning it as  
she massaged her, as she went on manipulating her.  
But if the midwife was a little sick, some one of her  
representatives fired the sweatbath, to heat it. And  
when the pregnant woman came forth from the  
sweatbath, at that time she massaged her. Many  
times the midwife massaged the abdomen of the  
pregnant woman. Sometimes it was even outside the  
sweatbath, nor was the pregnant woman bathed in  
the sweatbath. It was said she just massaged her  
raw.<sup>12</sup>

And sometimes in the sweatbath the midwife com-  
manded that they should not strike the pregnant  
woman much upon her back,<sup>13</sup> and that she be not  
heated much. For the midwife said that thereby the  
baby would roast; he would become stuck there.  
Nor were they to strike nor much heat the abdomen  
of the pregnant woman, for the baby would suffer  
from the heat, would swell from the heat. Likewise  
the midwife commanded that the pregnant woman

noço itevelical iez in nochpuchtzin, in tepitzin, in coco-  
tzin:

amotzontecontzin, amelchiqujuhtzin njqueoa  
nopilhoantzitzin, totecujoan: ma tictonanamjquj-  
lican in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: manoço, onjcu-  
ci, ma ompoconj in jxuchicatzin totecujo: ma itech  
onaci in nochpuchtzin, in tocennan in tecitzin, in  
iooalticitl.

Tlananqujlia in pilhoaque ciao, ilamatque in tla-  
toa: qujtoa.

Ma ximotequjtili tlaçotitlacatzintli, teuantli, tote-  
chiuhcauh: ma xicmonanamjqujli in cioapilli in  
qujlaztli: auh ma itech xicmaxitili in piltontli, in  
conetontli, in jxuchicatzin totecujo, in temazcaltzintli:  
in vncan monoltitoc, in vncan motlapialia in  
tecitzin, in temazcaltecitzin in iooalticitl.

Auh vel njman jc inoma qujlatia, qujtonja in  
ticitl, in temazcalli: auh qujcalauja in temazcalco  
in jchpuchtli vncan qujpachoa in ijtli in otztli, vncan  
qujuellalilia, qujtlamelaughatlalilia, qujcuecpa in  
qujpachoa, qujmjmjlotinemj. Auh intla achi moco-  
coa ticitl, çan aca ixiptla in qujlatia temazcalli, in  
qujtonja: auh in jquac oonalqujz temazcalco in  
otztli, iquac qujpachoa: mjiecpa in qujpachilvia in  
ticitl in jititzin otzintli: quenman çan iuh ca, amo  
temazcalco, amo no motema in otztli, mjtoa: çan  
qujxoxouhcapachoa.

Auh in quenman temazcalco, tlanaoatia in ticitl:  
in amo cenca qujvitequjzque in jcujtlapan in otztli:  
amo no cenca totonjaz, ca qujtoa in ticitl: ca ic ixquj-  
viz in piltontli, vmpa tlaçáloz: amo no qujvitequjz-  
que, amo no cenca totonjaz in ijtli in otztli: ca tle-  
mjqujz, ca tletemjz in piltontli. No ioan tlanaoatia  
in ticitl: amo cenca mototonjz in otztli, amo no  
mocujtlapantotonjz aço tonaltica, anoço tletica, ca no  
ixqujviz in jconeuh: ioan tlanaoatia, vel qujnaoatia

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "o si por uentura tamajito como esta perecera, si quija en su ternura perecera: o por uentura yra con el  
mj hija regalada y muy amada que lo tiene en su viétre."

12. Ibid.: "despues de sacada del baño, la palpana la barriga: y esto hazia muchas veces, aun fuera del baño, y este se llamaua palpar a  
secas...."

13. Ibid.: "y porque es costumbre, que los que se bañan los hyeran las espaldas, con ojas de maíz cozidas, en la mijima agua del baño:  
esto mandaua algunas veces la partera, que no se hiziese...."

should not become very hot, and her back should not be heated, either in the sun or at the fire, for her child would also roast. And the midwife commanded, sternly commanded, the pregnant woman not to sleep by day, for the child when born would be of abnormally large eyelids.

Many were the commands that the midwife left to protect the pregnant woman, to provide her a particular mode of life all the time she was pregnant. She said the pregnant woman should not chew chicle, for when the baby was born, its lips would be no more than perforated; it would no more than nibble, since, it was said, its lips would be perforated, its lips would thicken. Since it could no longer suckle, it would die.<sup>14</sup> She said it was necessary that she should look at nothing which angered one, which frightened one, which offended one, for she would bring the same upon [the child].

And what the pregnant woman desired should quickly be given; it should not be delayed; for her child would suffer if what she desired were not quickly given. And she said, she commanded that she should not look upon anything red, for the child would be [extended] crosswise when it was to be born. And the midwife said that the pregnant woman should not fast, for it would cause the baby to starve. And she said the pregnant woman should not eat earth nor eat chalk, for the baby would not be born healthy; it would be restless; perhaps it would be sickly or perhaps not sound. For what the mother drank, what she ate, that also the baby absorbed; it took [substance] from her.

And the midwife commanded the pregnant woman that before the baby had attained form, after one, two, [or] three months, her husband should still at times be accepted, so that the child should attain form. If not, it would just be sickly; it would be infirm when it came forth on earth.

And the midwife and the mothers commanded that when what was within the pregnant woman was well formed, when it was already sound, when it was already great, no longer should she at any time take her pleasure with her husband, no longer should she give herself to worldliness, because the baby would not be born aright; it would come forth mingled with filth; as if bathed in a white *atole*. Thus it would be apparent that they had never ceased,

in otzli in ticitl: amo cochiz in tlaca, ca ixquatoj, mjmjlpu iez in tlacatiz piltontli:

mjiel in qujcaoa itenaoatil ticitl, in qujquia, in qujmonemjlixtia otzli: in jxqujch cavitl otztitica: qujto, amo tzicquaquaz in otzli, ca in jquac tlacatiz piltontli: çan mach motentzotzopotzaz, çan mach tlaquaquaz: ic mjtoa motentzoponjz, totomaoaz in jtenxipal, ic aioc vel chichiz, ic mjqujz, qujto: ca monequj amo qujttaz in tlein tequalan, in tlein temamauhti, in tlein teiolitlaco: ca iuhquj qujchioaz.

Auh in tlein qujnequj otzli, iciuhca macoz, amo vecaoaz: ca ommotolinjz in jconeuh, intlacamo iciuhca maco, in tlein qujnequj. Ioan qujto, tlanaaoatia: amo qujttaz in tlapalli, ca ixtlapal in tlacatiz piltontli. Ioan qujto in ticitl amo tlaqualcaoaz in otzli cacapizmjctiz in piltontli: ioan qujto amo tlalquaz, amo no tiçaquaz in otzli: ca amo qualli in tlacatiz piltontli. amo cemelle, at cocoxquj, at noço amo tlacamelaoac: ca in tlein quj, in tlein qujqua nantli: no iehoatl qujmonacaiotia in piltintli, ca itechpa cana.

Ioan qujnaoatia in ticitl in otzli: in aiamo onmaci piltintli, in qujn ce, in qujn vme, in qujn ei metzli, çä oc quenman moquazque in jnamjc, injc onmaciz piltintli, intlacamo, ca çan cocoxquj, amo tevivi in tlalticpac qujçaz.

Ioan qujnaoatia in otzli in ticitl, ioan in tenanoan: in omacic in ie qualli, in ie tomaoa in ijtic otzli: aocmo quenman mahavillacanequjz in oqujchtl, aocmo tlalticpac tlamatiz: ipampa amo iectli in tlacatiz piltintli, oallaclneliuhtiaz, iuhquj isolatoll iç oalmalitiaz: ic neciz ca aic omocauhque, ca omuchipa moquâtineneque in jxqujchcauh ootzticatca: iuhquj achi pinaviztli, vncan ca: auh in ie itlacachi-oalizpan otzli, cencu qujhijotiz in jtlacachioaliz:

14. *Ibid.*: "y que no se hiziese el paladar duro, y las encias grucessas, porque no podria mamar, y si [sic] muriria...."

that always they had lived in carnal desire all the time that she was with child. It was something rather shameful at this time. And when it was the time of the delivery of the pregnant woman, much would she suffer in her child-bearing, and for a very long time she would feel [discomfort] in her womb — perhaps two days, three days. And at the very time for her to bear her child, much would she cry out; perhaps for two days it would cause her to suffer: because something like pine resin would form when, at an improper time, she accepted, she received seed.<sup>15</sup>

As the birth was to take place, the midwife was to separate it with care. If perhaps she proceeded not with gentle movements when she proceeded to take it in her hands, she might also harm the baby when it was to be removed as it was delivered. Some babies died thus within their mothers, because they adhered [to them] somewhere, or else were extended crosswise. And also many times she who was delivered of a child died of it. It was said that it adhered to her back, that is, in her uterus, as it extended into her womb. Thus it could in no way be born; the baby could not come forth on earth. There it died. Also the mother thus died. It was said she died in childbirth because the baby no longer tolerated the seed; it was as if it turned into matter which glued [the baby] to the sound body of the woman.

Here also let something rather marvelous be told. When the baby adhered there within his mother, if the baby had died, the midwife inserted an obsidian knife within the woman. There she dismembered the baby; she drew it forth piece by piece. Thus the parent was yet relieved.

The midwife commanded that the pregnant woman not weep, not be saddened, not be troubled: for the baby would suffer because of it. The midwife commanded that she eat very well, that she drink well; that she eat what was good, warm, soft, especially at the time when, as was said, "the feet of the baby are washed" — when blood flowed from the mother — so that the baby not be formed like a pottery rattle, so that it not result as a gourd rattle, so that it not sicken.<sup>16</sup>

auh cenca vecauhtica in quijmatiz ijti, aço omjlvitl, cilvitl: ioan in ie vel iquac tlacachioaz vel tzatziz, aço omjlvitl in quijhijotiz: ipampa iuhqujn ocotzotl muchioaz in aiocmo imonecian in oqujcujc, in oqujceli xinachtli:

injc tlacachioaz, vel quixxitinjz in ticitl, in aço aqujqujvivixinemjz, in quijnapalotinemjz: auh no qujcôcoltz in piltzintli, injc ipan mopoztectinemjz, in mjxiuj: ic cequjntin imjtic mjquj in jnnanoan pipiltzitzinti, ipampa cana tlaçaloa, anoço moxtlapalteca: auh no mjiecpa ic mjquj in mjxivi, mjtoa, vmpa tlaçaloa in jcujtlapan, qujtoznequj, in jcioaioc, injc melaoatica in jconexiqujpilco: ic njman avellacati, auellalticpacqujça in piltzintli vmpa mjquj: no ic mjquj in tenantzin, in mjtoa: mociaoquetza: ipampa in aocmo qujmonacaiotia xinachtli piltzintli: iuhqujn tzotzoviztli mocuepa, itech qujçaloa in jiecnacaio in cioatzintli.

Tla ça no njcan mjto, in mavizticatontli: in vmpa tlaçaloa ijtic inantzin piltontli: intla omjc piltontli, itztli qujcalauja in ijtic cioatzintli in ticitl: vmpa contetequj in piltontli qujoalqujqujxtia: ic oc palevilo in pilhoa.

Tlanaoatia in ticitl: amo chocaz, amo tlaocoltloz, amo tequipacholoz in otzli: ca ic cocolizcujz in piltzintli. Tlanaoatia in ticitl: cenca vellaquaz, vel atliz, muchi qualli in qujquaz, totonquj, iamanquj: oc cenca iquac in mjtoa mocxipaca piltontli, in ezqujça tenantzin: injc amo cacalactimotlaliz in piltzintli, injc amo aioooaaqujz, injc amo cocolizcujz.

15. *Ibid.*: "porque aquella viscosidad, es pegajosa, y no dexa salir la criatura libremente, y esto porque recibio la simiente del varon, quando no convenja..."

16. *Ibid.*: "mayormente quando la preñada, le viene su purgacion, o como dicen su regla: y esto llaman que la criatura se lava los pies, porque no se halle la criatura en bacio, o aya alguna vacuidad, o falta de sangre, o humor necesario, y asi reciba algun daño."

The midwife commanded the pregnant woman not to try to work, not to exert effort, not to lift heavy things, not to run; nor to take fright of, to be startled by anything; for then it was said that the mother would abort; it was said that the baby would miscarry. Here, in brief, have been stated all her commands to the pregnant woman.

The midwife said: "O my children, precious persons, our ladies, ye who are here: are you perchance babies? Are you perchance children? For we are the old women who consult among ourselves; you are seeing all of the mortality among us women in our wombs. Doth perchance the girl, the maiden, already know of this? Ye must take care of the girl; show special concern for her; let her yet be [the object of] your watchfulness; let her yet become [the object of] your care. We can have gone incurring something, we can have attained something [evil] for her at the time of the birth of the baby."

"Here am I, I who am called a midwife. Verily also for this reason am I a midwife. Do I perchance guard a cure for death? Shall I perchance withhold it from one if we should go to help one? Is it a cure for death which is in my hand, which I go carrying with me?"<sup>17</sup> For our lord can only be helped, can only be aided [by what we do]. But what we do is only [like] fanning flies away. Can we perchance say: 'Let it come to pass this way'; 'Let the baby be born in good condition'? Shall we perchance be vain about it? And shall we claim for ourselves the mercy of the lord of the near, of the nigh, because of the manner in which we have gone to help?

"Verily, let all of us now show our devotion; let us yet have faith in our lord, in whatsoever he is determining. Will we perchance merit, will we deserve something? Is there also perchance nothing? Are only weeping, only tears now required? This is what you know, my ladies, my grandchildren, precious persons."

Tlanaoatia in ticitl, in otztli: amo mopôpoxcané nequjz, amo itlan aqujz, amo cacocujz in etic, amo motlatlaloz, amo no ac quijmauhitiz, aiac quijcaviz: ca njman mjtoa, motlatlaxiliz in nantli, mjtoa, olinjz in piltontli: çan cuel ixquijchton in, njcan onmote-neoa, in jnaoatil otztli:

conjtoa in ticitl. O nopolhoantzitzin, tlaçotitlacatzitzinti, totecujoan: can iz amonmonoltitoque, cujx anpipiltzitzinti, cujx ancoconetzitzinti, ca tilamatque in tontonotza, ca anquijmotztilitate in jxqujch tomjcca ticioatzitzinti, in jpan tititzin: cujx ie quijmati in piltontli in jchpuchtontli: ma anconmoxicaviliti in piltontli, ma oc cenca tle anquijmomachitia, ma oc amjx amotequijtzin, ma oc amonecujtlaviltzin, onmuchioa: ica vel in oitla ticnamjqujto, in oitla topantic in jtlaacachioalizpan piltontli:

â iz njca in mjtoa njticitl: çan nel no ic njicitl, cujx mjqujzpatli njcpia, cujx njctecujcujliz, in oitla ipan tehoato o? cujx mjqujzpatli nomac ca, njqujqujinemj: ca çan nanamjco, ca çan palevilo in totecujo: auh ca çan tlaecapeviliztli ticchioa, cujx tocontozque: ma iuh onmuchioa in, ma vellacati in piltontli, cujx tocontotenjtalhvizque: auh tocontocujlizque in jtetaocoliliztzin tloque, naoaque: anca quenamj ipan teoativi.

Ma oc nelle axcan timuchintin, titlateumatican, ma oc tictotemachilican in totecujo: quecin quijmonenequjltitica, cujx itla tocnopil, tomaceoal, cujx no ie in atle: çan choquijztli, çan ixaiotl monequj in axcan: tle anquijmomachititzinoa, totecujoan, noxviuhtzinoan, tlaçotitlacatzitzinti.

17. *Ibid.*: "tengo yo algun remedio, o alguna medicina, por uentura para sujarlo [sic]? podre por uentura hazer algo, para remediarlo? tengo por uentura poder absoluto, para librarme de la muerte?" For *sujarlo*, *evitarlo* is read (cf. Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, p. 177), although *obviarlo* might be equally suitable.



**Twenty-eighth Chapter.** Here are told the different things which the midwife did when the pregnant one was ready, when she was about to give birth, in order that she would not suffer; and the different kinds of medicine she gave her when she could not give birth. Many [things] are mentioned which gladden one.

When the time of childbirth had arrived for the woman, then they summoned the midwife, the one who delivered, the one in charge of childbirth. And midwives remained with the sons, the young maidens of the rulers, the noblemen, the rich, the successful, perhaps yet four [or] five days before they were to give birth. They guarded them, they watched them periodically. And when she was to become aware of the labor pains, they say — it is said — they were to prepare food for her. And when the woman already felt labor pains, in order that she would quickly give birth, they quickly bathed her in the sweat bath;<sup>1</sup> then they had her drink an [infusion of the root of an] herb named *ciuapatli*,<sup>2</sup> an expellent, an ejectant. If the woman suffered much labor pain, they gave her as much as two fingers of opossum tail [ground up, in water],<sup>3</sup> to drink, which would probably carry all with it. Thereby she quickly gave birth. This is much superior, for it is an expellent, an extractor, an ejectant.

Once a dog secretly ate an entire opossum. Such is the quality of the opossum that this dog came rejecting everything; it came casting everything out, defecating all its intestines. Likewise if one drank all the tail of an opossum, he would cast out all his intestines; he would defecate everything. Because of this, if the woman drank the *ciuapatli* and the opossum [tail infusion, and] if her labor pains responded not, the midwife and the old women considered it

Ic cempoalli onchicuei capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in jzquijtlamtli qujchioaia in tictl, in jquac ije iman in ie tlacachioaz in otztli: injc atle ic motolinjz, ioan in izquijtlamtli patli qujmacaia, in jquac avel tlacachioaia: mjiec in moteneoa in tepapaquijlti.

In oacic itlacachioalizpan cioatzintli: njman qujnotza in tictl in temxivitjanj, in jmac tlacatioanj. Auh in tlatoque, in pipilti, in mocujltonoque, ioan in toveliecaoan inpilhoan in jmjhcpuchaoan: açoc iuh navilvitl macujlilvitl tlacachioazque in jntlan motllia titici, qujnpixtoque, qujnhixtoque in quenman: ah in jqujn qujmatizque in ijti, qujlmach mjtoa: qujtlatlaqualizchiuhtoque. Auh in ie qujmati in ijti cioatzintli: injc vel iciuhca tlacachioaz, oc contentiuetzi: njman conjtia in xivitl, in jtoca cioapatli in tlacxotlanj, in tlatopeoanj: intla cenca qujhijotia in cioatzintli ijti: quen omjxtli conjtia in tlaquatl icujlapil, in çä iequene concenvica, iciuhca ic tlacachioa. Injn ca çan njman atlamat, ca vel tlacxotlanj, tlajqujxtianj, tlatopeoanj.

Ceppa chichi qujchtacaqua; vel centetl in tlaquatl: injc cenca ihijo in tlaquatl, muchi motepeoaco, muchi motoxaoaco, muchi qujxix in jcujtlaxcol, injn chichi: no iuhqui intla aca, vel ce conj in jcujtlapil tlaquatl: ca muchi oalmotoxaoaz in jcujtlaxcol, ca muchi qujxixaz. Ic ipampa in cioatzintli: intla oqujc cioapatli, in joan tlaquatl: intlacamo qujtlacamati in ijti: cenca tlaovicamati in tictl, ioan in jlamatque, chocoa, tlaocoialo: qujtoa in tictl.

1. *contentiuetzi* (der. from *tema*) may be taken as implying a sweat bath. The corresponding Spanish text, however, is "luego daua en baño."

2. *ciuapatli*: *Montanoa tomentosa* Cervant (Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," p. 155).

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "dauanla a beuer, tanto como medio dedo de la cola del animal, que se llama tlaquatzin, molida...."

very dangerous. There was weeping, there was sadness. The midwife said:

"My beloved children, what doth our lord will? What is to befall us? Let us await the word of the lord of the near, of the nigh, for nothing aideth us."

Then the midwife began. She suspended the woman [by the head];<sup>4</sup> she proceeded to shake her, to kick her in the back; she said to her: "My beloved daughter, exert thyself! How shall we deal with thee? Here are thy mothers. It is thine own affair. Seize well the little shield. My daughter, my youngest one, be thou a brave woman; face it—that is, bear down; imitate the brave woman Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli."<sup>5</sup>

And if already in one day, one night the woman could not give birth, then once again they quickly placed her in the sweatbath; once again they worked there in vain. The midwife straightened out that which was within the woman. And if she was despaired of, if she could in no wise give birth to the baby, then they enclosed the woman. Only the midwife was by her, because she was offering prayers. She called upon, prayed to Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli; then she cried out to Yoalticatl. Who knows the ones to whom she cried out?<sup>6</sup>

And the midwife who was prudent, who was skilled, if she saw that the baby had died, if it moved no more—and if the woman still lay gasping—then put her hand into the genitals of the woman. She inserted an obsidian knife; she dismembered the baby; she removed the body of the baby piece by piece. Etc.

Nopilhoantzitzin, tlein qujmonequjltia totecujo, tlein topan tiz: ma tictotlatolchialican in tloque, naoaque: ca atle techmomacujlilia.

Niman peoa in ticitl, caacopiloa in cioatzintli, qujvivixotinemj, qujcujtlapanicçatinemj: qujlvitinemj. Nochpuchtzin, ca moiaouh, quen timjtztochivilizque: â iz onoque in monantzitzinoan, ca moneixcaviltzin, vel xicmana in tevevelli: nochpuchtzin, noxocoiouh: ca tiquauhcioatl, xicnamjquj, qujtozncquj: ximotilinj, xicmotlaehecalvili in quauhcioatl, in cioacoatl, in qujlaztli.

Auh intla ie cemjihvitl, ie ceiooal, in avellacachioa in cioatzintli: njman oc ceppa qujcalaqujtiuetzi, in temazcalco: oc ceppa vmpa oc nen muchioa qujvel-lalilia in ijtli in cioatzintli, in iehoatl ticitl. Auh intla onexiuhtlatiloc, in çan njman avellacati in piltzintli: njman qujtzqua in cioatzintli, çä icel in jtlan ca ticitl: tlein mach ic tlatalauhtitica, qujnotza qujtlauhtia in cioacoatl in qujlaztli: njman qujtzatzilia in iooalticatl, ac machique in qujntzatzilia.

Auh in iolizmatquj tultecatl, amantecatl, in ticitl: intla oqujttac omjc piltzintli, intlacaiocmo molinja: auh intla oc ie ihijotoc cioatzintli. Niman onmaiaivi in ijxpampa in cioatzintli, itztli qujcalaqua: vnpa qujtequj in piltontli, quoalqujqujxtia in jnacaio piltzintli. Et.\*

4. *Ibid.*: "levantasa en alto a la preñada, tomandola con ábas manos por la cabeza..."

5. Quilaztli: discussions of Quilaztli as a manifestation of Ciuacoatl as a warrior and collaborator of the sun are to be found in Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, p. 138, and *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 115.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "y tambié llamaua, a otras no se que diosas."

## ILLUSTRATIONS



# Libro 6

de la Religione,

y señor de nuestro señor dios,  
que es el regia y alumbrava y  
apora esta apelicia, de perder  
se y destruyrse, este pueblo y  
señorío, que llevaua acuestas,  
y lo dexo en el mismo lugar; que  
dexo la cara que llevaua: ays  
esta <sup>dende</sup> dexo despueblo y reyno,  
pacífico y fesoado, y ansi le  
tuvo todo el tiempo, que leze  
gio, pacíficamente governo,  
pacíficamente poseyo, el trono  
ysilla, que le fue dado por nues  
tro señör dios: y puso todas sus  
fuercas, y hizo toda suposibilidad,  
para tenerle pacífico, y a segado,  
hasta sumerte: no ascondio  
sus manos, ni suspies, debaxo de  
sumanta coherencia, sino que  
contoda diligencia trabaxo, por el  
bien de su reyno. Al presente  
tenemos gran consolacion y gran  
reposejo, o humanissimo señör  
nuestro, porque nos addido nues  
tro señör dios, porqulen blujos,  
una lumbre, y un resplendor,  
del sol, que soys vos, el señala, y  
os de mucha conelredo, y os tiene  
escrito con letras coloradas: y ansi

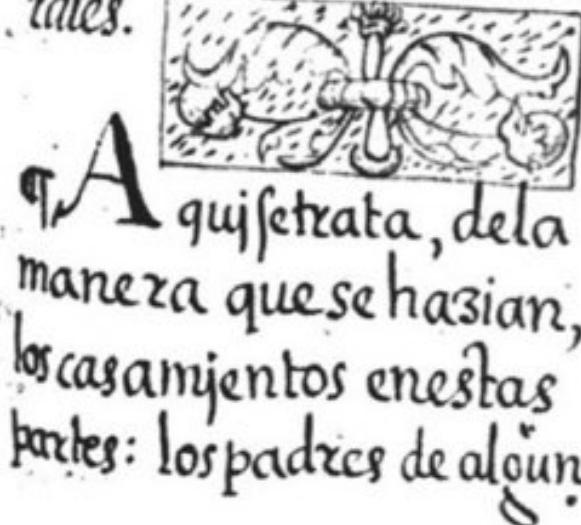
los huesos q̄te se nos patecen,  
de flaqueza, y necesidad de  
mantenimientos, y esto por la  
bondad de nuestro señor, y por  
nuestros peccados: *mijraatus*  
*hermanos menores, y atus*  
*hermanos*, *mijra s̄ tienen a*  
bundancia, *mijra siestan gordos*  
*tristes*, y si tienen las cosas  
necesarias, y si les sobran los  
mantenimientos, y las vesti-  
duras: *nolo vees, quales an-*  
*dan ensunima pobreza*, todos  
q̄en llenos de cumplida mij-  
eria: *estal estido en tanta*  
*pobreza, no ay oportunidad*  
*de levantar la cabeza, ni de te-*  
*ner brio, porque esto seria cosa*  
*de borrachos, y ingente muy*  
*vil: tenet presumpcion, o al-*  
*tiues entanta pobreza, y mi-*  
*ria, como ay dentro desta casa,*  
*como la tienen los que enella*  
*moran es ocasion de humildad,*  
*y deshistera q̄ de traer la cabeza*  
*baxa porque en tal tiempo as-*  
*nacido. Y para que te lodigas*

*ta xistechitta, q̄ciquidoapne*  
*mij. q̄dmiçcauhinemsj inspal*  
*trincos totecajos hoque, nāo a-*  
*que: aah in motecetadon, in*  
*movelniadon xi jui mōhjita, cuij*  
*onoac, cuij xeloac.. cuij ixto*  
*natoque: inspal trincos hoque,*  
*nāo aque: cuij Hatguyatoc,*  
*cuij netimalolotoc: hatiquij*  
*mijta inje monemjta, cati*  
*malivi in slalicipac, caihijovilo,*  
*cattaciaoa: quenin xicalmo*  
*tronco conacuis o: quenin xa*  
*quetzal, amoçca tlaoanijotl*  
*aci, amo tequixolopicaiotl o,*  
*injuligan, tijol y, injulican n*  
*hacat, y, aub: injulican mo*  
*calitic y, aub injulique yn,*  
*moncaodan, meh caban, inha*  
*quecim ximochiao: aub quen*  
*tititobos, quen hatimopi*  
*103, injulican timoialiti y.*  
*Aub octisca, muchi impepin*  
*mictlalia, muchi q̄jimisititla.*

beuas, has que primero acacerle quitoquijha l'intotecujo,  
coma, y beua dello quij tecuele ca ixverenton, ca ma  
ente loda. Se auisa multichpil, que quezopil, tiztalec  
zo, mijra porti, en este mundo, y as oydo lo q  
te he dho: guarda, ento das las cosas, el medio.



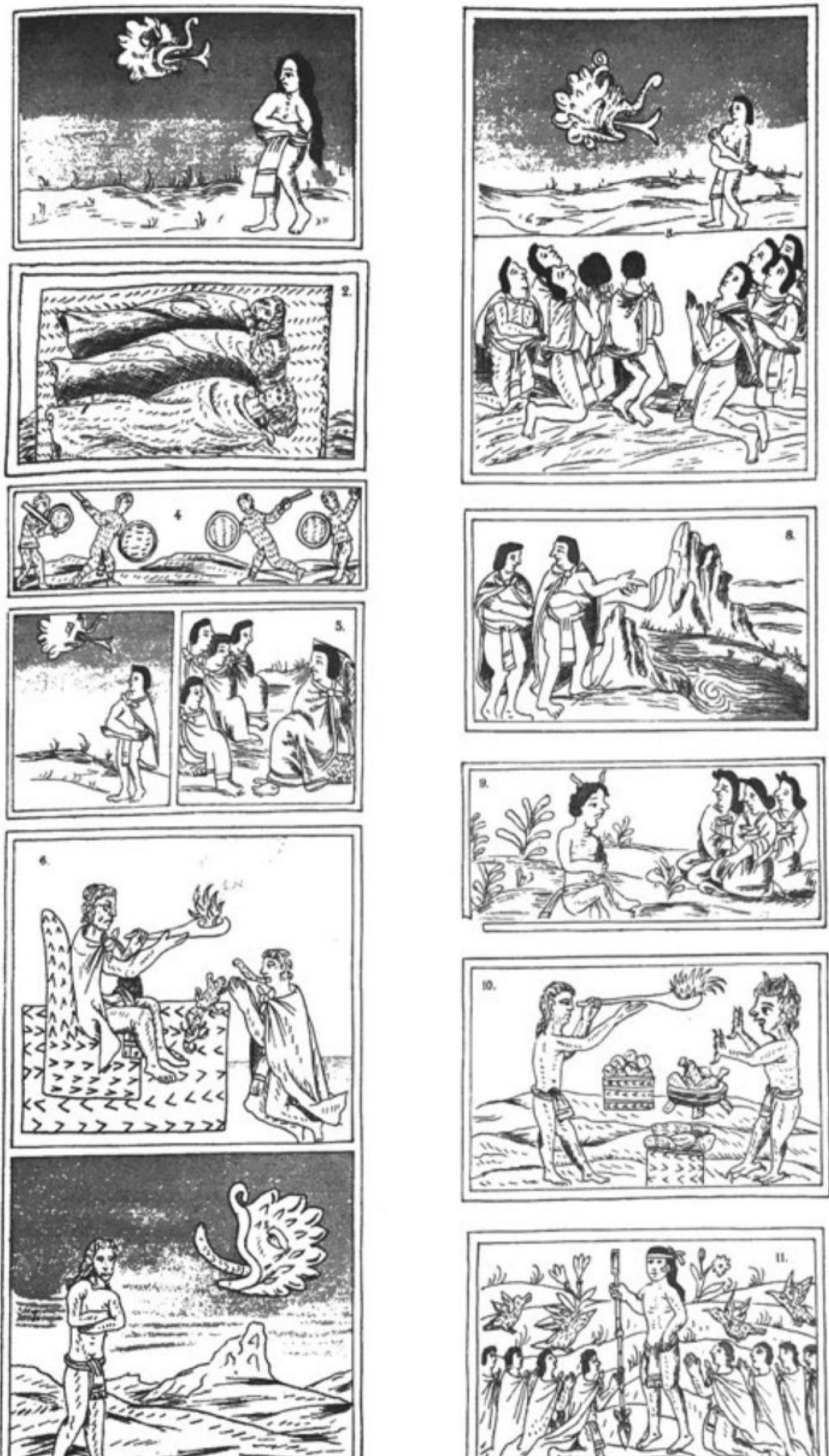
**C**apitulo. 23. dela  
manera, que hasian los  
casamientos: estos natu  
rales.



**A**qui se trata, dela  
manera que se hazian,  
los casamientos en estas  
partes: los padres de algun

**I**nje tempoalli vmei capi  
tulo, vncan mijtoa: intlein  
quijchaoia in njcan tlaca, inj  
quac iequinnamjentqle mij  
pilhoan

**N**ican moteneoa, injecio  
atlanta in njcan tlaca. Inie  
huath intenan, inteta: in ie  
guitta injintepuch ieomacie



— After *Paso y Tronco*

1. The prayer to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter 1).
2. Those who sleep destitute (Chapter 2).
3. The prayer to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter 2).
4. Warriors who honor Tezcatlipoca (Chapter 3).
5. Prayer to Tezcatlipoca for the new ruler (Chapter 4).
- 6, 7. The penitent (Chapter 7).
8. The precipice and the torrent (Chapter 7).
9. Women before Tlaçolteotl (Chapter 7).
- 10, 11. The prayer to Tlaloc (Chapter 8).



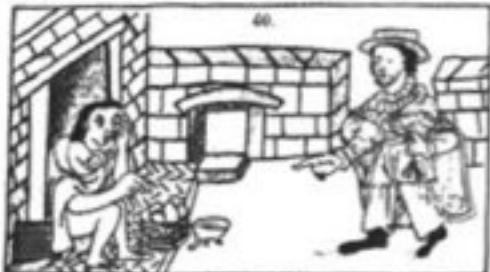
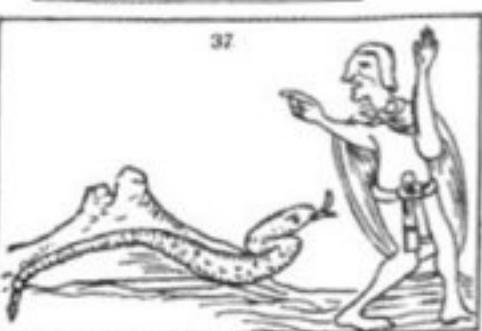
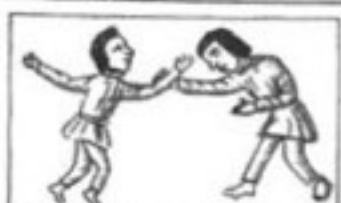
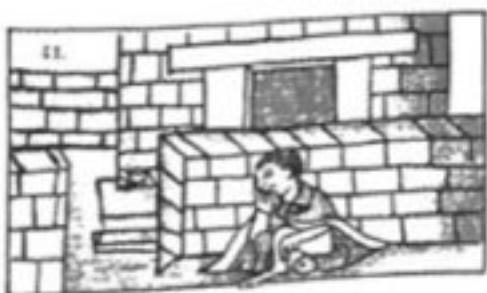
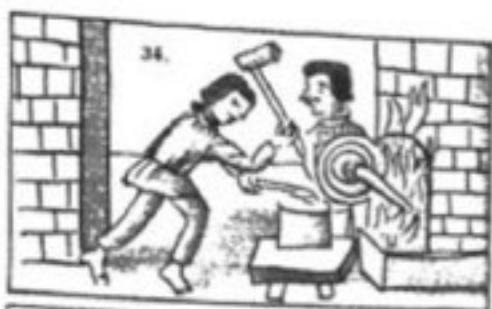
— After Paso y Troncoso

12. The new ruler gives thanks to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter 9). 13. The ruler with the cleansing water (Chapter 9). 14. The orator replies to the ruler (Chapter 12). 15. The ruler exhorts the people (Chapter 14). 16. A nobleman exhorts the people in the presence of the ruler (Chapter 15). 17. The ruler exhorts the youth (Chapter 17). 18. The ruler exhorts the maiden (Chapter 18). 19. The mother exhorts the maiden (Chapter 19). 20. The father exhorts his son (Chapter 20). 21. The arranging of the marriage (Chapter 23). 22. Advising the pregnant bride (Chapter 24).



— After Paito y Troncoso

23. The pregnant one responds to the orators (Chapter 25). 24, 25. The midwife massages the pregnant one (Chapter 27). 26. The enclosing of the woman who dies in childbirth (Chapter 29). 27. The midwife addresses the baby (Chapter 30). 28. The parents of the child consult the soothsayer (Chapter 36). 29. The bathing of the boy (Chapter 37). 30. The symbols of womanhood (Chapter 37). 31. The placing of the baby in the cradle (Chapter 38). 32. A fool (Chapter 41). 33. He can achieve 400 (Chapter 41).



— *Ajter Paso y Troncoso*

34. It is really my arrow (Chapter 41). 35. He is poor and needy on earth (Chapter 41). 36. My task is to guard turkeys (Chapter 41). 37. I have yet a day (Chapter 41). 38. Thanks to another I scavenge (Chapter 41). 39. A face of glory (Chapter 41). 40. Living is not with the poor (Chapter 41). 41. Already in another's enclosure (Chapter 43). 42. Disheveled (Chapter 43). 43. The torch, the wide mirror (Chapter 43). 44. Drivel, slaver (Chapter 43). 45. Thou goest panting (Chapter 43).



46.



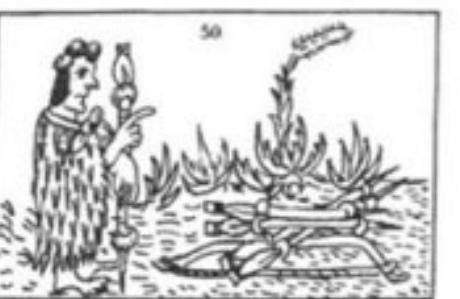
47.



48.



49.



50.



51.



52.

Quijere dezir esta letra. Am  
sinjesta y debaxo demisubaco.  
te pondre. Por me thaphora qui  
cre dezir. Seras el mas allega  
do amy de todos seras otro yo.  
esto dezia el señor a aloun pilli  
otecutti se yme fiel quedyo te haza  
mi segudo. Tambien la otra gēte  
dezia alque vian que era mas  
allegado al señor yera como su  
ynterprete dava las respuestas  
de lo que el queria que se hiziesse,  
a este dezian: i. tue <sup>re</sup> debaxo de  
subaco izquierdo, y en jōbaco  
nuestro señor onuestro rey.



— After Paito y Troncoso

46. Thou hast made thyself into a rabbit (Chapter 43). 47. Peaceful rule, peaceful governing (Chapter 43). 48. Heart, blood (Chapter 43). 49. The current has carried away the rock (Chapter 43). 50. The ornamental design (Chapter 43, fol. 214v). 52. The heavens open (Chapter 43).



Twenty-ninth Chapter. Here it is told how they made goddesses of those women who died in childbirth, called *mociuaquetzque*. They believed in them as they did in the *cuateteo*. And they took from them their hair or some part of their bodies; they believed in these as relics. And they took [these relics] from them first before they buried them. And it is necessary that the priests should make known to themselves the different things regarding those who died in childbirth.<sup>1</sup> They named them *mociuaquetzque*. And the place where the sun set, it is said, they named *cuatlampa* after them.

And if the parents dared not that the midwife do this, then [the midwife] enclosed the little woman.<sup>2</sup> And if she died in childbirth, it is said she was named *mociuaquetzqui*. And when she had died, then they bathed her, they washed her head with soap, they dressed her in a good, new skirt and shift. And as they carried her, as they went to bury her, her husband bore her upon his back. Her hair went loose; it went covering her.

And the midwives, the old women, assembled to accompany her. They bore their shields; they went shouting,<sup>3</sup> howling, yelling. It is said they went crying, they gave war cries. Those called the youths, those whose task was yet warfare, went encountering them, went skirmishing against them. They went skirmishing against them as they desired to seize the woman. It was not play fighting, not plundering; when they fought, they truly made war.

And as it became night they bore this little woman to bury her there before the images of their devils whom they named Ciuapipiltin, celestial princesses. And when they had borne her, then they buried her, they placed her in the earth. But her husband and still others helped to guard her for four nights, that no one might steal her.

1. The corresponding Spanish text is more explicit: "ay cosas que los confessores ay, harta necesidad, que las sepan...."

2. This sentence refers back to the last statement in Chap. 28.

3. Read *tlaçauatztli*.

Ic cempoalli onchicunavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenjn in iechoantin in coia, injc mjquja imjti: in mjtoaia mocioaqueztque, qujntematia: iuhqujnma cioateteu, inpan qujnmata: ioan qujncujliaia in jntzon, anoço itla innacaio: iuhqujnma reliquias ipan qujmatia: auh in iquac in aiomo qujntoca, achtopa qujncujliaia. Auh in iechoantin in teupixque: monequj qujmomachitzque, in jzqujtlamantli in: in iechoantin imjti ic mjquja, qujntocaiotiaia mocioaqueztque: auh in vnpa oncalaquj tonatiuh, qujl iechoatl ic qujtocaiotiaia cioatlampa.

Auh intlacamo motlapaloa pilhoaque, in qujchi-oaz in, ticitl: njman vel qujtzatzaqua in cioatzintli. Auh intla ic mjquj ijti, mjtoa, motocaiotia: mocioaqueztquj: auh in oonmj, njman caltia, camovia: qualli, auh iancujc in conaqua cueitl, vipilli: auh injc qujvica qujtocativi, qujmama in jnamj, tlatontiu, itzon qujquentiu:

auh mocentlalia in titici ilamatztzin: injc qujvica inchichimal ietiu, tlacaoatzivi, motempapaviti, oiuhtivi: mjtoa coioujtiuj, iaouj: iehoan qujnnamjtiuj, qujmjcaltivi, in mjtoa telpupuchtin, in oc intequjuh iaioi, injc qujmjcaltivi qujmanjliznequj in cioatzintli: amo motlamachhuia, amo mopilhuja in movitequj, vel nelli muiaochioa.

Auh injn quujuca qujtocazque cioatzintli, ie tlapuaoa, vmpa in jmjaxpan diablime imjxiptlaoan: in qujntocaiotia cioapipilti, ilvica cioapipilti: auh in oconujcaque, njman qujtoca, qujtlalaqua: auh in jnamic, ioan oc cequjntin qujpalevia: nauhiooal in qujquia, injc aiac qujchtequj:

And they who were the youths, those whose duty was warfare, ardently desired her. It is said careful vigil was held over her. They considered her just like something wonderful. If along the road they wrested the body of the *mociuaquetzqui* from the midwives, in their presence they cut off her middle finger. And if they could dig her up by night, they also cut off her finger<sup>4</sup> and they clipped off, they took her hair from her.

Behold the reason they diligently sought the finger, the hair of the *mociuaquetzqui*: when they went to war they inserted the hair or the finger in their shields in order to be valiant, in order to be brave warriors, in order that no one might contend against them, in order that no one might stand up against them, in order that they might act boldly in war, and in order that they might overpower, might seize many of their enemies. It was said that the hair, the finger of the *mociuaquetzqui* furnished spirit; it was said they paralyzed the feet of their foes.<sup>5</sup>

Also the thieves, those whose name was *temamacpalitotique*, diligently sought the *mociuaquetzqui*. They took her left forearm. They say they bore it with them when they robbed; therewith they caused the members of the household to swoon.

And of this *mociuaquetzqui*, although there was weeping, there was sorrow because she had died in childbirth, when she had really died, it was said she had become a *mociuaquetzqui*. Her parents and the husband rejoiced therefor even more, for it was said she went not to the land of the dead; she went there to the heavens, to the house of the sun.

Thus is the tale, the consensus, [of the ancients]: the brave warriors, the eagle-ocelot warriors, those who died in war, went there to the house of the sun. And they lived there in the east, where the sun arose. And when the sun was about to emerge, when it was still dark, they arrayed themselves, they armed themselves as for war, met the sun as it emerged, brought it forth, came giving cries for it, came gladdening it, came skirmishing. Before it they came rejoicing; they came to leave it there at the zenith, called the midday sun.

And here is the story, the tale, of the women who had died in war, and of the *mociuaquetzque*: it is

auh in iehoantin telpupuchtin, in iaioitl intequjuh vel quijmatataca, mjtoa: vel ipan mjhixtoxaoa, vel iuhqujn tleōia ipan quijmati. Intla vtlica quijntlaçalia in titici, in jnacaio mocioaquetzquj: vncan imjxpan contequjlia in jmapil in tlanepantla hicac: auh intla iooaltica vel quijtataca, no quijtequjlia in jmapil, ioan qujxima, qujcujlia in jtzon.

Izcatquj ipanpa in quijmatataca in jmapil, in jtzon mocioaquetzquj: in jquac vi iaoc, inchimaltitlan caqua in tzontli, in anoço mapilli: injc oqujchtizque, injc tiacauhtizque, injc aiac vel qujmjxnamjqujz, injc aiac imjxco eoaz, injc amo tlatlamatcachioazque in iaoc ioan injc mjequjntin quijntopeoazque, quijmacizque in jniaoan: qujl mjhijotia in jtzon, in jmapil mocioaquetzquj: qujl qujmjcximjmjctia in jniaoan.

No iehoan quijmatataca in mocioaquetzquj in jchtecque: in jntoca temamacpalitotique, qujcujlia in jopuch imatzopaz: qujl quijtquj in jquac onjchtequj, ic qujnçotlacmijctia in chaneque.

Auh injn mocioaquetzquj: macivin tlachoctia, tlalaocultia, in jpanpa ic mjquj ijitzin, in jquac vel omjc: in mjtoa omocioaquetz: oc no cenza ic paquj in pilhoaque ioan in ciaoaoa: ca mjtoaia amo iauh in mjctlan: ca vmpa iauh in jlvcac in tonatiuh ichan.

In iuh ca çaganilli, in juh nenonotzalli: in tiacaoan in quauhtin, ocelo in iaomjcque, ca vmpa vi in tonatiuh ichan: auh ie vmpa nemj in tlacopa, in vmpa oalquijça tonatiuh. Auh in ie oalquijçaz tonatiuh, in oc ioan: mocencaoa, moiaochichioa: connamquj injc oalquijça tonatiuh, qujoalqujxtia, coivotivitze, cavilititivitze qujnecaliltitivitze, ijxpan mavilitivi: vncan qujoalcaoa in jlvcatl inepantla: in mjtoa nepantla tonatiuh.

Auh njzca in jntlatollo, in jnçaganillo in iaomjcque ciao, ioan in mocioaquetzque: mjtoa ca in ja-

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "el dedo de medio de la mano yzquierda."

5. Ibid.: "y deixan que para esto danan esfuerzo los cabellos, y el dedo de aquella difunta q se llama mocioaquetzqui: y que tambien ceguan los ojos de los enemigos."

said that the women who had died in war and the *mociuaquetzque* lived there at the falling place, the entering place, of the sun. For this reason the old people, those who went recording things, named the place where the sun entered *cuatlampa*, because the women lived there.

And when the sun had emerged, when already it had advanced along its course, when those who had died in war, the brave warriors, already came gladdening it, came giving cries for it, when this sun had already advanced along its course, then the women arrayed themselves, armed themselves as for war, took the shields, the devices. Then they rose up; they came ascending to meet the noonday sun there. There the eagle-ocelot warriors held this sun in their hands. There these eagle-ocelot warriors, those who had died in war, delivered the sun into the hands of the women. And then [the warriors] scattered out everywhere, sipping, sucking the different flowers.

And the women then began; they carried, they brought down the sun. They carried it with a litter of quetzal feathers; it traveled in quetzal feathers; they provided it a support.<sup>6</sup> And as they bore it, they also went giving cries for it, they went gladdening it, they went gladdening it with war cries. They left it there, it is said, where the sun enters.

It was said they delivered it into the hands of the Micteca, that is, the people of Mictlan, the inhabitants of Mictlan; that is, the dead, who carried it there to Mictlan.

Thus the old people went saying: when it grew dark here it already grew light, it dawned, in Mictlan. The dead awakened; they arose. And these women who delivered this sun into the hands of the Micteca then also dispersed. They came, they descended to earth. They took, they sought the spindle, the weaving stick, the reed basket; they sought all the equipment of women. The demon, the devil, deceived in this manner: many times he manifested himself; he appeared before one like one who had become a *mociuaquetzqui*; he addressed, he encountered the one who had been her husband; he sought, he demanded the skirt, the shift, all the equipment of women.

mjcque ciao, ioan in mocioaquetzque: ca vmpa nemj in jvetzian, in jcalaqujan tonatiuh: ic ipampa in vevetque in aquique tlatlalitivi qujtocaiotique, ciaoatlana in vmpa calaquj tonatiuh, ipampa in vmpa nemj ciao.

auh in ocoalqujz tonatiuh, in ie olatoca, in ie cavilitivitze, in ie coiovitivitze iaomjcque in tiacaoan, in ie olatocatiuh in iehoatl tonatiuh: njman mocencaoa in ciao, moiaochichioa concuj in chimalli, in tlavitzli: njman oaleoa tlecotivitze, vncan quojalnamquj in tonatiuh in nepantla: vncan inmac conana in quauhtin, ocelo, in iehoatl tonatiuh: vncan inmac concaoa in ciao in tonatiuh, in iehoantin quauhtin, ocelo, in jaomjcque: auh njman cêcénmanj, novian tlâtlachichina, qujchichina in nepapan xuchitl.

Auh in ciao: njman conpeoaltia, qujvica, qujtemovia in tonatiuh: quetzalapanecaiotica in qujvica, quetzalco in ietuh, qujtlapechhvia: auh ynjc qujvica, no coiovitivi, cavilitivitivi: iaoiotica in cavilitivitivi, vmpa concaoa, in vmpa mjtoa, in vmpa oncalaquj tonatiuh:

qujl inmac concaoa in Micteca, qujtoznequj, mictlan tlaca, mjctlan chaneque, qujtoznequj, mjmiqujzti: vmpa qujvica in mjctlan.

Ic conjtotivi in vevetque: in njcan tlaiooda, ie tlanezi, ie tlavi in mjctlan: hiça, meheoa in mjmjcque: auh in oinmac concauhque ciao, in mjcteca, in iehoatl tonatiuh: njman no cecemmanj, oalhvi, oaltemo in tlalticpac, quoalcuj, quoaltemoa in malacatl, in tzotzopatzli, in tanatli, in jxqujch ciatlatqujtl quoalte-moa: injc tlaztlacaviaia in tzitzimjtl, in coleletli: mjiectpa monextiaia, moteittiaia: iuhqujnma ie mocioaquetz, qujnotza, qujmottitia in jnamjc catca: qujtemolia, qujtlanjlia in cueitl vipilli in jxqujch ciatlatqujtl.

6. *Ibid.*: "llueuanle en unas andas hechas de quetzales, o plumas ricas que se llaman quetzalapanecaiutl..." In this chapter we have often translated *uica* as "to carry." In some contexts and grammatical situations, it may be translated as "to accompany." See Molina, *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl, fols. 3v (*acompañar*) and 79v (*llevar*), and Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 684 (*uica*).

And these little women who thus had died in childbirth, those said to have become *mociuaquetzque*, when they died, they said, became goddesses.

Then the midwife addressed, greeted, prayed to the one still resting there, still laid out. She said to her: "Chamotzin, my youngest one, Quauhciuatl, little one, little dove, my beloved maiden, thou hast performed thy office, thou hast done thy work. Thy beloved task is done. Thou hast behaved in conformity with thy mother, Ciuapilli, Quauhciuatl, Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli. Thou hast taken, raised up, used the shield, the little shield, which thy beloved mother, Ciuapilli, Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli placed in thy hand.

"And now awaken, arise, stand forth, for already it is day, already it dawneth; the morning hath reddened, the dawn hath set in; already the flame-colored cock, the flame-colored swallow sing; the various flame-colored roseate spoonbills sing.<sup>7</sup> Arise, stand forth, array thyself, take thyself to — know — the good place, the pleasing place, the home of thy mother, thy father, the sun, where there are gladness, contentment, joy, happiness. Go, accompany our mother, our father, the sun! May his older sisters, the *ciuapipiltin*, the celestial women, bring thee to him<sup>8</sup> — those who are always, forever glad, content, joyous, happy by [and] near our mother, our father, the sun, whom they gladden, to whom they cry out.

"My youngest one, my beloved maiden, my noble woman, thou hast suffered fatigue, thou hast suffered manfully, thou hast acquired our lord's place of destroying one, his place of hiding one. Seeing that thou hast now suffered affliction, for thou hast done penance, thou hast deserved, thou hast merited the good, the pleasing, the precious death. Is it possible that thou diest without purpose? Hast thou [simply] died? For thou hast already done penance. Who deserveth what thou hast merited? For thou wilt forever live, be glad, be content near [and] by our goddesses, the *ciuapipiltin*.

"Fare thee well, my beloved maiden, my child. Arrive with them, enter among them! And may they take thee, may they receive thee! With them gladden, cry out to our mother, our father, the sun. And go accompanying them wherever their pleasure carrieth them.

7. *Ibid.*: "que ya es de dia, ya [ha] amanecido, ya an salido los areboles de la mañana, ya las golodrinas andan cantando, y todas las otras aues...." Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 977; Vol. III, p. 295.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "yos hija mia, pa vuestro padre el sol, y lleuenos sus hermanas las mugeres celestiales."

Auh injn ijitzin ic momjqujlia cioatzintli: in mjtoa mocioaquetza: in jquac oonmje, in quijtoa oonteut:

njman qujnotza, qujtlapaloa, qujtlatlauhtia in ticitl, in oc onoc, in oc vetzto: qujlvia. Chamotzin, noxocoiouh, quauhcioatl, tepitzin, cocotzin, noch-puchtzin: otitlacotic, otitequijt, ovetz motequijtzin: oticmonanamjqujli in monantzin, in cioapilli in quauhcioatl, in cioacoatl, in qujlaztli: otoconcujc, otoconacoc, oitlan tonac in chimalli, in tevevelli: in omomac qujman in iehoatl monantzin in cioapilli, in cioacoatl, in qujlaztli:

auh in axcan ma xiça, ma ximeoa, ma ximoquetza, ca ie tlaca, ca ie tlatvi, ca otlaucécaleoac, ca omoque-tzaco in tlavizcalli, ca ie tlatoa in cueçalpaxitl, in cueçalcujcujtzcatl, ie tlatoa in nepapan cueçalque-chol: ma ximeoa, ma ximoquetza, ma ximochichioa, ma ximovica, ma xontlamati in qualcan, in iecan: in monan, in mota in tonatiuh ichan: in vmpa avialo, in vellamacho, in pacoa, in netlamachtilo. Ma xommovica, ma xoconmotoqujli in tonan, in tota tonatiuh: ma itech mjtzonmaxitili in jveltioatzitzinoan in cioapipiltin, in jlavicacioa: in muchipa, in cemjac in avia, in vellamatii, in paquj, in motlamachtia in jitloc, in jnaoac, in tonan, tota tonatiuh: in caviltia, in coiovia.

Noxocoiouh, nochpuchtzin, notecujo cioatl: otic-mjhijovilti, oticmoqujchhvili: a oticmaxcavili in jte-poloaia, in jtetlatiaia totecujo: a maço nelle axcan, otimotlaciavilti: ca ovel tontlamaceuh, ca omocno-piltic, ca omomaceoaltic in qualli, in iectli, in tlaçotli mjqujlijztli: a mach nen noço timomjqujli, cujx otonmomjqujli, ca ie otontlamaceuh: ac qujcnopil-vica, in oticmomacevi: ca cemjac tijoliz, taviaz, tivellamatiz, in jntloc, in jnnaoac totecujjooan cioapipilti:

manoço çan moiolicatzin nochpuchtzin, noxocoiouh: ma intech xonmaxiti, ma intlan xonmocalaqui. Auh manoço nelli mjtzalmanjlican, ma mjtzalmoce-lilican: ma inoan xicavilti xicoiovi in tonan, in tota in tonatiuh: auh ma xiqujnmoviqulitinemj, in canjn movica, in jmelleltzin qujqujça.

"And my youngest one, my beloved maiden, my lady, thou hast left us, thou hast abandoned us, we who are the old men, we who are the old women. And thou hast arisen to cast thyself to thy mother, thy father. Hast thou willed that thou be summoned, that thou be called forth? Because of thy absence are we to be lost? Because of this the misery of aged manhood, of aged womanhood will be glorified. Because of this, our lady, are we to be lost among the enclosures?<sup>9</sup> Concern thyself with us, remember us in our misery — how we seek, how we are imprisoned here on earth, for verily the sun, and the wind, the cold, the freezing tire us.<sup>10</sup> Truly [our] bodies wither, suffer chills. And verily we are possessed with hunger which we cannot endure. Visit us, my precious maiden, valiant woman, noble woman.

"And truly thou hast gone to rest in peace; for already thou livest in a good place, a pleasing place; and already thou livest by [and] near our lord, for already thou beholdest the lord, for already thou convertest with the lord. Pray for us, intercede for us. This is all; with this we leave it to thee."

Auh noxocoiouh nochpuchtzin, notecujo: ca otitechonmocavilitia, ca otitechonmocxicavilitia in tivevetque, in tilamatque: auh otiqujmonmotlaxiliteoac in monantzin, in motatzin: cujx tel oticmonequjltitzino, ca otioalnotzaloc, otioaltzatzililoc: anca quen monjca, moteputzco, à tontopopolivitizque, anca ça quen ontimaliviz in jcnoeveveiotl, in jcnoilamajotl: anca can techinantitlan, texomolco, tontopopolivitizque totecujo: à manoço xitechalmomachiti, xitechalmolnamjqujlili in tocnoio, in juhqui tiqujttta, in juhquj tictzaqua in njcan tlalticpac: ca nelli mach in totech cevi in tonalli, auh in ehecatl, in jtztic, in cecec: nelli mach in pilinj, in tetzilivi, in tlalli, i çoqujtl: auh nelli mach, in timalivi in cujtlaxcolpitactli, acan veli ticchioa: ma xitechalmomachiti notlaçoihpuchtzin, quauhcioatl, cioapilli.

Auh ca nel otonpactivetzito: ca ie qualcan, ca ie ieccan in tinemj: auh ca ie itloc, inaoac in tinemj in totecujo, ca ie tictlacaitta: auh ca ie tictlacanotza, ma xitechmotlatlauhtilili, ma xitechnochili. Ca ixquijch in, ic motechtzinco tontocaoa.

9. *Ibid.*: "o señora mija, dexaymos aca, para que andemos de puerta en puerta, y por esas calles con pobreza, y miseria...."  
10. *Ibid.*: "el sol nos fatiga, con su gran calor, y el ayre con su frialdad, y el hielo con su tormento...."



Thirtieth Chapter. Here it is told how the midwife exhorted the baby who had been born, and what she said to it: all the loving words. And here is told what was the lot of each one when it was born; as they said, in the beginning such was the disposition of the gods. And the midwife inquired what its lot was when the baby was born.

When the pregnant one already became aware of labor pains, when it was said her moment of death had come to pass, when already she wished to give birth, they quickly bathed her, washed her hair with soap, washed her, arrayed her well. And then they arranged, they swept the house where the little woman was to suffer, where she was to perform her office, to do her work, to give birth.

If she were a noblewoman, or wealthy, two, three were her midwives. They remained by her, awaiting her word. And when the little woman became much disturbed internally, they quickly placed her in a sweatbath. And to hasten the birth of the baby, they gave the pregnant one cooked *ciuapatli* herb to drink.

And if she suffered much, they gave her [ground] opossum [tail infusion] to drink,<sup>1</sup> whereupon the baby was quickly born. For this one there was already all which was required for the baby—the swaddling cloths [and] the ones into which it was received.

And when the baby had arrived on earth, then the midwife shouted; she gave war cries, which meant that the little woman had fought a good battle, had become a brave warrior, had taken a captive, had captured a baby.

Then the midwife spoke to it. If it was a male, she said to it: "Thou hast arrived on earth, my youngest one, my beloved boy, my beloved youth."

If it was a female, she said to it: "My beloved maiden, my youngest one, noblewoman, thou hast suffered exhaustion, thou hast become fatigued. Thy beloved father, the master, the lord of the near, of

Ic cempoalli onmatlactli capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenin ticitl quijlatlauhtiaia, in piltzintli in ooal-lacat: ioan in tlein quijviaia, much tetlaçotlaliztla-tolli: ioan vncan mjtoa, in quenamj ceceiaca ipan tlacati tonalli: iuh quijtoaia in ca ieppa iuh catca, intlatlalil in teteu: auh in ticitl, quijlatlanaia in quenamj tonalli ipan otlatcat piltzintli.

In otzli in ie quijmati ijtli, in mjtoa: oacico in jm-quijzpan, in ie mxiviznequj: iciuhca caltia, camovia, quijpapaca, vel quijcencaoa: auh njman tlacencaoa, tlachpana in cali: in vncan qujhijoviz cioatzintli, in vncan tlacotiz, tequitz, in vncan tlacachioaz.

Intla pilli, tlatoanj, anoço mocujtonoa: vme, ey in jticiuh, ytlan onoque, tlatalchixtoque: auh in cenza ie mamana cioatzintli, iciuhca quijtentuetzi: auh inje qujcivitia in jiehcoliz piltzintli cioapatli tlaquaqualatzalli conjtia in otztzintli.

Auh intla cenza qujhijotia, conjtia in tlaquatil: ic iciuhca tlacati in piltzintli: inon ie câca in jxquijch itech monenequj piltzintli, in tzotzomatztitzinti, in ititzqujloca.

Auh in otlalticpac quijz piltzintli: njman tzatzi in ticitl, tlacaoatza, quijtoznequj: ca ovel iaot in cioatzintli, ca onoquijchtic, ca otlama, ca ocacic in piltzintli:

njman qujnotza in ticitl, intla oquijchtli quijvia. Otimotlalticpacqujxti, noxocoiouh, noquijchpiltzin, notelpuchtzin:

intla cioatl, quijvia: nochpuchtzin noxocoiouh, cioapilli: oticmjhijovilti, oticmociavilti, omjtzalmjhoali in motatzin, in tlacatl, in tloque, naoaque, in teiocoianj, in techioanj, otimaxitico in tlalticpac: in

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "dauanla a beuer un pedazuelo de la cola del tlaquatil, molida, y desechan [sic] en agua (como arriba se diro)...."

the nigh, the creator of men, the maker of men, hath sent thee; thou hast come to reach the earth, where thy relatives, thy kinsmen suffer exhaustion, where they suffer fatigue. It becometh hot, it becometh cold, the wind bloweth. [It is] a place of thirst, a place of hunger, a place of no gladness, a place of no joy, a place of exhaustion, of fatigue, of torment.

"My youngest one! Perhaps thou wilt live for a little while!<sup>2</sup> Art thou our reward? Art thou our merit? Perhaps thou wilt know thy grandfathers, thy grandmothers, thy kinsmen, thy lineage. And perhaps they will come to know thee.<sup>3</sup> And how wilt thou be clad? How wilt thou be arrayed? In what way have thy mother, thy father, Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl, arrayed thee? In what manner have they endowed thee? In what manner comest thou? To what purpose comest thou clad? Perhaps some little thing is our desert; perhaps some little thing is our merit! Perhaps some little thing will be thine. Perhaps our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, will offer thee something, will favor thee with some rôle. Or perhaps also thou wert born without desert, without merit; perhaps thou hast been born as a little smutty ear of maize.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps filth, corruption are thy desert, thy merit. Perhaps thou wilt steal. Wherewith wert thou adorned? What was bound to thee before the dawn?<sup>5</sup>

"Thou hast suffered exhaustion, thou hast suffered fatigue, my youngest one, my precious noble one, precious necklace, precious feather, precious one. Thou hast come to arrive. Rest, find repose. Here are gathered thy beloved grandfathers, thy beloved grandmothers, who await thee. Here in their hands thou hast come to arrive. Sigh not! Be not sad! What that thou hast come to arrive, that thou hast been brought? Verily, thou wilt endure, thou wilt suffer torment, fatigue; for verily, our lord hath ordered, hath disposed that there will be pain, there will be affliction, there will be misery, there will be work, labor, for daily sustenance. There is sweat, weariness, labor when there is to be eating, drinking, the wearing of raiment. Truly thou wilt endure fatigue, thou wilt suffer torment.

vncā qujhijovia, in vncan qujciavi in mocotoncaoan, in movilteccaoan: in tona, in ceoa, in checa: in amj-coaian, in teucioaian, in ahavialoian, in avellamacho-ian, in imjhijoviaia, in jciauhian, in jteupouhcan:

noxocoiouh cujx vel achi tictlaliz tonatiuh, cujx titolvil, titomaceoal: cujx ymjxco, imjcpac tlachiaz in mocolhvan, in mociaoan, in moncaoan, in meccaoan: auh cujx mjaxco, mocpac tlachiazque. Auh quenamj ic otapanaloc, quenamj ic otichichioaloc: quen omjtzchichiuh, quen omjtztlamamacac in monan, in mota in vme tecutli, in vme ciatl: quen tivitz, tle ic timapantivitz: cujx itla tocnopil, cujx itla tomaceoal, cujx tyitlatiz, cujx itla mjtzaopaz, cujx itla ipan mjtzaopaz in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: cujx noço atle ilhvilli, cujx atle maceoalli: cujx tipopoiotzintli in otimotlacatili: cujx teuhtli, tlaçulli molhvil, momaceoal, cujx tecomjc, tecaxic timaiaviz: tle ic otichichioaloc, tle otilpililoc in iooaia.

Oticmhijovilti, oticmociavilti noxocoiouh, notlacopiltzin: cozcatl, quetzalli, tlaçotli otimaxitico: ma ximocevitzino, ma tlattech ximaxiti. Ca iz monoltioque in mocoltzitzinoan, in mocitzitzinoan: mitz-muchialia, njcan inmac in otimaxitico: maca ximelciciviti, maca ximotlaoculti: quennel ca otimaxitico, ca otimecavi: nel à ticmhijoviltiz, à ticmociaviltiz in toneviztli, in chichinaqujztli: ca nel qujmjalhvi, ca qujmotalili in totecujo: in toneoaz, in chichinacoaz, mocococaviz, moqujchhujz, motlapalihviz in cochcailotl, in neuhcailotl, i tonalli, ciaviztli, tlapaliviztli: in qualoz, in joaz, in quemoaz: nel à ticmhijoviltiz in, nel à ticmociaviltiz

2. See *Achi quivallalia tonatiuh* and *Nepantla nieltlalia y tonatiuh* in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906), Vol. VII, p. 39.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "hija mia, no sabemos si ujujreys mucho en este mundo, qujca nos [sic] merecemos tener, no sabemos si ujujas hasta que vengas a conocer a tus abuelos, y tus abuelas, nñ sabemos si ellos te gozaran algunos dias...." Cf. also Olmos, op. cit., pp. 212, 223.

4. *Ibid.*: "o si por uentura aveys nacido, como mayorca de mahyz aneblado, que no es de njngun prouecho...."

5. *Ibid.*: "que es aquello que rescebiste, como cosa atada en paño? antes de que el sol resplandesciesse."

"My youngest one, my precious noble one, thou hast suffered exhaustion, thou hast suffered fatigue. May the lord of the near, of the nigh, [who is] thy mother, thy father, the revered parent, cherish thee, array thee. And oh, we who are parents, are we perchance worthy of thee? It may be that thou art finished: the revered parent will summon thee, will call thee;<sup>6</sup> it may be that thou hast come [only] to pass before our eyes; it may be that we catch [but] a glimpse of thee. My beloved child, may we await the word of our lord."

And the midwife forthwith cut the umbilical cord of the baby; she took its umbilical cord. And she removed that which is called its afterbirth in which the baby came wrapped, in which it came enveloped. This she buried in a corner [of the house]. But the umbilical cord of the baby was saved. It was dried; later it was left in the battlefield [if it was the umbilical cord of a boy].<sup>7</sup>

noxocoiouh, notlaçopiltzin. Oticmjhijovilti, oticmociavilti: ma mjtzmotlaçopiali, ma mjtzmuchichivili: auh ma mjtzmjmachili in tloque, naoaque, in monantzin, in motatzin in mache pilhoacatzintli: auh manoço tipilhoaque, cujx timjtztomactoca: aço tixqujchitzin mjtzalmonochiliz, mjtzalmotzatziliz in pilhoacatzintli: aço tixtlan otonmoqujxtico, aço otixcoba timjtztontohottilique: ma oc tictotlatolchilican in totecujo, notlaçopilticatzin.

Auh in ticitl: njman ie ic quixictequj in piltzintli, qujcujlia in jxic: auh quijtlaxilia in quijlhvia inantzin, injc mapantivitz piltzintli, injc oalqujmjliuhitiuh: injn quijtoca xomolco: auh in jxic piltzintli pialilo tetzoloatzalo: qujn iaoc concaoa.

6. *Ibid.*: "aunque soyas nuestra hija, no os merecemos por cierto: por uentura tamañita, como soyas, os llamara el que os hizo...."

7. *Ibid.*: "...en un rrincon de la casa..." and "...llevauanlo a enterrar al lugar donde pelleaua, si era varon."



Thirty-first Chapter. Here are told the words which the midwife said to the baby boy when she cut the umbilical cord. Thus she told him that it was all affliction, travail, that would befall him on earth, and that he would die in war, or would die in sacrifice to the gods. And she entrusted his umbilical cord to the distinguished warriors, those wise in war, to bury it there in the midst of the plains where warfare was practised. So she told him he might issue forth in war in all parts. And the umbilical cord of the baby girl she only buried there by the hearth; thus she signified that the woman was to go nowhere. Her very task was the home life, life by the fire, by the grinding stone.

"My precious son, my youngest one, behold the doctrine, the example which thy mother, thy father Yoałtecutli, Yoalticitl, have established. I take, I cut [the umbilical cord] from thy side,<sup>1</sup> from thy middle. Heed, hearken: thy home is not here, for thou art an eagle, thou art an ocelot; thou art a roseate spoonbill, thou art a troupial. Thou art the serpent, the bird of the lord of the near, of the nigh. Here is only the place of thy nest. Thou hast only been hatched here; thou hast only come, arrived. Thou art only come forth on earth here. Here dost thou bud, blossom, germinate. Here thou becomest the chip, the fragment [of thy mother]. Here are only thy cradle, thy cradle blanket, the resting place of thy head: only thy place of arrival. Thou belongest out there; out there thou hast been consecrated. Thou hast been sent into warfare. War is thy desert, thy task. Thou shalt give drink, nourishment, food to the sun, the lord of the earth.<sup>2</sup> Thy real home, thy property, thy lot is the home of the sun there in the heavens. Thou art to praise, to gladden Totonametl in manic.<sup>3</sup>

Ic cempoalli onmatlactli oce capitulo, vncan mijtoa in tlatolli, in quijlhujaia ticith in piltzintli: in jquac quixictequa: iuh quijlviaia in ca muchi tetolinj, tecoco, in jpan muchioaz tlalticpac: auh ca iaoc momjquijliz, anoçe teomjqujz: auh in jxic intech quijcaoaia tequjoaque, in iaoc matinj: injc vmpa quijtocazque in jxtlaoatl ijtic, in vncan muchioia iaoiotl: iuh quijlviaia in ca novian vel iaoquijçaz. Auh in jxic cioapiltontli: çan vncan in calittlecuillan quijtocaia ixic: ic quijnezcaiotiaia: ca in cihoatl, acampa iaz: çan vel itequjuh in calinemjliztli, in tletitlan, in metlatitlan nemjliztli.

Notlaçopiltzin, noxocoiouh izcatquj tlatlalilli, machiotl quijtlali in monan, in mota in Iooaltecutli, in Iooalticitl: motlacapan, motlācotia njtlaana, njtlaton. Xicmati, xiccaquj: amo njcan muchan, ca tiquauhtli, ca tocelotl, ca tiquechol, ca tiçaquan in tloque, naoaque: ca tiicoauh ca titotouh: çan njcan motapaçoltzin ijeian, çan njcan timotlapanaltia, çan njcan taci, teco, çan njcan titlalticpacquijça, njcan tixotla, ticueponj, titzmolnj, njcan titzicueo, titapanj, çan njcan mocoçul, momanaol, moquechtetzon ijonocan, çan macian y: nachcan tipouhquj, nachcan titauhquj: teuatenpan, tlachinoltenpan in tioalioaloc: teuatl, tlachinolli molhvil, motequjuh: ticatlitiz, tictlaqualtz, tictlamacaz in tonatiuh in tlaltecutli: in vel muchan in maxcapan, in monemacpan: vmpa in tonatiuh ichan in jlhwicac, ticoioviz, ticaviltiz in totonametl in manjc: aço mocnopiltiz, aço momâcoaltiz in jtzimjqujztli, in jtzimjqujzxuchitl.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "de medio de ti corto tu ombligo...." Such is implied by motlacapan. As to motlacapan, see Siméon, op. cit., p. 504 (*tlacapan* — *côté*, *flanc*, etc.); later in this chapter the corresponding Spanish text equates motlacapan with "tu cuerpo." Cf. *tlactli*, in Molina, op. cit., Spanish-Nahuatl, fol. 32v (*cuerpo* ...), and Nahuatl-Spanish, fol. 119v (*tlactli*).

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "tu officio es dar a veuer al sol, con sangre de tus enemigos, y dar de comer a la tierra, que se llama tlaltecuali, con los cuerpos de tus enemigos...."

3. Totonametl in manic: in *ibid.*, reference is to "nño señor el sol, que se llama totonametl in manic"; it is "El que perdura resplandeciendo, perifráasis por el sol," in Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 360.

Perhaps thou wilt receive the gift, perhaps thou wilt merit death by the obsidian knife, the flowered death by the obsidian knife.<sup>4</sup>

"And this which is lifted from thy side, which cometh from thy middle, I take from thee: the gift, the property of Tlaltecum, Tonatiuh. And when war hath stirred, hath formed, it will be introduced into the hands of the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, the brave warriors. They go giving it to thy mother, thy father, Tonatiuh, Tlaltecum; they go entering into the center, the middle, of the plains. And thereby thou hast been assigned, thou hast been vowed to the sun, to Tlaltecum; thereby thou deliverest thyself to him. And thus there within the battlefield, thy name will be inscribed, will be registered in order that thy renown will not be forgotten, will not be lost. The precious thing removed from thy side is to be considered thy thorn, thy maguey,<sup>5</sup> thy cane of tobacco, thy fir branch with which thou art to do penance, thy vow is to be fulfilled. And now let us hope for something; perhaps we shall deserve, we shall merit something. Work, my precious son; may the lord of the near, of the nigh, yet give thee life, provide for thee, array thee."

And if it were a female, the midwife said to her when she cut her umbilical cord: "My beloved maiden, my beloved noblewoman, thou hast endured fatigue! Our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath sent thee. Thou hast come to arrive at a place of weariness, a place of anguish, a place of fatigue where there is cold, there is wind. And now take heed: from thy side, from thy middle I take it, I cut it. Thy mother, thy father, Yoaltecum, Yoalticul,<sup>6</sup> order it, request it. Thou wilt be in the heart of the home, thou wilt go nowhere, thou wilt nowhere become a wanderer, thou becomest the banked fire, the hearth stones. Here our lord planteth thee, buries thee. And thou wilt become fatigued, thou wilt become tired; thou art to provide water, to grind maize, to drudge; thou art to sweat by the ashes, by the hearth."

Auh injn, in motlacapan coa, in motlacotian vitz: njmjtzanjlia incmac, yaxca in tlaltecum: in tonatiuh: auh in omolinj, in omoiocux in teuatl, in tlachinolli inma tlaonactiaz, in quauhti, in ocelo, in tiacaoan: conmacativi in monan; in mota in tonatiuh in tlaltecum: contlalaquitivi in jxtlaoatl ijtic in jnepantla: auh ic ivic titolo, tinetoltilo in tonatiuh, in tlaltecum: ic ticmomaca: auh ic vmpa ticusliuhiez, vmpa ic titocaiotiez in teuatl ijtic: injc amo tilcaoaloz, injc amo poliuhtiez in motoca, in motcio: movitz, mjeuh macauh, macxioauh pouhtoz, in motlacapan coa, in tlaçotli: ic titlamaceuhoz; monetol ietoz. Auh in axcan: ma titlatemachican, aço itla tolhviltiz, toma ceoaltiz: ma ximotlacotili notlaçopiltzin, ma oc mjtzmjoiocolili, ma oc mjtzmjmachili, ma mjtzmuchichivili in tloque, naoaque.

Auh intla cihuatl: qujlvia in ticitl, in jquac qujxic-tequj. Nochpuchtzin, nocioapiltzin: oticmjhijovilti, omjtzalmjoali in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: otimaxitico in jciahca, in jteupouhca, in jmjhijoviaia in ceoa, in eheca. Auh in axcan, xicmocaquji: motlacapan, motlacotian, njtlaana, njtlacotona: qujtlali, qujto, in monan, in mota: in iooaltecutli, in iooalticul: ticaliollotl tiez, acampa tiaz, acampa tijan timuchioaz: titlacpeoalli, titenamaztli timuchioa: njcan mjtztlaqua, mjtztoca in totecujo: auh tcmjhijoviltiz, tcmociaviltiz: tatiz, timetlatiz, ticiaviz, timjtonjz, in nextitlan, in tlecujllan.

4. in *jtximquijetli*, in *jtximquixruchitl*, usually spelt *itzmiquiztli*, *itzmiquixochitl*: the terms are metaphors for death in warfare. See Garibay, *Poesía*, I, p. 145. The equating of the terms with death in warfare is clarified by Garibay's translation of a poem in the *Cantares mexicanos* MS of the Biblioteca Nacional de México (fols. 42r, 42v): *Ye on nescultonolo a in tepilhuan itzmiquixochitl yaomiquiztli* — "Ya se sienten felices los principes, con florida muerte a filo de obsidiana, con la muerte en la guerra."

5. *movitz, mjeuh*: although *mjeuh* can be translated as "thy tobacco," or "thy smoking tube," the Spanish and Nahuatl texts in Chap. 25 indicate that the reading of the term as *meuh*, "thy maguey," is meant. See also Chap. 9, n. 3.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "porque ansi lo mando, y ordeno tu madre, y tu padre yoaltecum, que es el señor de la noche y yoalticul, que es la diosa de los baños..."

Then the midwife buried the umbilical cord of the noblewoman by the hearth. It was said that by this she signified that the little woman would nowhere wander. Her dwelling place was only within the house; her home was only within the house; it was not necessary for her to go anywhere. And it meant that her very duty was drink, food. She was to prepare drink, to prepare food, to grind, to spin, to weave.

Niman ic tlecuillan, quijtoca in ticitl, in jxic cioapiltzintli: qujl ic qujnezcaiotia, acampa ianj in cioatzintli: çan vel calitic, inemja, çan vel calitic ichan, amo monequj in campa iaz: ioan quitoznequj, vel itequjuh, in atl, in tlaqualli: achioaz, tlaqualchioaz, teciz, tzaoaz, hiqujtiz.



Thirty-second<sup>1</sup> Chapter. Here it is told how the midwife, when she had cut the baby's umbilical cord, then bathed him; and how babies were bathed; and that which the midwife said as she bathed the baby, as she prayed to the goddess to whom they ascribed the water, whose name was Chalchiuhltli icue.

And when the midwife had arranged the baby, when she had cut his navel cord, then she bathed the baby. [As] she continued washing him, she proceeded to address him. She said to him, if male: "Approach thy mother Chalchiuhltli icue, Chalchiuhltlonac!<sup>2</sup> May she receive thee! May she wash thee, may she cleanse thee! May she remove, may she transfer the filthiness which thou hast taken from thy mother, from thy father! May she cleanse thy heart; may she make it fine, good! May she give thee fine, good conduct!"

The midwife addressed the goddess Chalchiuitl icue, the water. She said to her: "Lady, our lady Chalchiuitl icue, Chalchiuhltlonac, the commoner hath arrived. Our mother, our father Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl,<sup>3</sup> from [above] the nine heavens, in the place of duality,<sup>4</sup> hath sent him. [It is not known] how he was arrayed, the nature of that given him in the beginning, the nature of that which he came bearing, the attributes with which he came wrapped, with which he came bound. But behold, perhaps he cometh laden with evil; who knoweth the manner in which he cometh laden with the evil burdens of his mother, of his father? With what blotch, what filth, what evil of the mother, of the father doth the baby come laden? He is in thy hands. Receive him, cleanse him, wash him, for he is especially entrusted to thee, for he is delivered into thy hands. Remove the blotch, the filth, the evil of his mother, of his

Ic cempoalli omome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenjn ticitl, in oconxictec in piltzintli: njman caltiaia. Ioan in quenin maltiaia pipiltotonti: ioan in tlein qujtoaia ticitl, injc caltiaia piltontli, injc qujtlauhtiaia cioateutl: in jtech qujtlamjliaia atl, in jtoca Chalchiuhltli icue.

Auh in oquicencauh, in oqujxictec in ticitl in iehoatl piltzintli: njman caltia in piltzintli, qujpapaca qujnotzinemj: qujlvia, intla oqujchtli. Ma itech ximaxiti in monantzin in chalchivitl icue, in chalchiuhltlonac: ma mjtzalmanjli, ma mjtzmopapaqujli, ma mjtzmahaltli: ma chico, tlanaoc qujvica, qujteca in catzaocaiutl, in jtechpa tiqualcuje in monan, in mota: ma qujmochipavili in moiollo, ma qujmoqualtilili, ma qujmoiectilili: ma qualli, ma iectli nemjliziotl mjtzmomaqujli.

Qujnotza in teutl, in chalchivitl icue, in atl: qujlvia in ticitl. Tlacatl totecujo, chalchivitl icue, chalchiuhltlonac: ca oieco in maceoalli, à ca oqujoalmjoali in tonan, in tota, in vme tecutli, in vme cioatl, in chicunauhnepanjuhca, in vmeioca: à quenamj ic ochichioaloc, quenamj omacoc in iooaian, quenamj qujtzqujtvitz, quenamj ic mapantivitz, quenamj ic molpitivitz: aviz acaço cemelletivitz: aviz quenamj ynequal, inequivitec itech ietivitz in jnan, in jta: tle itliltica, tle icatzaoc, tle jaquallo itech ietivitz in piltzintli, in nantli in tatli: ca ie momactzinco ma xiqualmanjli, ma xicmahaltli, ma xicmopapaqujli: ca oc ie tehoatzin, ticmomachitia, ca oc momactzinco caoalo: ma xicmjquanjlili in jtliltica, in jcatzaoc, in jaquallo, in jnan, in jta. Auh in acaço cemelletivitz: mā atoco, mā polivi, in tlein itech ietivitz in aquallotl, in aieciotl: ma qualia, ma iectia, ma chipaoa in jiollo, in jnemjliz: injc pacca, iocuxca

1. Read *Ic cempoalli ommatlactli omome*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text treats the two names as synonymous: "llegaos a vuestra madre la diosa del agua, llamada chalchiuitl y que oy [sic] chalchiuitl tlatoac...."

3. For a consideration of Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl see León-Portilla, *La filosofía náhuatl*, p. 386.

4. See *ibid.*, pp. 148ff., 386f. The corresponding Spanish text refers to "vño sieruo, al qual a embiado aca nra madre y nuestro padre que se llama ome tecutli y ome cioatl, que viue sobre los nueve cielos que es el lugar de la habitacion: destos dos dioses...."

father! And possibly he cometh laden with the vile. May that with which he cometh laden, the evil, the bad, be washed away, be destroyed. May his heart, his life be good, may they be fine, may they be purified in order that he may live on earth peacefully, calmly. May the filth be washed away! May it be washed away, may it be destroyed in the way that hath been assigned! For he is in thy hands, lady, our lady, Chalchiuhciuatl, Chalchiuitl icue, Chalchiuhlatonac,<sup>5</sup> mother of the gods, sister of the gods. For in thy hands this commoner is left. And it is thy desert, thy merit, which was given thee in the beginning, to wash, to cleanse this commoner who hath come into thy presence. Incline thy heart, our lady!"

Behold, here is another way in which the midwife prayed as she prayed to the goddess Chalchiuitl icue. She said to her: "Our lady, Chalchiuitl icue, Chalchiuhlatonac, the tail feather, the wing feather, the commoner hath arrived! Receive him!"

Then the midwife took the water; she breathed upon it; then she made the baby taste it; she touched his chest and his head [with the water]. She proceeded addressing the baby; she said to it: "My youngest one, my beloved youth," or she said, "My beloved maiden, approach thy mother, thy father, Chalchiuitl icue, Chalchiuhlatonac! May she take thee, for she will bear thee, she will bear thee upon her back on earth!"<sup>6</sup>

Thereupon she bathed the baby; she said to him: "Enter, descend into the blue water, the yellow water. May the lord of the near, of the nigh, wash thee, cleanse thee. May he remove from thee the [evil] which was assigned thee, with which thou wert vested in the beginning. May he put to one side the evil burdens of thy mother, of thy father, and that which is the vice of thy mother, of thy father."

And when she had prepared, when she had bathed the baby, then she swaddled him; she proceeded addressing him; she said to him: "Precious necklace, precious feather, precious green stone, precious bracelet, precious turquoise, thou wert created in the place of duality, the place [above] the nine heavens. Thy mother, thy father, Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl, the heavenly woman, formed thee, created thee. Thou hast come to reach the earth, the place of torment,

monemjtiz, tlalticpac: mā atoco in teuhltli, in tlaçulli: mā atoco ma polivi, injc omotlaloc: ca oc momactzinco tlacatl, totecujo: Chalchiuhcioatl, chalchivilt icue, chalchiuhlatonac, teteu innan, teteu inventiu: ca oc momactzinco oalcaalo in maceoalli: auh ca molhvil, ca momaceoal, ca timacoc in canjn iooaian: in ticpapacaz, in ticahaltiz in maceoalli, in oc mjxpantzinco quijçaz: ma tlacaoa in mollozint totecujo.

Izcatquij oc centlamantli, injc tlatlatlauhtiaia ticitl, injc qujtlatlauhtiaia in teutl, chalchivilt icue: qujlvia, Totecujo, chalchiuhltli icue, chalchiuhlatonac: ca oieco in cuitlapilli, in atlapalli, in maceoalli: ma xiqualmanjli.

Niman concuj in atl, in ticitl, conahaiovia: njman conpaloltia in piltzintli, ijelpan qujtlalilia, ioan ijpac, quinotztinemj in piltontli: qujlvia. Noxocoiouh, notelpuchtzin, anoço qujlvia: nochpuchtzin: ma itech ximaxiti in monan, in mota, in chalchiuhltli icue, in chalchiuhlatonac: ma mjtzañmanjli: ca iehoatl mjtztitqujz, mjtzmamaz in tlalticpac:

njman ie ic caltia, qujlvia in piltontli. Ma ximacalaquj, ma xontemo in matlalac, in toxpalac: ma mjtzmopapaqujli, ma mjtzmahaltili in tloque, naosque: manoço chico, tlanaoac qujmoviqujli: injc omotlaloc, injc otichichioaloc in iooaian: ma chico, tlanaoac iauh, in jnequal, in inequivitec in monan, in mota: auh iehoatl in jteuhio, in jtlacollo, in monan, in mota.

Auh in oquicencauh piltzintli, in ocalti: njman qujqujmjloa, qujnotztinemj: qujlvia. Cozcatl, quetzalli, chalchivilt, maqujztl, teuxivitl: otijocoloc in vmeiocan in chicunauhnepanjuhcan: omjtzima, omjtzicux in monan, in mota in vme tecutli, in vme cioatl, in jlvcacioatl: otimaxitico in tlalticpac, in toneoaloian, in chichinacoian, in tonal, in ceo, in checa, in jteuhpouhcan, in jciauhcan, in amjcoian, in teucioaian, in cecmjcoian, in chocoaia: ca <sup>am</sup>

5. Ibid.: "que soy chalchiuhcioatl, y chalchiujil ycue, chalchiuhlatonac...."

6. Ibid.: "porque ella os a de llevar a cuestas, y en los braços en este mundo...."

the place of pain, where it is hot, where it is cold, where the wind bloweth. It is the place of one's affliction, of one's weariness, a place of thirst, a place of hunger, a place where one freezeth, a place of weeping. It is not true that it is a good place; it is a place of weeping, a place of sorrow, a place where one suffereth. Here thou wilt be burdened with weeping, tears, sorrow, weariness. My youngest one, my beloved youth, or my beloved maiden, thou hast come to arrive! Rest, settle on the ground. May our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, provide for thee, advise thee."<sup>7</sup>

All that which the midwife said she did not shout; she only continued mumbling, only continued speaking under her breath. But then she spoke aloud, she spoke vigorously; she addressed, she shouted to the woman lately delivered. She said to her:<sup>8</sup>

nelli in qualcan, ca chocoaiian, ca tlaocoialoian, teel-lelaxitican. Yzca in ticmotequijpanjlviz: choquijztli, ixaiotl, tlaoculli, ciaviztli: otimaxitico noxocoiouh, notelpuchtzin: anoço, nochpuchtzin: ma ximocevi, ma tlattech ximaxiti: ma mjtzmoiocolili, ma mjtzmjtzmjmachili, in tloque, naoaque, in totecujo.

In jxqujch qujtoa in ticitl, amo tzatzi: çan popolo-catinemj, çan motenpepeionjinemj: auh njman naoati, tlaquauhtlatoa: qujnotza, qujtzatzilia in mjxiuhquj: qujvia.

7. *mitz-* is duplicated in the MS.

8. See Chap. 11, n. 6.



Thirty-third Chapter. Here are told the words which the midwife said to exhort the newly-delivered one, and how the kinsmen of the newly-delivered one prayed to exhort the midwife because of her travail which she had been through; and that which she said to the newly-delivered one. Very beautiful language it is, especially that which she replied to the newly-delivered one.

"My beloved maiden, brave woman, thou hast worked like a slave, thou hast labored, thou hast become as an eagle warrior, thou hast become as an ocelot warrior; thou hast raised up, thou hast taken to the shield, the small shield. Thou hast exerted thyself, thou hast encountered, imitated our mother Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli. Now our lord hath placed thee upon the eagle warrior reed mat, upon the ocelot warrior reed mat. Thou hast returned exhausted from battle, my beloved maiden, brave woman; be welcome. How doth our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, determine? Perhaps our lord will bless ye each one separately; perhaps in separate times and places; perhaps thou wilt lose the baby which hath arrived. Or perhaps he who created the baby will just summon it, small as it is, will call it for himself. Perhaps he will come to take thee. Do not go constantly bragging of it. Do not consider thyself worthy of it.<sup>1</sup> Go appealing in sorrow to our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh."

And when she had finished the arrangements, when it was done, then the midwife seated herself. The old men, the old women began to beseech one another, to greet one another. One old woman seated herself; she besought the midwife, the one in charge of childbirth; she addressed her. If the old woman spoke, she said: "My beloved child, our lady, precious person, thou hast worked like a slave, thou hast labored, thou hast aided the noblewoman, Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli. And behold, verily now, the property, the creation of our lord hath arrived, hath come

Ic cempoalli onmatlactli omei capitulo: vncan mijtoa in tlatolli: in quitoaia ticitl, injc qujtlatlauhtiaia mjxiuhquj: ioan in quenin tlatlatlauhtiaia in joaiulque mjxiuhquj, injc qujtlatlauhtiaia ticitl: in jpampa in jtlatequjpanoliz, in vel oqujchiuh: auh in tlein qujtoaia mjxiuhquj, cenza qualli in tlatolli: oc cenza iehoatl injc tlacuepa mjxiuhquj.

Nochpuchtzin, quauhcioatl: otitlacotic, otitequjt, otiquauhtic, otocelotic, oticacocuico itlan tac in chimalli, in tevevelli, otimomaman: oticnamjc, otictlachecalvi in tonan in Cioacoatl, in qujlaztli: axcan quauhpetlapan, ocelopetlapan mjtzmotlalilia in totecujo: Omjhijotzinqujz, nochpuchtzin, quauhcioatl: ma oc moiolicatzin, quen qujmonequjltia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: cujx nononqua, cujx ceecnj, amechonmocneliliz in totecujo: at tocontlazteoaz, in omecavi piltintli: anoçe çan ixqujchtzin qujoalmonochiliz, qujoalmotzatzililiz, in pilhoacatzintli: aço mjzonmanjliliqujuh, ma ticpopouhto, ma ie tictmomactoca: ma oc xoconmotlaoculnonochilito in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque.

Auh in oqujcencauh, in ie iuhquj: njman motlalia in ticitl, peoa motlatlauhtia, motlapaloa in vevetque, in jlamatque: ce veve, ilama oalmotlalia: qujtlatlauhtia in temjxitianj, in jmac tlacatioanj, qujlvia: intla ilama tlatoa: qujtoa. Noconetzin, totecujo, tlaçotitlacatl: otimotlacotili, otimotequjtili: oticmonamjqujli in cihoapilli, in Cioacoatl, in qujlaztli: aviz nelle axcan, ca omecavi, ca otlalticpacqujçaco, in jaxcatzin, in jtlachioaltzin totecujo: in ie macujl, in ie matlac in ticchialia totecujo: aviz in ceiooal, in cemjlvitl, in otoconmattinenca: in quenmach nenti

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "o por uentura ansi chiquijtico como es, lo llamara el que lo hizo, por uentura te lo llevara para si: mja hija que no te ingrias, porque tienes hijo, teneos por indigna de auerlo resedido...." Compare also n. 5 of this chapter with the Nahuatl text.

to emerge on earth. Already for a time we await him from our lord. And behold, for a night, a day we have been preoccupied if possibly Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli would work, would labor;<sup>2</sup> if possibly that which was within our daughter, our girl, had gone ahead [died]; if possibly she was to accompany that within her [to death]. In what manner might we speak? What might we say? To whom would we complain? Now that our lord hath conceded, hath shown us mercy, we look into the face of the precious necklace, the precious feather which hath arrived, a poor little thing, a destitute little thing. What end will our lord require of it? Perhaps it will endure, perhaps it will mature. And perhaps it will live for a little time. Also perhaps it will not be as we dream, as we see in our sleep, as we interpret our dreams.<sup>3</sup> And since it is as it is, rest, find repose, rest thy hands, thy feet. May yet our lord dispose for us; let us yet trust in that which he will dispose; let us await how it will be tomorrow, the next day; how it will be with us in a short while. Peace be with thee, precious person! I shall pain, I shall trouble thy head, thy breast. Work, labor! And may our lord rest thee in peace."

The one in charge of childbirth answered; she said: "Precious persons, our ladies: our lord, he by whom we live, the lord of the near, of the nigh, seateth you here, for verily now for a while ye have nowhere succeeded in doing your work. Without sleep ye have remained awaiting if possibly our mother the noble woman Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli would work, would labor; if possibly your daughter, our child, would take up, would use the shield, the small shield; if possibly she would give off, would cast out, her heaviness, her pain; for it exacteth a tribute of death. Certainly it is our mortality, we who are women, for it is our battle, for at this time our mother, Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli exacteth the tribute of death.

"And now our lord hath inclined his heart. In some manner, in his absence, the maiden hath cast forth the baby, our child. By her bravery, in some manner our lord hath brought it to pass, hath sent it. And here the girl, the maiden, and the youth bring blessings to you; yet in our time the property, the creation of our lord arriveth; it appeareth on earth —

in tlacotiz, in tequitz in cioacoatl, in quijaztli: quenmach nenti, à oic onjcatia in ijitzin in tochpuchtzin, in toconetzin: quenmach nenti, oquimovicalti in ijitzin, quen nen tiquitoanj, tle tiquitoanj, ac tictolhvianj. Axcan ca otlacauhquj in ijollotzin totecujo: otechmocnelili, njcan ijkco, icpac titlachia, in cozcatl, in quetzalli, in omecavi: motolinjatzintli, motolnjitzinoa: à quen qujmonequjililia in totecujo, cujx monoltitz, cujx motetzaoaltiz: auh cujx achi qujtlaliz tonatiuh, cujx no ie in amo: ca titemjquj, ca ticochitleoa, ca titemjctlamati. Auh maço nellehoatl, tlatltech ximovetziti, ma tlatltech ximaxiti: ma momatzin, mocxitzin xicmocevili: ma oc techmoiocoli in totecujo, ma oc tictotemachilican, in queccin conmonequjitz, ma tictochialilican: anca quen muztla, viptla, anca quen tamjque o, in macujl, matlac: tle tictmatatzintli, tlaçotitlacatzintli: motzontecontzin, melchiqujuhtzin noconeoz, noconquauhtiliz: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili: auh ma mjtzmota-matcatlalili in totecujo.

Tlananqujlia in jmac tlacatioanj: qujtoa. Tlaçotitlaca, totecujoa: ca njcan amechalmotlalilia, in totecujo, in jpalmemoanj, in tloque, naoaque: à ca nelle axcan, ie macujl, ie matlac in acan veli anquimuchivilia: à in anqujmococochmachititoque, in quenmach nenti in tlacotiz, in tequitz in tonan in cioapilli in Cioacoatl, in Quilaztli, quenmach nenti in cacocujz, in jtlan aqujz in chimalli, in tevevelli, in amochpuchtzin, in toconetzin, quenmach nenti in qujmoqujxtiliz, in qujmotlaxiliz in jeticauh in tecocauh: ca mjqujztequjitz, cujx à tomjcca in ticioatzitzinti ca toiaoiouh: ca vncan mjqujztequjti in Cioacoatl, in Quilaztli in tonantzin.

Auh in axcan otlacauhquj in ijollotzin in totecujo: oquenteltzin yionjca, iteputzco qujtlaz in jchpuchtzintli, in piltzintli, in toconetzin: ynjc tiacauh, oquentel chico, tlanaoac qujmoviqujli in totecujo, oihijoqujz. Auh njcan amechonmocnopolhvilia in piltontli, in conetontli, in jchpuchtontli: auh in tel-puchtontli, oc amomatiantzinco in mecavia, in tlal-

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "y estauamos esperando que fin auria este negocio, y en que manera obraria cioacoatl quijaztli..."

3. Ibid.: "porque esto nos esta tan dudoso como lo que soñamos durmido."

the precious necklace, the precious feather. Here ye look into its face: the thorn, the spine of the grandfathers, of the grandmothers; the chip, the flake of those who already have gone to reside in the beyond — the old men, the old women. Here the truth is that through our lord we seem to dream, to see in our dreams, that we look into the face of the one who hath arrived, the precious necklace, the precious feather, the baby, that which here hath been flaked off. Here the truth is that verily now, here in the humble mound of dirt, in the humble reed enclosure, the master, our lord the creator, the master, Quetzalcoatl, flaketh off a precious necklace, placeth a precious feather. Here on your neck, in your bosoms, in your hands he placeth a precious necklace, a precious feather, the incomparable, the wonderful, the precious, the priceless, the rare. In thy presence, in thy hands he placeth a broad [feather], a precious feather, the well formed, the dark green.<sup>4</sup>

"And now verily call out in contriteness to our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh. Sigh, sorrow: how may he will? Perhaps that of which we here dream, that which we see in dreams, will endure — the precious necklace, the precious feather. And perhaps he will grow strong, perhaps he will live for a little time. Perhaps he will become the image of, will represent, will bring honor, glory, fame to the old men, the old women. Perhaps he will revive the fate, will raise the heads of the grandfathers, the grandmothers. O that ye may yet witness it, that it may occur in your presence, in whatever manner our lord will bring it about! O that ye may yet marvel at it!

"And perhaps he will outrage the old men, the old women; perhaps here [with an] ear of smutty maize we bring honor to our lord. And also perhaps nothing is the desert, nothing the merit. Perhaps already in vain was the nubility; our lord will destroy the babe, small as it is. Perhaps the maker will summon it, small as it is — will come to take it.<sup>5</sup>

"Now be concerned: achieve the prayers, the sighs; enter near unto the lord of the near, of the nigh. Do not presume, do not take credit for it, do not consider that ye are worthy of this baby, [for] our lord will discover thy feelings. He will deal with

ticpac quijça in jaxcatzin, in jtachioaltzin totecuj, in cozcatl, in quetzalli: à njcan ijkco, icpac anmotlachialtia in jnvitzio, in jmaaoao in cultin, in citi, in jntzicueoallo, in jntlapanca in ie nachca onmantivi in vevetque, in jlamatque: à njcan nellehoatl ipatzinco titemjctlamati, ticochitleoa in totecuj: ijkco, icpac titlachia in mecavia in cozcatl, in quetzalli, in piltzintli: in njcan omotlapanalti. A njcan nellehoatl, nelle axcan, in njcan in jcnotlaleoalco, in jcnoacatzaqualco in ocozcatlatlapanjlia, moquetzaltemjlia in tlacatl totecuj in teiocoianj: à in tlacatl, in quetzalcoatl: à njcan amoquechtlan, amotozcatlan, amomac qujmotalililia in cozcatl, in quetzalli, in anemjuhquj in maviztic, in tlaçotli, in anecovilonj, in acan ca: amjxpantzinc, amomactzinco qujmotemjlia in patlaoac in quetzalli, in vel iaque, in xopaleoac.

Auh in axcan manoço nelli xoconmotlaoculnonochilican in totecuj, in tloque, naoaque: ma oc xonelcicivican, ma oc xontlaocoiacan, quen qujmonequjltia: cujx monoltitoz in njcan tictemjquj, in ticcochitleoa, in cozcatl, in quetzalli: auh cujx motetzaoaltiz, cujx achi qujtlaliz tonatiuh: cujx iehoatl teixiptlatiz, tepatillotiz, cujx qujnctiotiz qujntocaotiz, qujmjtauhcaciotiz in vevetque, in jlamatque: cujx iehoatl qujntonaleoaz, qujntzonteconacocujz in coltin, in citi: à ma oc xicmottilianj, ma oc amjxpantzinc ienj, in quenamj qujmoqujxtiliz totecuj, ma oc xicmomaviçalvianj:

auh cujx noce, in qujntlatlaitoltliz vevetque, ilamatque: cujx popoitziatl in njcan tictomaviçalvilia totecuj: auh cujx no ie in atle ilhvilli, in atle maceoalli, cujx ie in nenqujça tlapaliviztli: cujx ixqujchtzin, atzintli, conmopolhviz in totecuj cujx ixqujchtzin qujoalmotzatziliz, conmanjliqujuh in pilhoacatzintli.

In axcan, tle anqujomachitia: manoçoc ontlamaj in tlatlauhtli, in elciviliztli: manoçoc cenza itlan-tzinco, xonmocalaqujcan in tloque, naoaque: ma amjtic antlatoti, ma itla amjtic anqujtoti, ma anqujmolviltocati, injn piltzintli: amitic tlamatiz in tote-

4. Ibid.: "puedo decir que a puesto en vuestras manos, un manoxito de plumas ricas que se llama [sic] quetzalli de perfecta hechura y de perfecta color"; yaque, in the Nahuatl text, would imply their being pointed. Cf. Siméon, op. cit., p. 144.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "no sabemos si nro señor nos a dado una maorca de mahyz aneblada, de que no ay prouecho njnguno, no sabemos si es una cosa ynvntil [sic], lo que nos a dado, no sabemos si tamanjto, y ternezito como agua lo llevaran [sic] nro señor para si, lo llamara y vendra por el el que lo hizo."

us [because of] our desire for the child; he will unclasp from you his precious necklace, his precious feather.

"Take heed, my sons, precious persons, our lords. All is stuttering, stammering, unstable, unsettled with which I return, with which I reply to your motherhood, to your fatherhood. Find repose. May our lord rest you in peace. Pay heed to yourselves, precious people, our lords."

cujo, topilneccaio techmatiliz: amechonmotomjilij;  
qujuh in jcozcatzin, in jqetzaltzin.

Tle anqujmomachitia nopolhoantzitzin, tlaçotl  
tlaca, totecujoan: ixquijchtzin popolonj, tzatzacuj,  
aijeian, aitlaliloian ic njccuepa, ic njqujlochtia, in  
amonaniotzin, in amotaiotzin: ma tlaltech ximaxi-  
tican, ma amechmotlamatcatlalili in totecujo: tle  
anqujmomachiltitzinoa tlaçotitlacatzitzinti, totecujo-  
jooan.



Thirty-fourth Chapter. Here it is told how the rulers, the noblemen, or the merchants exhorted one another in behalf of the first child who was born, and the manner in which they clothed their sons. And they exhorted the baby, and they greeted him and his mother, his father, and his grandmother, his grandfather; [one of] the old men, the wise men, the well-spoken did this.

First he exhorted, he greeted the baby very well as he addressed him, although [the baby] did not hear it; thereby he consoled only those who were the mothers, the fathers of the baby.

When it was known that N. had given birth, then was the beginning of the visiting. First the baby which had arrived was greeted, addressed. And to be greeted, the baby was uncovered, unclothed. Then the mother was addressed; then the old men, the old women, the mothers, the fathers, and finally the father.

If it was a child of a ruler, the son of a ruler, the son of a nobleman, as well as of an ordinary nobleman, who was addressed, if it was a male [child],<sup>1</sup> one gave the greeting; he said to him: "O my grandson, O master, O our lord, O precious one, O precious person, O precious green stone, O bracelet, O precious turquoise, O precious feather, O hair, O fingernail, thou hast endured fatigue, thou hast endured weariness; thou wert formed in the place of duality, [which is above] the nine heavens in tiers. Thy mother, thy father, Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl, and verily the master, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, have cast thee, have perforated thee. Thou wert sent here on earth, a place of weariness, a place of pain, a place of affliction, a place of torment; a place where misery, where torment emerge; where they arise; there where pain, where affliction are endured, suffered, glorified.<sup>2</sup>

"Thou wert sent here on earth. Thou camest not to rejoice, thou camest not to be content; thou camest

Ic cempoalli onmatlactli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenin in tlatoque in pipiltin, anoço in puchteca motlatlauhtiaia: in jpampa in iacapantli otlatcat, ioan injc qujmjxquentiaia in pilhoan: auh injc qujtlatlauhtiaia in piltontli, injc qujtlapaloaia, ioan in jnanzin, in jtatzin, auh in jcultzin, in jcitzin: vevetque muzcalianj, in vellatoa: in qujchioaia yn.

Achto iehoatl qujtlatlauhtiaia, qujtlapaloaia in piltontli: cenca qualli injc qujnonotzaia, macivi in amo qujcaquia: ca çan iehoantin ic iollaliloia, in jnanoan, in jtahoan in piltontli.

In onmachoc, in otlacachiu in N: njman ic peoalo, in tlatlapalolo: achtopa tlapalolo, achtopa notzalo in omeccavi piltzintli, Auh injc tlapalolo piltzintli: onjxtlapolo, onpetlaoalo: njman ie iehoatl in nantli: njman ie iehoantin in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tenanoan, in tetahoan: auh çatepan notzalo in tatli.

Intla tlatocaconetl, intla tlatocapilli, intla tlaçopilli: intla çan noço tecpilli, ilvilo. Intla oquijchtl tlatlapaloa: qujllhvia. Noxviuhaticatzine, tlacatle totecoe, tlaçotzintle, tlaçotitlacatle, chalchiuhtle, maquijtle, teuxivite, quetzalle, tzontle, iztittle: oticmjhijovilti, oticmociavilti: otijoculoc in vmeiocan in chicunauhnepanjuhca: omjtzpitz, omjtzmamal, in monan, in mota, in vme tecutli, in vme cihoatl: auh nelli iehoatl, à in tlacatl in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl. A otioalioaloc in njcan tlalticpac in jciahucan, in jtonuehcan, in jchichinatzcan, in jteupouhcan, in cococ, in teupouhquj iqujztocan, ijehoatocan: in vncan in mjhijovia, in mociavi, in timalivi in toneviztli, in chichinaqujztli.

A ca otioalioaloc in njcan tlalticpac: ca amo tavia-co: ca amo tivellamatico, ca toneoaco, ca chichina-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "dizesele desta manera (si es varon, el que habla) y viejo principal."

2. *Ibid.*: "donde los dolores, y aflicciones se ensañorean, y se glorifican..."

that thy bones, thy body should endure pain, suffer affliction. And thou wilt work like a slave, thou wilt labor, thou wilt suffer weariness here on earth. For this reason wert thou sent.

"And thou wert arrayed, thou wert laden in the beginning to come to be esteemed. Already for a while, already for a year, already for two years, already for a long time the city weepeth for thee, sigheth for thee. Thy vassals remain awaiting thee. Perhaps thou art the desert, the merit of the city. Perhaps for a little while, perhaps for a day it will behold thy face; perhaps it will borrow thee. Perhaps thou hast been sent to carry, to bear on thy back, to place in order [the government] for the lord of the near, of the nigh. Thou wilt assume the bundle, assume the carrying frame for our lords, the noblemen, the rulers who remain residing beyond, those who came to serve, who came to labor, who came to place the government in order for our lord.

"Thou art to serve diligently, thou art to assume the burden of the city. Thou art to become tired, to feel the weight; thou art to be the one with the bundle, the carrying frame. Thou art to be the umbrage, thou art to be the shade, the shadow, beneath which the vassals are to enter.

"O ruler, O our lord, O precious person, perhaps we shall deserve, shall merit that perhaps for a little while, for a day, we shall receive thee as a loan. Perhaps the city will deserve thee. But perhaps not. Perhaps there is no desert, perhaps there is no merit. Perhaps, small as thou art, thou wilt shatter, thou wilt become rent.<sup>3</sup> O precious person, O bracelet, O precious feather, O precious turquoise, O our lord, perhaps small as thou art, thy father, thy maker, will come to take thee. Perhaps he will so determine that the city will remain desolate, will remain in darkness; perhaps our lord will cause it to become his place of abandonment.

"O our lord, O precious one, O precious person, thou hast endured pain, thou hast endured fatigue. Thou hast come to arrive; find repose, find rest. Thou hast come to arrive, O our lord, O precious person."

Then [the speaker] greeted, welcomed the parent, the [newly] delivered one. He said to her:

"Be of good cheer. Rest in peace, O my granddaughter, O my daughter, O dove, O little one, O

caco in momjiotzin, in monacaiotzin: auh ca titla-  
cotiz, ca titequijtz, ca ticciaviz in tlaltecac: injc oj,  
oalioaloc.

Auh ca otichichioaloc: ca otitlamamacoc in iooaia,  
ca titlaçovitz: a ca ie macuil, ca ie matlac, ca ie  
cexiuh, ca ie oxiuh: ca ie ixquijch cavitl in mjtzchoca,  
in mjtzelcicivi, in atl in tepetl: ca mjtztemachitoc in  
mocujtlapil, in matlapal: aço ticnopil, aço timaceal  
in atl, in tepetl: aço achica; aço cemjlvtl mixco,  
mocpac tlachiaz: aço mjtztlanevitz: at ic otioalioaloc  
in titlatquijz, in titlamamaz, tictlapializ, tictlavelte-  
quijliz in tloque, naoaque: tehoatl tiqujnqumilpa-  
tlaz, tiqujnacaxpatlaz in totecujioan in tetecutin, in  
tlatoque, in ie nachca onmantivi: in otlacotico, in  
otequijtico, in oqujtlaveltequijlico in totecujo:

tehoatl itlan taquijz, tehoatl ticmamaz in atl, in  
tepetyl, tehoatl ticiaviz, tehoatl teticiviz, tiqujmle,  
ticacaxe tiez, tehoatl timalaçaoaz, tehoatl tecauhio-  
oaz, ticeoalloaz: motlan mocalaquijz in cujtlapilli, in  
atlapalli.

Tlacatle totecoe, tlaçotitlacatle: aço titocnopiltiz,  
aço titomaceoaltiz, aço achica cemjlvtl timjtzotla-  
nevitzinozque: aço mjtzicnopilvitz in atl, in tepetl:  
auh acanoçomo: acaço tle ilhvilli, acaço tle mace-  
oalli: aço tixquijchtzin tóxamanjz, tonpoztequijz:  
tlaçotitlacatzintle maqujztle, quetzalle, teuxivite  
totecoe: aço tixquijchtzin mjzonmanjliqujuh in  
motatzin, in pilhoacatzintli, aço iuh qujmonequijltiz:  
at cauhtimanjz, at iooatimanjz in atl, in tepetl: at  
inencauhian qujmuchiviliz in totecujo.

Totecoe, tlaçotzintle, tlaçotitlacatle: oticmjhi-  
vilti, oticmociavilti, otimaxitico: ma tlapalch xima-  
xiti, ma ximocevitzino: otimaxitico totecoe, tlaç-  
otitlacatle.

Niman qujtlapaloa, qujciauhquetza in pilhoa, in  
mjxiuhquj: qujlvia.

Tle ticmomachitia, tle ticmatcatzintli, noxiuhtzinc,  
nochpuchtzine, cocotze, tepitze, xocoitule: otita-

3. *Ibid.*: "por uentura tamajito como estays, os hareys pedaços, como piedra preciosa, o os quebrareys como plumaxe rico..."

youngest child! Thou hast worked, thou hast labored; thou hast helped, thou hast encountered, thou hast imitated thy mother, the noblewoman Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli. Thou hast imitated her.

"Now verily, our lord hath shown mercy; he hath inclined his heart; for the precious one, the precious necklace, the precious feather hath come to arrive, hath come to emerge; for arrived is the hair, the fingernail of our lords, of those who already have gone beyond to die, to reside; for the spine, the thorn of the lords, of the rulers, hath budded, hath blossomed; for the spine, the maguey<sup>4</sup> which our lords who have gone excelling in honor, who have gone being great, planted deep, have come to appear—have come to emerge. Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl hath torn a precious necklace, rent a precious feather from thee.

"Our lord hath inclined his heart. In some way the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath taken, hath moved away from thee thy battle, for thou hast labored against death. Perhaps our lord will bless the two of you separately, perhaps he will desire in a separate manner for each one. Perhaps thou wilt depart leaving, depart abandoning the baby. Or perhaps, small as he is, a tender little thing, the lord of the earth will destroy the precious stone, the arm band, the precious thing. Perhaps he who made the child will come to take it from us, will come to seize it from us. Perhaps it hath come only to pass before the city. Perhaps it is our desert, our gift, that our lord yet deludeth us. May yet be done that which he determineth, that which he willeth. May we yet verily place all our faith in him.

"I cause thee to sweat; I shall bring, I shall move sickness upon thee; upon thee I shall move castigation. Work, labor, O our lady, O noblewoman, O precious one. All stuttering, stammering, unstable, unsettled is that with which I greet thee, I welcome thee. Rest in peace, O precious person, O our lady."

He then addressed those in charge of the baby, those who watched over it, the old men, the old women. He said to them: "Ye who are here present, here ye are inclining your hearts to our grandson, the precious necklace, the precious feather, who hath arrived, who hath appeared on earth. The precious

cotic, otitequijt, oticnanamjc, oticnamjc, otictlaieiecalhvi in monantzin in cihoapilli in Cioacoatl in Quilaztli: à oticmotlaieiecalhvili.

A ca nelle axcan: olaocux, otlacauhquj in jiolotzin in totecujo: ca omoxitico, ca omoqujxtico in tlaçotli, in cozcatl, in quetzalli: ca omecavi in jntzon, in jmjzti in totecujoan, in ie nachca onmjqujltitivi, onmomanjltitivi: ca oxotlac, ca ocuepon in jnvitzio, in imaoaio in tetecutin, in tlatoque: ca oqujçaco, ca opavetzico in jnvitz, in jmjeuh, in vecatlan contlaztehoaque in totecujoan, in vecapanjxtivi, in veveixtivi: otchoatzin motechtzinco ocozcatlapan, oquetzalpuztec, in topiltzin in quetzalcoatl.

Otlacauhquj ijollotzin in totecujo: oquenteltzin ochico, tlanaoac qujmoviqujli, qujmotequjli in tloque, naoaque in moiaiotzin: ca otonmjqujztequj: aço nononqua in amechmocneliliz totecujo: at nononqua, in quen qujmonequjltiz: in at tocommocaviliteoaz, in at toconmotlaxiliteoaz, in piltzintli: at noce ixquijchtzin, atzintli, conmopolviz in tlalticpaque: in chalchiuhtli, in maqujztli, in tlaçotli: aço techonmocujliliqjuh, aço techonmanjliliqjuh in pilhoacatzintli: aço çan ixtlan onquijçaco in atl, in tepetl: acaço tolvil, acaço tonemac. A ma oc techmocoli in totecujo: ma oc qujmjalvi, in tlein qujmjalvia, in tlein qujmonequjltia: ma oc nelle tictocatemachilican.

Nimjtznjtonjlia: à mopantzinco njqualvicaz, njqualolinjz in temuxtli, in ehecatl: motlantzincnjqujquanjz in quavitl, in tetl: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili totecoe, cihoapille tlaçotzintle: ixquijchtzin popolonj tzatzacuj, aijeian aitlaliloian: ic njmjtznnotlapalvia, njmjtznociauhquechilia: tle ticmatcaztintli, tlaçotitlacatle totecujo.

Niman qujnnotza in jtlan onoque, in qujquia piltzintli, in vevetque, in jlamatque: qujmjlvia. Ca njcan ammonoltitoque. à ca njcan tlacauhtica in amoiollotzin, in jtloc, in jnaoac in toxviuhtzin in cozcatl, in quetzalli: in vmeçavi, in omotlalticpacqujxti in chalchiuhtli, in maqujztli, in tzontli, in

4. *jmjeuh*: see Chap. 31, n. 5. The corresponding Spanish, however, is "*la espina de maguey, y la caña de humo.*"

stone, the bracelet, the hair, the fingernail<sup>5</sup> yet here for a little while, a mere day, needeth you. Here your bones, your bodies are benumbed, tired. Ye who will do such as this, whom do ye esteem, and in whom do ye confide? Without doubt the lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath conceded to you that yet ye esteem, ye wonder at the feast, the marvel. Those whom the lord of the near, of the nigh, destroyed, whom he hid, go weeping, go sighing for it; they do not go regarding it, they do not go meriting it; it seemeth that verily these same who are possessors of hair, who are possessors of fingernails, are our lords.<sup>6</sup>

"And now here upon us our lord bringeth about, bringeth down upon us the feast, the marvel. Here ye take pleasure in the precious necklace, ye find pleasure in the precious feather. Ye are finding glory in it. Ye are rejoicing in the precious thing, the bracelet, the round, well-smoked, precious turquoise; the reed-like, navel-like, the truly herb green, the well-textured, precious green stone; the precious feather, well formed, very green.<sup>7</sup> Here are ye who are considered parents. Find wealth, rejoice in the precious necklace, the precious feather, the chip, the fragment, the hair, the fingernail, the precious thing. Consider yourselves as parents. And verily, still at night there is the going to achieve the weeping, the tears, the sorrow, the prayers. Verily, even now call out in sorrow to the god, the ruler, the lord of the near, of the nigh, the one who doth as he pleaseth, the one who mocketh.

"How will it be if the master, our lord, hath willed that upon us there be an eclipse, that there be thunder, that he hath only come to deprive us?<sup>8</sup> How will it be if he by whom we live bringeth down weeping, sorrow? Verily, we already feel unworthy of that of which we here dream, which we see in dreams, the baby, our grandson. Yet verily let us have faith, let us await how it will be in a day, in two days—how the maker, the owner of the baby, will determine. And in a short time, soon, he will determine it in the manner in which he will determine.

jztitl: oc njcan achica cavitl, cemjlvitzintli, amech-onmocnopilhilia: a njcan onquaquauhtitica, o cece-poatica in amomjiotzin, in amonacaiotzin: iuh anmuchiuhztinotzque o, ac anqujmottilia: auh ac itech anqujmocavilia: açoc iehoatl injc amechmocavilia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: oc amehoantzi-tzin anqujmottilia, anqujmomaviçalhvia in jlhvçoll, in tlamaviçoll in qujchocativi, in quelciciuhtivi in oqujnmopolhvi, in oqujnmotlatili in tloque, naoaque in áqujtzivi, in áqujcnopilvitivi, in mach vel iehoantin in tzzoneque, in jzteque in totecujioan.

Auh in axcan, njcan topan qujmuchivilia in totecujo: topan qujmotemovilia in jlvgçoll, in tlamaviçoll: à njcan anmocozcatlamachitia: à njcan anmoquetzalpachivitla, anqujtimaloticate, anqujmotlamachiticate in tlaçotli, in maqujztli, in teuxivitl in ololivic, in vel popoca in chalchiuhltli, in acatic, in xistic, in vel qujltic, in vel icucic, in quetzalli in vel iaque, in xopaleoac: à njcan anpilhoacateuhtlamattoque: auh manoço xoconcujtonocan, manoço xocontlamachitican in cozcatl, in quetzalli: in tzicue-oallotl, in tlapancaiotl, in tzontli, in jztitl, in tlaçotli: ma oc xonpilhoacateuhtlamattocan: auh manoço nelle oc ioan ontanto in choqujztli, in ixaiotl, in tlaoculli, in tlatlauhtli. Ma oc nelle axcan xoconmotaoculnonochilitocan in teoutl, in tlatoanj, in tloque, naoaque, in moiocoia, in moquequeloa:

quenmach nenti teutl qualo, tlatlatzinj otopen qujoalmonequjlti: oçan techonmanjlilico in tlacatl totecujo, quenmach nenti ochoqujztli, tlaoculli qujmotemovili in jpalmemoa. A manoço nelli a ie tocontomactocacan: à in njcan tictemjquj, ticcochitleoa in piltzintli in toxviuhtzin: à ma oc nelle axcan tictotemachilican: ma tictochialilican in quen muztla, viptla: qujoalmonequjltiz in pilhoacatzintli, in axcaoacatzintli: auh i çan nel oc maia, i çan cuclachic: ca qujoalmonequjltiz, in quenman qujoalmonequjltiz.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "es cabello y rña de sus antepasados..." Cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," pp. 19-20.

6. See n. 5.

7. See Chap. 33, n. 4.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "que sera si nos le viene a tomar nño señor...."

"And our daughter, the noblewoman, the valiant woman, the youngest daughter, is here present. She hath worked, she hath labored, she hath fought, she hath labored against death; and she hath escaped death. Only incline your hearts. May she yet recover a little at your hands. May she not fall sick of something. For she still hath need of you here. O our lords, O my sons, rest in peace. Do thy work."

Later he greeted the parent, the father. He addressed him; he said to him: "O lord, O our lord, O my grandson, O precious person, I shall offend thee, I shall reject thee, and I shall confuse thee, as thou workest, as thou laborest. Yet verily, thou art the seat, thou art the flute — thou hast become such for the lord of the near, of the nigh, our lord, the night, the wind; for yet thou art burdened, thou sweatest from the government which here is intolerable, insufferable. Thou assumest the bundle, thou assumest the carrying frame for our lords who have departed leaving it to thee. Thou yet guardest it for our lord; thou yet placest the government, his place of honor, in good order.

"It is here only little, strange, incomplete with which I slip, I trip in thy presence. I greet, I entreat thy hands, thy feet, thy eyes, thy heart, because the master, our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, he by whom we live, hath inclined his heart; he hath given, he hath sent a precious necklace, a precious feather, thy image, thy blood, thy color, thy hair, thy fingernail, thy chip, thy flake.

"Verily now, thou hast formed thy image, thou hast formed thy picture; thou hast sprouted, thou hast blossomed. Our lord hath inclined his heart; he hath blessed his city." [The child] hath been formed, born; he hath descended, he hath been sent from the place of duality, [which is over] the nine heavens in tiers, to bear, to assume the burden of the city of our lord. For a certainty,<sup>10</sup> he is something deserved, merited. Perhaps he will endure, will develop; perhaps he will live for a time; perhaps he will continue a little in the service of our lord; perhaps the city will behold his face; perhaps the common folk will deserve to enter into his shade, into his shadow.

9. Read *iatzin*.

10. Read *à ca nelli*. Alternatively, the phrase might be read *ace (aço) nelli*.

Auh ca njcan monoltitoc in tochpuchtzin, in cihoa-pilli, in cioatecutli, in xocoiotl: ca otlacotic, ca ote-quijt, ca oiaot, ca oonmjqujztequijt: auh ca oconjneuh in mjqujztli. Manoçoc tlacaõa in amoiollotzin: ma oc amomactzinco in achitzin oalmjmati: ma itla ic otimocaxanj: ca oc njcan amechonmocnopilhvilia: tle anqujmomachiltia totecujioane, nopolhoantzi-tzine: ma ximotlacotilican.

Çatepan qujtlapaloa in pilhoa, in tatli, qujnotza: qujlvia. Tlacatle totecoe, noxviuhticatzine, tlaçotitlacatle: njmjtznococolhviz, njmjtznodaxiliz: à ioan njmjtznodalcaoaltiliz: ca titlacoti, ca titequijt: à ca oc nelli tehoatzin tinetlaxonjuh, titlatlapitzal tonmuchioa in tloque, naoaque in totecujo in iooalli, in ehecatl: ca oc toneticivi, ca oc tonmjtonja in petlap-pan; in jcpalpan: in vncan aiatlamattivi, in aontla-iecotivi: in tiqujnqujmlpatla, in tiqujncacaxpatla in totecujiooa in mjtzmocavilitivi: oc tehoatzin toconmotlapijililia in totecujo: oc tehoatzin toconmotlaveltetequjililia in petapan, in jcpalpan in jmavizion-can:

ca çan achitzin njcan aiuh qujzcatoi, aiuh tlanca-iotl: ic mjxpantzinco njnalaoa, njnotepotlamja: njctlapaloa, njctlatlauhtia in momatzin, in mocxitzin, in mjxtzin, in moiollotzin: in jca, in jpampa in olaocux, in otlacauhquj ijollotzin, in tlacatl in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque, in jpalmemoanj: in oquj-momacavili, in oqujoalmjoali, in cozcatl, in quetzalli: in moneiximachiliz, in meziotzin, in motlapallotzin, in motzontzin, in moztitzin. in motzicueuhcatzin, in motlapanca.

Aca nelle axcan ca otimjxiptlaiotitzino, ca otimo-patillotitzino: otixotlac, oticuepon: otlacauhquj in jiollotzin in totecujo, oqujmocnelili in atzin, in jtepet-zin: oiol, otlacat, otemoc, ooalioaloc in vmeiocan, in chicunauhnepanjuhcan: in qujtzqujz, in qujmamaz, in jatzin yn jtepetzin totecujo: à ce nelli in jlhvilli, in maceoalli. aço monoltitoz, aço motetzaoaltiz, aço achi qujtlaliz in tonatiuh, aço achi qujtoqujiliz in totecujo: aço ijaxco, icpac tlachiaz in atl, in tepetl: aço qujcnopilhviz in cujtlapilli, in atlappalli: à iceoal-lotzin, à iecauhiotzin itlan mocalaqujz.

"O lord, O my sons, O our lord, O precious one, O precious person, I shall pain thy head, I shall pain thy breast. I shall trouble thee, I shall impede thee. Work, labor! This is all with which I salute thy lordship, thy rulership, O my grandson, O precious person."

Tlacatle, nopiltzintzine, totecoe, tlaçotzintle, tlaçotitlacatle: motzontecontzin, melchiqujuhtzin njuecoaz, njmjtznolapolołtiliz, njmjtznolalcaoaltiliz: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili: ixquijchtzin icnjctlapaloa in motecuiotzin in motlatocaiotzin noxviuhaticatzine, tlaçotitlacatle.



Thirty-fifth Chapter. Here are told the words which the ambassadors of the rulers of the [neighboring] cities said to entreat, to greet the babies and their fathers, their mothers; and how they were answered.

"O my grandson, O master, O our lord, thou workest, thou laborest. I shall confuse thee, I shall trouble thee. Here in thy presence I arrive, I stand; verily the lord, thy younger brother, the ruler N., who out there serveth as guard for thee in [the city of] N., sent me, dispatched me here.

"He said: 'Go, see the lord my younger brother who serveth, who governeth. Greet him, because our lord hath shown him mercy, hath inclined his heart, hath given him his property, his creation, the baby. [Tell him] that from here [his younger brother] greeteth him, entreateth him, because the precious necklace, the precious feather, the precious green stone, the bracelet, hath arrived. It is the thorn, the spine of our lords, the rulers who go residing beyond; [it is] their chip, their flake. They are the possessors of hair, the possessors of fingernails. It is thy blood, thy color, thy reflection. Verily their glory, their renown hath germinated, hath blossomed, to glorify, to make illustrious its forefathers, its great-grandfathers. And verily our lord hath made a gift of thy image, thy likeness.'

"And how doth our lord already will it? What is he doing? In what manner is he declaring? Perhaps he will cause the sun to shine, to dawn. Perhaps we shall deserve, we shall merit the precious green stone, the bracelet, the precious turquoise. Perhaps he will mature. Perhaps he will live a little time; perhaps he will continue a little in the service of our lord. Perhaps he will rule, govern, his city. Perhaps the vassals will deserve, will merit him.

"And perhaps, moreover, soon the owner, the child's maker, will summon it; perhaps he will soon cry out for it.

"Now, above all, let us have faith in our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, in him by whom we live.'

Ic cempoalli oncaxtolli capitulo, vncan mjtoa in tlatalli: in qujtoaia in titlanti, in jntlaioalvan catca in altepetl ipan tlatoque: injc qujntlatlauhtiaia, injc qujntlapaloaia in pipiltonti: ioan in jntahoan, in jnnanoan: auh in quenjn nanqujiloia.

Noxviuhcatzine, tlacalte, totecoe: ca timotlacotilia, ca timotequjtilia: njmjtznolalcaoaltiliz, njmjtznolapolttiliz: in njcan mjxpantzincō nāci, njnoquetza. A ca nechoalmjoali, onechoalotopeuh in tlacatl in mjccauhtzin, in tlatoanj in N: in nachca in tlapiatzli mjtzonmuchivililia in N:

ca commjtalhvia. Tla xoiatiuh: xiqualmottili in tlacatl, in mjccauhtzin: in tlacoti, in tequji: xiqualmotlatlauhtili: in jpampa: in otlaoctux, in otlacauhquj in jiollotzin totecujo: in oqujomamacavili in jaxcatzin, in jtlachioaltzin in piltzintli. Ca ixquijchapa quoalmotlapalhvia, quoalmotlatlauhtilia: in omecavi in cozcatl, in quetzalli, in chalchivitl, in maqujzli, in jnvitzio, in jmaoao, in totecujiooan in tlatoque, in ie nachca onmomanjltitivi, in jntzicueuhca, in jntlapanca: in tzoneque, in jzteque: in meziotzin, in motlapallotzin, in moneiximachiliztin: ca oxotlac, ca ocuepon, in jnteio, in jmjtahuca: in qujntetiotiz, in qujmjtauhcaciotiz in jtechiuhcaoan, in jachcocoltzitzinoan: auh ca oqujomamacavili in totecujo, in mjxiptlatzin, in mopatillo.

Auh quen ie qujmonequjltia in totecujo: tlein qujmoiocolitica: quen qujmjtalvitica: cujx tonaz: tlathujz qujmuchiviliz, cujx tolhviltiz, tomaceoaltiz: in chalchiuhli, in maqujzli in teuxiuhtli: cujx motetzaoaltiz, cujx achitzin qujmotlaliliz in tonatiuh: cujx vel achi qujmotoqujlliliz in totecujo: cujx qujtlacotiz, qujtequjtz in jatzin, in jtepetzin: cujx qujcnopilviz, cujx qujmaceoaz, in cujtlapilli, in atlappalli:

ah cujx noço çan cuel quoalmonochiliz, cujx çan cuel quoalmotzatzatziliz in axcaoacatzintli, in pilhoacatzintli.

In axcan: ma oc cenza tictocentemachilican in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque, ipalnemoa.

"This is all ye hear with which are supplicated ye who are our lords. Exercise thy office, thy task, O master, O ruler, O our lord."

Then one of the old men stood up. He responded for the baby and the parents, and he also responded for the old men, for the old women, for the father; he responded for all. He said: "Thou hast suffered pain, thou hast endured fatigue, O my son, for here thou hast inclined thy heart, thy body; thou hast delivered thy motherliness, thy fatherliness which the old men, the old women caused to be left to you, caused to be given to you; that which lieth folded, that which resteth inert in thy bosom, in thy breast: an incomparable thing. Here with a word or two thou entreatest, thou greetest the baby, the one which hath arrived, which our lord hath given, the one he hath here given, the one he hath here sent. Although it cannot talk, although it cannot speak, for him thou confidest in, thou appealest to, thou entreatest our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, who is above all, the maker, the owner of the baby."

"In what manner will he who is our lord dispose it? Perhaps we shall be deserving; perhaps we shall reap merit. Perhaps he will endure, perhaps he will develop. Perhaps he by whom we live will accord him a little [time]. Perhaps he will be one's image, one's likeness. Perhaps he will bring forth fame—will glorify our lords, the lords, the rulers. Perhaps he will cause the glory, the renown of our lord to sprout, to blossom.

"Perhaps also there is no desert, there is no merit. Perhaps small as [the baby] is, our lord will summon him. There is death not only for the old men, death not only for the old women; for night and day all are going forth. Verily our mother, our father, Mictlan tecutli, calleth, summoneth those in the cradle, those who rest on the cradle board, those on the surface of the ground, those who heap up the earth, the potsherds, and those who totter, those who crawl, and those who stand as they go, like shining pendants; [and] the mature woman, the mature man.

"Certainly now, we dream of, we see in dreams, the precious necklace, the precious feather. Perhaps our desert, our merit, our lot, is that the baby cometh only to pass before our eyes.

1. Read *axcanateintli*.

Ca ixquijchtzin in anqujmocaqujitzinoa, injc anmotlatlauhtitzinoa in antotecujooan: ma ximotacotili, ma ximotequjtili tlacatle, tlatoanje, tote-cujoe.

Niman oalmoquetza ce vevetlacatl: quijtlananquj-lilia in piltzintli, ioā in pilhoa, ioan no quijtlanan-qujlilia in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tetatzin: quijcentlananqujlilia: qujtoa: Oticmjhijovilti, otic-mociavilti nopiltzintzine: ca njcan tlacaoa in moj-lotzin, in monacaiotzin: ticmocavilia in monaniotzin, in motaiotzin: in amechmocavililitiaque, in amech-momaqujlitiaque in vevetque, in jlamatque, in moxil-lantzinco in motozcatlantzinco in cuelpachiuhtoc, i cepoatoc in anemjuhquj: njcan cententica, cencam-tica ticmotlatlauhtilia, ticmotlapalvia in piltzintli in omecavi, in oqujmomacavili in totecujo, in oqujoal-momacavili, in oqujoalmjoali: macace motlatoltia, macace monaoatilia: ca iehoatzin tiemomaqujlia, ticmononochilia, ticmotlatlauhtilia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque in mache pilhoacatzintli, in axca-catziatl:

quen ie qujmonequjltia in iehoatzin totecujo: cujx tocnopiltiz, cujx tomaceoaltiz, cujx monoltitoz, mote-tzavitz, cujx achi qujmuchiviliz in jpalmemoanj: cujx iehoatl teixiptlatiz, tepatillotiz: cujx quijtonal-coaz, cujx qujmjtauhcaciotiz in totecujooan in tete-cutin, in tlatoque: cujx iehoatl qujnxtolaltiz, qujn-cueponaltiz, in jnteo, in jntoca in totecujooan:

cujx noče in amo tle ilhvilli, in amo tle maceoalli: cujx ixquijchtzin quoalmotatziliz in totecujo. Ca amo vevemjcoa, ca amo ilamamjcoa: ca ceioal, ca cemjlvitl in viloatimanoa, ca quojalnotza ca quojal-tatzilia in tonan, in tota in Mictlan tecutli: in coqol-tzintli, in quavic onoc in tlalli ijxco ca: in tlalli, yn tapalcatl in cololoa: auh in moquequetza, in movi-lana: auh iehoatl in ie peioctzintli, viloaticac in jiol-loco cioatl, in jiolloco oqujchtli.

Ca çan nelle axcan tictemjquj, ticcochitleoa in coz-ctl, in quetzalli: cujx tolhvil, cujx tomacecoal, cujx tonemac in piltzintli: ca çan tixtlan onquçaco.

"O my nobleman, thou hast inclined thy heart; for thy motherliness, thy fatherliness, the precious, the marvelous [words] have come forth. And also here with a word or two thou shovest respect to, thou salutest those who are here present, those who here have endured fatigue, the mothers, the fathers, the old men, the old women, the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones, those in whose time it came to pass that the baby arrived, the hair, the fingernail of our lords whom our lord hath destroyed, hath hidden. Here we have taken all the incomparable, the wonderful, the precious [words] of thy motherliness, thy fatherliness. Here we have opened the coffer, the reed chest. The incomparable hath come forth, hath spread out; we have scattered it about; that which our lord hath inserted, that which he hath placed within thee,<sup>2</sup> that with which he hath inspired thee. May we not cast somewhere aside, reject, the things of our lord; [for] here we neglect, here we deprecate things. And this lord [N.], who serveth, who governeth for yet a little while, for a day: our lord taketh him in place of another, while he seeketh [for another].<sup>3</sup> He hath taken, he hath grasped the word or two, like precious green stones, like precious things, like marvelous things—thy motherliness, thy fatherliness, which our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath inserted within thee, with which he hath inspired thee. Thou wilt so do that. That is because already for some time, for a day, ye have produced the marvels of our lord. In that [exercise] ye are [become] already white-haired, already white-headed, already thin with age. In this the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath made you venerable. Thou hast done good to the master, the youngest son, N. Who will return, who will respond to thy motherliness, to thy fatherliness? Are there still the strong, are there still the aged? For our lord reduceth [one], maketh [one] as a child.<sup>4</sup> All this is the incomplete, the unfinished, the unsettled, the unstable. Useless am I as I return, as I respond to thy motherliness, to thy fatherliness. Rest thy hands, thy feet. Find repose; rest."

Nopiltzintzine, otlacauhquj in moiollotzin: ca oqujz in monaiotzin, in motaiotzin, in tlaçotli, in maviztic: auh no njcan cententica, cencamatica tiquijnmociauhpovilia, tiquijnmociauhquechilia: in njcan monoltitoque, in njcan qujmjhijoviltitoque in nanti, in tati, in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tzonjztaque, in quaiztaque: in oc iechoantzitzin inmatian muchioia, in omecavi piltzintli, in jntzon, in jmjtzi in totecujioan: in oqujnpo, in oqujntlati totecupo: onjcan tocôcencujque in anemjuhquj, in maviztic, in tlaçotli, in monaiotzin, in motaiotzin: njcan otocontlapoque in toptli, in petlacalli, ovalqujz, ovalchaia-oac: otococecenmanque in anemjuhquj, in mjtic-tzinco caquj, qujtlali in totecupo, in mjtzmoiollotili: maço cana tocontlatlazti, maço tictlachitonjliti in totecupo: njcan tontlanenqujxtia, njcan titlanenpoloa. Auh iechoatzin in tlacatl: in tlacoti, in tequjti, in oc cuel achic in cemjlhvital, qujtlânevia in totecupo, in jca latemoa: oconmocujli, oconmanjli, i cententli, i cencamatil, in chalchiuhitic, in tlaçotic, in maviztic: in monaiotzin, in motaiotzin: in mjtic-tzinco caquj, in mjtzioloti in totecupo in tloque, naoaque: iuh timuchiuhztinoz ô: ca iechoatl ô, injc ie achica, injc ie cemjlhvital anqujmotlamaviçalhvilia in totecupo: iechoatl ô, injc ie antzonjztaque, in ie anquaiztaque, injc ie anpipinque: iechoatl injc oamechmoteutlalili, in tloque naoaque: oticmocnelili in tlacatl in xocouitl in N: ac qujcuepaz, ac qujlochiz, in monaiotzin, in motaiotzin: mach oc tlachicaoa, mach oc tlapipi-nja, ca motlanemjuhiantililia in totecupo: ca motlapilqujxtilia. Ixquijchtzin aiuh tlancaiotl, aiuh qujzcaciotl, aitlaliloian, aijeian: nen nehoatl njccuepa, njqujlochia in monaiotzin, in motaiotzin: ma xicomcevili in momatzin, in mocxitzin: ma tlattech ximaxiti, ma ximocevitzino.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "aueys avierto en nuestra presencia el cofre de vño pecho, aueys sacado del, y derramado piedras preciosas y muy rraras: las quales nuestro señor puso en vño pecho, y en vuestro coraçon...."

3. Ibid.: "y tambien el señor. N. que aquistó presente persona de gran valor, que rige y goujerna, y por algunos dias le tiene nuestro señor, puesto entre tanto que parece otro que lo haga mejor...."

4. Ibid.: "no ay viejos no tiene niño señor entre nosotros algunos antiguos, todos los a niño señor yermado, y acabado: no ay sino muchachos que agora vienen."

The one who entreated spoke once more;<sup>5</sup> he entreated one as if to appease.

He said: "Your heads, your stomachs will hurt, will suffer pain. I shall expose you to sickness and pestilence. Find repose, O my sons, O our lords."

The old man, perhaps one who was honored, one who was great, responded, replied for the ruler [N.]. He said: "Blessed art thou, O my nobleman; for the lord, the ruler who serveth, who governeth out there in our home, in [the city of] N., hath sent thee; for thou carriest his discourse, the marvelous, the precious, the priceless [words]. Thou cluchest in thy hand the incomparable, the perfectly formed [words, like] the unshadowed, the perfect precious green stone, the precious turquoise with which are entreated our lords, the lords, the rulers, in behalf of, as a result of, a precious necklace, a precious feather which our lord hath given. A precious green stone hath been formed, is born; a precious feather hath burst forth.

"Also from far away [the ruler] saluteth, presseth the hands, the feet [of N.]; he also boweth in reverence to him. May he put forth all his strength in the rulership. May he not falter in the task, the burden. May he put forth all his strength. With all this are returned, answered, the greetings of our lords." -

Once again the ambassador responded. He said: "I have come to leave that with which our lords are supplicated. Perhaps I have forgotten something, perhaps I have ruined something, perhaps I have inadvertently said something which will prejudice them. But I have taken, I have grasped this with which our lords [here] respond, with which they supplicate. May I go bearing with me their words to our lords."

When a child of the common folk was born, behold, in this manner was the greeting, in this manner the baby and the mother and the old women, the old men were greeted. First they uncovered the face, then they fondled the head, of the child.<sup>6</sup>

[The speaker] said: "Thou hast suffered, thou hast endured fatigue, O my youngest son, O my youth, or' O my maiden. Thou hast come to arrive on the

Oc ceppa ontlatoa in tlatlauhtianj, ontecentlahtia: iuhqujnma ontlaiolcevia: qujtoa. Amotzontecontzin, amelchiqujuhtzin oneoaz, onquauhitz: cocoliztli, temuxtli, checatl: namechnecaviltiz: ma tlattech ximovetzitican no-pilhoantzitzine, totecujoane.

In vevetlacatl, qujtlacuepililia, qujtdananqujililia in tlatoanj: in noço aqujn maviztic, in aqujn vei: qujtoa. Tle ticmatatzintli nopiltzitzine: ca mjtzalmj-oali in tlacatl, in tlatoanj, in tlacoti, in tequjti, in nachca in tochan in N: ca tiqualmotqujlitia in jhijotzin, in jtlatoltzin, in maviztic in tlaçotli, in tlaçotic: tiqualmomapiqujlitia in anemjuhquj, in tlaçotzquj: in acan ca iceio, i cenqujztica chalchivitl, teuxivitl, injc motlatlatlauhtitzinoa in totecujoan in tetecutin, in tlatoque: injc ica, in jpampa i ce cozcatl, i ce quetzalli in oqujmamacavili in totecujo: in ocenteli iol, otlacat in chalchivitl, in oce ixoac in quetzalli.

Ca çan no ixqujchcapa imatzin, icxitzin commotlauhtilia, conmopachilhvilia: ca çan no commonechtequjililia: manoço ixqujch itlapaltzin qujmu-chivil, in jpan in petlatl, in jc palli: ma mjhijocavili in jpan in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj: manoço ixqujch itlapaltzin qujmu-chivil. Ca ixqujch, y, ic cuepi, ic iloti in jntlatlatlauhtzin totecujoan.

Oc ceppa tlalanqujlia, in titlantli: qujtoa. Ca onjccaoaco injc motlatlauhtia totecujoan: aço itla onjqujlcauh, aço itla onjcpolo, aço itla onjqujnnochitonjlili. Auh injn ca onoconuc, ca onoconan: injc qujmocuepililia totecujoan, injc motlatlauhtitzinoa: ma noconjqujtiuh in jmjhijotzin totecujoan.

In jquac tlacachioa, i çä ie ixqujch tlacatl. Izcatquj injc motlapaloa: injc tlalpalolo piltzintli, ioan in tenantzin, ioan in jlamatque, vevetque. Achtopa conjxtlapoa: njman qujpepepetla in piltzintli:

qujlvia. Oticmhijovilti, oticmociavilti noxocoiove notelpuchtze, anoco, nochpuchtze: otimaxitico in jtlalticpactzinco totecujo: in vncan toneoalo, in chi-

5. Ibid.: "Aqui habla otra vez el orador, que fue enviado a saludar, y a dar el parabien con su oñon...."  
6. Ibid.: "antes ponen al niño esento en el regazo de la madre, para que le vea el orador...."  
7. Read anoco.

earth of our lord, where there is affliction, there is pain. It is a place of no joy, a place of no happiness. There is heat, there is cold, there is wind, there is thirst, there is hunger, there is death from cold. Thou hast suffered torment, thou hast suffered fatigue. Thy bones, thy body will suffer affliction, will suffer pain. Thou wilt seek sustenance with effort; thou wilt live in poverty on earth; there will be travail, there will be fatigue; thou wilt live in want, thou wilt live in need.<sup>8</sup> All this, O my youngest son,<sup>9</sup> thou wilt encounter if our lord is to fortify thee for a little while, if thou art to live.

"O my youngest child, small as thou art, may our lord cause thee to disappear; small as thou art, may he take thee.<sup>10</sup> But if the lord of the near, of the nigh, he by whom we live, the creator,<sup>11</sup> the ruler, the maker, willeth not so for himself, perhaps for a while thou wilt follow him by whom we live.

"And how, with what, wert thou sent here in the beginning? In what manner wert thou adorned? For he by whom we live taketh, removeth one from the excrement, from the filth. Perhaps thou wilt be something. Perhaps our lord will remove thee. Perhaps somewhere thou wilt approach someone in war, where he by whom we live recordeth one, taketh note of one, where one who is like a precious necklace is chosen, where one who is like a precious feather is ranked. And perhaps also our lord will show compassion in his heart: perhaps on earth thou wilt be a man, that is, perhaps thou wilt be rich; perhaps thou wilt make well the ridges of land, the canals; perhaps thou wilt use well the staff, the carrying frame. Let us, above all, have faith in the lord of the near, of the nigh.

"Perhaps also there is no desert, perhaps there is no merit. If thou wilt live for a while, perhaps thou wilt be offensive on earth; perhaps thy desert, thy gift will become the castigation; or perhaps thy desert, thy gift will become vice, filth; perhaps thou wilt pilfer. Perhaps fear of thee will descend, perhaps fear of thee will spread. Perhaps for thee there will be judgment. Perhaps thou wilt be stoned, perhaps thou wilt be crushed between stones; perhaps thou wilt be burned; perhaps also thou wilt be hanged.

chinacoa, in aijavixcan, in avellamatcan, in tona, in ceoa, in checa, in amjcoa, in teucioa, in cecmjcoa: otiquijhijovi, oticciauh: toneoaz, chichinacaz in momjo, in monacaio: ticmjxtemoliz in cochcaivtl, in neuhcaitl: vmpa onquijçaz in tlalticpac, mjhijoviz, mociaujz, titoxomjz, tioaçomjz: ixquijch, y, noxocove in ticmjxnamjqujliz, intla achi mjtzmotociliz in totecujo: intla timonemjtiz:

ma tixquijchtzin mjtzmopolhvianj, ma tixquijchtzin mjtzalmanjlianj in totecujo, noxocoiove: auh in amo quen qujmonequjltia in tloque, naoaque, in jpalmemoanj, in teiocaianj, in tehimatatinj, in techichi-oanj: cujx achi tictoqujlliz in jpalmemoa:

auh quenamj ic otioalioaloc in iooaia, quen otichioaloc. Ca cujlatitlan, ca tlaçultitlan moteanjlia, motequijxtilia in jpalmemoa: cujx titlatiz, cujx mjtzqujxtiz in totecujo: cujx vel cana tetech timaxitiz in iaoc, in vncan tetlilanja, tetlapalanja in jpalmemoa, in vncan motepepenjlia in cozcateuh, quetzalteuh motevipanjlia: auh cujx noço tlaocoiaz in ijollotzin totecujo: cujx tlalticpac toquijchtli tiez, qijtoznequi, cujx timocujltonoz, cujx vel cuemjtl, apantli ticmu-chiviliz: cujx vel topilli, cacaxtli ticmuchiiviliz: ma oc cenca tictotlatemachililican in tloque, naoaque:

cujx no atle ilvilli, cujx atle maceoalli: intla achi tictoqujlliz totecujo: cujx teijxco teicpac tinemjz in tlalticpac: cujx quavitl, cujx tetl, molhvil monenemac muchioaz: auh cujx noço teuhtli, tlaçolli, molvill, monemac muchioaz, cujx tecomjc, cujx tecaxic tima-aviz, cujx moca maviztli vetziz: cujx tehoatl moca maviztli motecaz, cujx moca tecutlatoloz, cujx tite-tzotzonaloz, cujx titetepacholoz, cujx titlecujloloz, cujx no ie mecatl tiiecoltiloz.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "levantarseos an los cueros de las piernas y de las manos, llagaros an las espinas y las cargas..."

9. Read noxocoyoue.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "pluguiese a dios njeto mjo tamañito como estas te llevarse [sic] para si."

11. Read teyocoyani.

"O my youngest son, O my precious son, thou hast suffered torment, thou hast suffered fatigue. In what manner doth he by whom we live desire? What hast thou deserved? What hast thou merited? May we yet have faith in him by whom we live. Rest thy body; rest, O my youngest son."

Behold that with which [a speaker] greeted the newly delivered woman. He said: "O my maiden, O noblewoman, thou hast worked, thou hast toiled, thou hast accompanied thy mother, Ciuacoatl, the noblewoman Quilaztli. Thou hast made war, thou hast skirmished, thou hast exerted thyself, thou hast taken well, seized well thy shield, thy club. Now our lord hath moved, hath placed apart, to one side, the tribute of death,"<sup>12</sup> even though in a few days, if verily tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, our lord will destroy us, will hide us. Verily, it is soon. Where will one go? There will be going, there will be death, there will be destruction.

"Just now our lord hath inclined his heart a little, for thou hast cast, thou hast placed thy burden, thy pain behind thee. Perhaps [our lord] will determine in a separate manner for each. Perhaps separately, one at a time, he will remember you, hide you, call out for you [mother or child]."<sup>13</sup> And now in what manner will the maker speak? Perhaps for some time, perhaps for a day we shall merit the precious necklace, the precious feather. Perhaps for some time we shall take pleasure like parents. Perhaps we who are old men, we who are old women shall look into the face of the precious necklace, the precious feather. Perhaps he will live a little time. Perhaps he will revive the fate, will lift up the heads of the old men, of the old women who already go residing beyond, those our lord hath destroyed, the possessors of hair, the possessors of fingernails, those who are the old men. Perhaps, also, it is not so; perhaps we dream of it, perhaps we see it in dreams; perhaps the maker will come to take him. Perhaps the misery of a man's old age, of a woman's old age will spread. Perhaps somewhere in another's reed enclosure, in another's corner thou wilt perish.

"And this: do not presume; do not consider thyself worthy of the precious necklace, the precious feather; do not pretend it is thy desert. Let the weep-

Noxocoiove, notlaçopiltze: otiqujhijovi, oticciauh: quen qujnequj in jpalmemoa: tlein otocnopiltic, tlein otomaceoaltic: ma oc tictotemachilican in jpalmemoa: ma xicmocevili in monacaiotzin: ma ximcevi noxocoiove.

Izcatquj ic qujtlapaloa in mjxiuhquj: qujlvia, Nochpuchtze, cioapille: otitlacotic, otitequj, oticnamjc in monantzin in Cioacoatl in cioapilli in Quilaztli: otôiaot, otonmjcal, otimomaman, ovelticman, oveltictitzquj in mochimal, in moquauh: in axcan ochico, tlanaoac qujmoviqujli, ochico, tlanaoac qujmotequjli in totecujo, in mjqujztequjtl: ca tel macuj, ca matlac, i çan nel muztla, viptla in techpoloz, in techlatiz totecujo, i çan nel oc maia: campa viloaz, à oviloaz, à onmjcoaz, à ompolioaz.

Çan in axcan, oachitzin ic tlacauhquj in jiollotzin totecujo: ca omonjca ca omoteputzco tictlaz, tictcac, in meticauh, in motecococauh: at nononqua in quen qujmonequjltiz, at nononqua, ceceiaca in amechmolnamjqujltiz, in amechmotlatiliz, in amechmotatziliz. Auh in axcan quen qujmjalvia in pilhoacatzintli: cujx achica, cujx cemjlvtl tictomacevizque in cozcatl, in quetzalli: cujx achica tipilhoacateuhlatizque, cujx ijkco, icpac titlachiazque in tivevetque, in tilamatque in cozcatl, in quetzalli: cujx achi qujtlaliz in tonatiuh: cujx iehoatl qujntonelecoaz, qujntzoneteconacocujz in vevetque, in jlamatque in ie nachca momanjltitivi, in oqujnopolhvi totecujo, in tzoneque, in jzteque, in aquisque in vevetque: cujx no amo, cujx tictemjquj, cujx ticcochitleoa, cujx conmanjlijuh in pilhoacatzintli: aço timaliviz in jcnoeveiotl, in jcnoilamaiotl: aço can techinantilan texomolco timopopolivitiz.

Auh injn: ma mjtic titlato, ma ticmactoca in cozcatl, in quetzalli, ma ticmolhviltoca: ma oc ottlamj in choqujtzli, in jxaiotl, in tlaoculli: ma oc

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "agora ya aveys hechado aparte con la ayuda de nño señor la pelea mortal del parto...."

13. Ibid.: "por uentura tendreys fines apatados [sic] tu y tu hijo, por uentura algun sfo antes se acordara dios de ti, y te llamaras?"

ing, the tears, the sorrow yet be consummated. Call out yet in sorrow to our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh. Be blessed, O my maiden, O noblewoman.

"Behold still a word with which I end my discourse. Do not work excessively. Be calm, be tranquil, be prudent. Whom thereby wilt thou ridicule? This is all, O noblewoman, O my daughter, which thou takest, which thou graspest."

[The speaker] entreated the parents, the old men. He said to them: "O my sons, ye who are here present and also ye who are mothers, ye who are old women, ye who are the white-haired ones, ye who are the white-headed ones, here ye are inclining your hearts, your bodies. In your time the baby hath arrived, hath come on earth, a precious necklace, a precious feather. It is the thorn, the spine of those whom our lord destroyed, whom he hid, the old men, the old women, the creators, the procreators, those who engender. For our lord hath hidden them, hath placed them in a coffer, in a reed chest; he hath sent them in the water, in the cave, in the land of the dead. Were they from there still to know in what manner they were yet to create the gift of our lord?

"Verily, already here [the lord] hath given you favor; here yet he hath given you merit. Here your old-womanliness, your motherliness is brought forth, is paid tribute, is rewarded in order that yet for a while, for a day, ye honor our lord in his world. Here your bones, your bodies are benumbed, tired.

"Whom, in truth, do ye yet behold? Furthermore, the possessors of the precious necklace, the possessors of the precious feather: will they come? Will they come emerging? Will they come appearing? Here the baby will cause you to lose [wealth]. Do not [just] hide your hands, your feet away by your sides. Incline your hearts, O my sons."

If a youth entreated, he said to them: "O my forefathers."

Behold that with which the father was greeted. He was told: "O my nobleman, O youth, here our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, he by whom we live, hath inclined his heart. Here a precious necklace is flaked off, here a precious feather is spread out. Here we dream, here we see in dreams. In thy hand, on thy neck he placeth a precious necklace, a precious feather, a precious green stone, a

xoconmotlaoculnonochili in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: tle ticmomachitia nochpuchtze, cioapille.

Oc izca cencamatl ic nocontzonquijxtia in notlatol: maca xonmopopoxcanenequj: ma oc ivian, ma oc moiolicatzin xioalmjmati, ac ic toconqueloz. Ixquijch in toconmanjlia, toconmocujlia cihoapille, nochpuchtze.

Quijntlatlauhtia in pilhoaque, in vevetque: quijmlvia. Ca njcan ammonoltitoque nopolhoane: auh noce in antenanoan, in amjlamatlaca, in antzonjztaque, in anquajztaque: njcan tlacauhtica in amoililotzin, in amonacaiotzin, amomatiantzinco in éco, in tlalticpac quija in piltzintli, in cozcatl, in quetzalli, in jnvitzio, in jmaoaio: in oqujnpolo, in oquijntlati totecujo, in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tlacachioanj, in tlacaiolitanj, in tlacapeoaltianj: ca oqujnmotlatili in totecujo, à ca oqujnmotoptemjli, ca oqujnmope-tacaltemjli, ca oqujnmjhoali in atlan, in oztoc, in mjctlan: mach oc vmpa qujoalmatizque, quen oc qujoalchioazque in jtlamacaoaltzin totecujo.

Ca ie njcan amechmocnopilvilia: ca ie njcan oc amechmomacevitzinoa: njcan qujztica, njcan ixtlauhtica, popouhtica in amjlamaiotzin, in amonaiotzin in jc ie achica, cemjlhvtil, anquijmotlama-viçalhvilia in totecujo, in jtlalticpactzinco: njcan quaquaughtica, cecepoatica in amomjotzin, in amonacaiotzin:

ac oc nel anquijmottilia cujx oc vallazque, cujx oc onquijaqujvi, cujx oc onmomanaqujvi in cozqueque, in quetzaleque: njcan amechonmotlaixcaoaltilia in piltzintli: macanoçomo amomatzin, amocxitzin amotlantzinco xicmaqujlican: ma noçoc ontlacaoa in amoillotzin nopolhoane.

Intla telpuchtli tlatlatlauhtia: quijmlvia. Note-chiuhtzitzinoane.

Izcatquj ic tlalpolo in tatli: ilhvilo. Nopiltze, telpuchtle: ca njcan tlacaoa in jiollotzin totecujo, in tloque, naoaque, in jpalmemoa: njcan mocozcatlapanjlia: njcan moquetzalmanjlia: njcan titemjquj, ticochitleoa: momac, moquechtlan qujmotaalilia cozcatl, quetzalli, chalchiuhtli, quetzalli maqujztli: njcan mijxco, mocpac titlachia, otijol, otitlacat, otimj-xiptlati: ac qujmatiz i çan tixtlan conmoqujxtilia,

precious feather,<sup>14</sup> a precious bracelet. Here we see thy face. Thou hast been formed; thou hast been born; thou hast formed thy image. Who will know when he by whom we live removeth him from our presence? And perhaps the lord of the near, of the nigh, he by whom be live, will mature him, perhaps give him a day, perhaps sustain him a while. And who knoweth [if] thou wilt depart [to die] rejecting him, abandoning him? It is already in the hands of the maker. And so in what manner will [our lord] require? Where will [the child] be looking up to one? Where will he go to look into one's face? Or in what manner will he perish?<sup>15</sup> Perhaps he will struggle, labor for existence. Perhaps misery, poverty will spread. Perhaps he will be destitute. Perhaps the herbs, the forest will spread; perhaps he will be in need, in want on earth.

"There is no one who knoweth how he by whom we live will determine for him. Let us yet put our faith in [our lord]. Let us yet place complete faith in him.

"In truth, cry out in supplication to him; achieve thy sighing, thy weeping, thy sadness. Be especially diligent in it, O my son, O youth, O servant."

And it was for an indefinite time that the cradle or the parents were greeted — perhaps the greetings lasted ten days or twenty days.

And the rulers, the noblemen were greeted with large cotton capes, with capes, with precious capes; if [the baby] were female, [with] skirts, shifts, perhaps twenty or forty. The name of this was *ixquemitzl*. And when it was just someone of honor,<sup>16</sup> either a cape [and] a breech clout or a skirt [and] shift [were given]. And he who was of the least greeted with food, with drink, with pulque.

in ipalnemoanj: auh anoço quijmotetzaviliz in tloque, naoaque, in jpalnemoa, aço quijmocemjlviltiliz, aço achitzin quijmotoctiliz. Auh ac quijmati in tocomotlaxiliteoaz, in tocontlazteoaz: anca ie imactzinco in pilhoacatzintli: anca quen qujmonequjililiz, can acovic moteitztilitez, can tecamacpa motztilitoz: auh quen noce amj mopolivitiz: at qujciaviz, qujhijoviz, at timaliviz in jcnopillotl, in jcnotlaca- caiotl, at vmpa onquijaz, at timaliviz in qujiltl, in quavitl, at toxomjz, oaçomjz in tlalticpac.

anca aocac quijmati, in quen qujmonequjltiz in jpalnemoa: ma oc tictotemachilican, ma oc tictocen- temachilican:

manoçoc nellli xonmocnochoqujli, ma oc ontlam; in melciciviliz, in mochoqujz, in motlaocul: ma oc cenza itlan xonmocalaquj nopiltze, telpuchtle, xole.

Auh amo çan tamachiuhquj: in tlapalolo coçolli, in noço pilhoa: aço matlaqujhlhvitl, anoço cempoalilvitl in nemj tetlapalolli.

Auh in tlatoque, in pipilti: ic tlapalolo quachtl, tilmatli, tlaçotilmatl: intla cioatl, cueitl, vipilli: aço cenquijmlli, aço onquijmlli. Injn itoca ixquemjtl. Auh i çan aca mâmaviztic: aço centetzintli tilma- tzintli, maxtlatzintli: anoço cueitl, vipilli. Auh in qujtzacuja, tlaqualtzintli, atzintli, octli: injc qujtlapaoa

14. *quetzalli* is repeated in the MS.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "y si esto así fuere quedara desamparado, y andara muerto de hambre por casas agenas...."

16. *Ibid.*: "entre los que no son señores, sino gente honrada o rica...."



Thirty-sixth Chapter. Here it is told how the fathers, the mothers summoned the soothsayers, the wise men, in order that they tell of what sort the day was when the baby was born; they studied the kind of day on which he was born. But these soothsayers first inquired carefully exactly when the baby was born. If it was perhaps not yet exactly midnight, then they assigned the day to the day sign which had passed. But if he had been born when midnight had passed, they assigned the day to the day sign which followed. And if he had been born exactly at the division of the night, they assigned the day to both [day signs]. And then they looked at their books; there they saw the sort of merit of the baby, perhaps good, or perhaps not, according as was the mandate of the day sign on which he was born.

And when the baby was born, then they read the day signs. They summoned the soothsayer;<sup>1</sup> they told him the instant it had arrived,<sup>2</sup> the instant it had been born. Then he looked at, he opened out the writings. The soothsayer studied the day signs. He inquired if perhaps it was during the night that it was born, that it had arrived — perhaps at the division of the night, perhaps [when] the division of the night had passed.

If the division of the night had not already arrived, it belonged in this day in which it was born; to this day sign was assigned its birth. But if the division of the night had passed [when] the baby was born, then it was assigned to that day; to it was assigned the day sign which dawned, the accompanying day sign. And if the baby was born exactly at the division of the night, called midnight, it took all of the preceding day sign; also it took all of the day sign which dawned. And if it was born at daybreak, or [when] there was a little sun, or at about that time, its very lot was the day, the day sign, and its companions which governed there.<sup>3</sup>

Ic cempoalli oncaxtolli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenjn tetaoan, tenanoan, qujnnotzaia in tonalpouhque, in tlamatinqme: injc qujtoaia in quenamj itonal catca, in otlacat piltontli: qujtaia in quenamj tonalli ipan otlacat. Auh in iehoantin tonalpouhque: achto vel ic tlatlanja, in quenman vel otlacat piltontli: in cujx aiama vel iooalnepantla: ic itech qujpoaia in tonalli, i cemjlvtlapoali, in oqujz. Auh intla oqujz iooalnepantla, tlacatia: itech qujpoaia in tonalli, i cemjlvtlapoalli, in oallatoquilia: auh intla vel iooalli ixelivian tlacatia: necoc qujpoaia in tonalli. Auh njman qujtaia in jmamux: vncan qujtaia, in quenamj imaceoal piltontli: in cujx qualli, in cujx noço amo: in juh catca itoloca i cemjlvtlapoalli: in jpan otlacat.

Auh in jquac otlacat piltzintli: njman qujtonalpovia, qujnotza in tonalpouhqui, qujnonotza in jnman oieco, in jnman otlalticpacqujz, Niman qujta, qujçoa in jttil, in jtlapal: in iehoatl tonalpouhqui, qujta i cemjlvtlapoalli: tlatlanj. Cujx iooaltica in otlacat, in oieco, cujx xelivi iooalli, cujx, oonqujz in iooalli xelivi:

intlacaiemo aci iooalli xelivi: oc nepa cemjlvtl ipan pov, in jpan otlacat: oc nepa tonalli itech pouhqui in jtlatcatiliz: auh intla oqujz iooalli xelivi, otlacat piltzintli, ie nipa cemjlvtl itech pov: iehoatl itech pov in tonalli in ie oallathuj, tlatquj tonalli: auh intla vel iooalli xelivi, in mjtoa iooalnepantla tlacati piltzintli: ixqujch qujcuj in ialoa tonalli, no jxqujch qujcuj, in ieh oallathuj, cemjlvtl tonalli: auh intla tlathujnaoc tlacati, anoço achi tonatiuh, anoço quenman o, vel inemac i cemjlvtl in tonalli, ioan in jtlatqujcaio: in vncan tlatoa.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "a este proposito, yean luego a buscar, y hablar al adiujno que se llama tonalpouhqui, que quiere decir, sabe conocer la fortuna de los que nacen...."

2. Read oecoc.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "atribuya el nacimiento al caracter que regia en aquel dia, y a los demas que llevaua consigo."

Then he opened out, he looked at their books, at his paintings, his writings; he read, examined, looked at the day sign on which the baby was born, studied which were those related to it which governed there. If perhaps it was a bad day, perhaps good were its companions which governed there. This improved it.

Then he consulted the parents, the old men, the old women; he said to them: "Good is [the day sign] on which he was born. He will govern, be a lord, be a ruler." Or else he said: "He will have wealth." Or he said: "He will be brave, an eagle warrior, an ocelot warrior, a valiant warrior; he will provide sacrificial victims; he will be in the military command; he will provide drink, he will provide offerings to the sun, to Tlaltecutli." Or he would say to them: "The baby hath arrived at a bad time, in the time of an evil day sign. However, good are its companions, which govern there, for they help, improve, moderate the evil day sign."

Then he established when it was to be bathed: he said, "Four days from now it will be bathed."

And if it was not a good day, if it was an evil day sign on which it was born, on which the baby had arrived, and if those which governed there, along with the day, were also evil, if its companions were evil, if there was no improvement for the day, he indicated how the baby would be.

He said to them: "It is in the time of an evil day sign that the baby was born, for it is a time of evil. Nothing is its betterment, for it is a most dangerous time. Behold that which will befall him: vice will be his desert; he will become a thief; misery will be his desert, his lot. Vainly will he struggle on earth, but that which will be done will fail. Or he will remain sleeping, he will remain reclining, he will be lazy."

Or he said to them: "Jimson weed will be his desert, his mission. He will take to pulque."

Or he said to them: "He will not grow old. He will only endure a while." [Or he said:] "Consider! The sun was only broken [half good, half bad] when he was born."<sup>4</sup>

Then he chose a good day, not just the fourth day hence, that it be bathed. He still skipped; he sought a good day, or a good one of its companions which governed there. And the desert, the merit, the lot of

Niman quijcoa, quijta imamux, in jtlacujlol, in jtlil, in jlapal, quijpoa, quijxitoca: quijta in tlein tonalli, ipan otlacat piltontli, quijta in tlein vncan tlatoa, in tlein itlatqujcaio, in acaçomo qualli tonalli, aço ie qualli in jtlatqujcaio, in vncan tlatoa: iechoatl quijqualtilia:

njman quijnnonotza in pilhoaque in vevetque, in jlamatque: qujmjlhvia. Qualtzin in jpan omotlacati, petlatiz, icpaltiz, tecutiz, tlatocatiz: anoço quijtoa, mocujtonoz: anoço quijtoa, oquijchtiz, quauhtiz, ocelotiz, tiacauhtiz, imac manjz in quauhxicalli, in quauhpiaztli, quauhpetapan, ocelopetapan iez, catlitiz, quijtlamacaz in tonatiuh, in tlattecutli: anoço qujmjlhviz. Amo qualcan in omecavi piltzintli, tequantonalpan: iece qualtzin in vncan tlatoa, in jtlatqujcaio, ca qujnanamjquj, ca quijtlaqualtililia, quijcecevia in tequantonalli:

njman qujtlalia in jquac maltiz: qujtoa: axcan nauhiopan in maltiz.

Auh intlacamo qualli tonalli, intla tequantonalli ipan otlacat, in jpan omecavi piltzintli: intlacamo no qualli in vncan tlatoa, in jpan cemjlhvital: intlacamo qualli in jtlatqujcaio, intlacatle iqualtica i cemjlhvital, quijoliuhtlamachtia in quenamj iez piltzintli:

qujmjlhvia. Ca tequantonalpan in omotlacatili piltzintli, ca amo qualcan: auh ca çan njman atle iqualtica, ca vel ovican. Izca in jpan muchioaz teuhli, tlaçulli ilvil iez: moochtequjiz, icnoiotl ilhvil, inemac iez, néia in moteteçotinemjz tlalticpac: iece atletiz, in tlein mailiz noce cochtoz, vetztoz, tatziuquj iez.

noce qujmjlhvia, mjxitl, tlapatl ilhvil, itequjuh iez, octli qujmocujtlaviz:

noce qujmjlhvia, amo vecaoaz, çan achi tonatiuh quojoallatiz: tla xicmottilican çan tlapantimanj in tonatiuh, in vncan omotlacatili.

Niman quijpepena in qualli tonalli: amo çan nauhiopantica in maltia, oc conchololtia quijtilia in qualtzin tonalli, in anoço qualtzin in vncan tlatoa in jtlatqujcaio. Auh in tonalpouhquj, in ijlhvil, in jmaceoal,

4. See Chap. 30, n. 5. Corresponding Spanish text: "poco vivira sobre la tierra, o les dice: mirad que esta su signo indeferente medio bueno, y medio malo...."

the soothsayer was to drink, to eat; and not just a little did they give him; he went [with] turkeys and a load of food.<sup>5</sup>

in jnemac: atli, tlaqua, qujtlauhtia: auh amo çan quexqujch in quijmaca, çan mantiuh in totolin, auh centlamamalli in tlaqualli.

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5. *Ibid.*: "Lo que merece este adiujno, por esta adiujnanza que le dan a comer, y a beuer, y algunas mantas, y danle muchas cosas que son gallinas, y vna carga de comida."



**Thirty-seventh Chapter.** Here is told the second [element] in the bathing of the babies, and that which was done when a name was given the baby, and the manner of eating, of banqueting.

And when it was time to bathe the baby, then they prepared for him all that was necessary; they prepared, they made for him a little shield, a little bow, little arrows. And they made him four little arrows; they said one belonged to the east, one belonged to the west, one belonged to the south, one belonged to the north. And they made him a tortilla of amaranth seed dough, which became a shield on which arrows were extended, with a bow, and some other things of amaranth seed dough. And [they prepared] food, sauce, [a stew] with beans, parched maize kernels. And it was concluded [with] his little breech clout, his little cape. And poor people only made him the bow, the little arrows, and the little shield; perhaps also tamales and parched maize kernels.

And if a girl was to be bathed, they prepared for her all the equipment of women — the spinning whorl, the batten, the reed basket, the spinning bowl, the skeins, the shuttle, her little skirt, her little shift.<sup>1</sup>

And when this was done, when all which was necessary had been prepared, then all the kin folk, the old men, the old women, the illustrious were assembled. Then they summoned the skilled one, the one in charge of childbirth, the midwife. It was still dark when they were assembled. And when the sun had come to appear, when already there was a little [sun], then the midwife requested a new basin and water. Thereupon she took the baby; she cradled it in her arms. Thereupon were taken in one's arms all which had been prepared; they placed all which had been prepared in the middle of the courtyard. And to bathe it the midwife stood facing the west. Then the midwife bathed the baby there.

Injc cempoalli oncaxtolli omome capitulo, vncan mjtota: injc vntlamantli, in jnnealtiliz pipiltonti: auh in tlein muchioaia injc tocamacoa piltondi: ioan in quenjn tlaqualoia, necoanotzaloia.

Auh in jquac maltia in piltzintli: njman qujcencavilia in jxqujch monenequi, qujcencavilia, qujchivilia chimaltontli, tlavitoltontli, mjtonti: auh navi in mjtonti qujchivilia, qujl ce tlapcopa pouhquj, qujl ce cihoatlampa pouhquj, qujl ce vitztlanpa pouhquj, qujl ce mjctlanpa pouhquj: ioan qujchivilia tzoallaxcalli, chimalli muchioa, mjtl ipan tentiu, tlavitollo, ioan cequj çagan tzoalli, ioan tlaqualli, molli, ioan cheio izqujtl, ioan iecavi imaxtlaton, itilmaton: auh in jcnotlaca, çan ixqujch in tlavitollo, mjtonti, ioan chimaltontli in qujchivilia, aço ioan tamalli, ioan izqujtzintli.

Auh intla cihoatzintli maltiz: qujcencavilia in jxqujch icioatlatquj, in malacatl, in tzotzopatzli, in tanatli, in tzaoalcaxitl, in quatzontli, ixijotl, ycueton, ivipilton.

Auh in ie iuhquj in omocencauh in jxqujch monenequj: njman mocentlalia in jxqujchtin teoaiulque in vevetque, in jlamatque in maviztilonj: njman connotza in tultecatl, in jmac tlacatioan in ticitl, ocooan in necentlalilo: auh in omomanaco tonatiuh, in ie achiton: njman qujtlanj iancujc caxitl in ticitl, ioan atl: njman ic conana in piltzintli, connapaloa; njman ie ic tlanapalolo in jxqujch omocencauh, ithoalnepantla conteca in jxqujch omocencauh: auh injc caltia, ie tonatiuh icalaqujampa itzticac in ticitl: njman vncan caltia in ticitl, in piltzintli:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "aparejauanla todas las alhajas mugeriles, que eran adereços para texer, y para hilar como era uso, y rueca, y lançadera, y su petaquilla, y varo pa hilar eta, y tambien su vipilejo y sus naoas, pequeñitas."

She said to him: "Eagle warrior, ocelot warrior, valiant warrior, youth, my youngest son, thou hast come to arrive on earth. Thy mother, thy father, Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl have sent thee. Thou wert cast, thou wert bored in thy home, the place of duality, [over] the place of the nine heavens. The lord of the near, of the nigh, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, hath given thee.<sup>2</sup> And now arrive with thy mother, Chalchiuhli icue, Chalchiuhltlatonac."

Then she made him taste the water. She said to him: "Take it, receive it. Here is wherewith thou wilt endure, wherewith thou wilt live on earth, wherewith thou wilt grow, wherewith thou wilt develop. Behold, we have completely merited our sustenance on earth. Take it!"

Then she placed water on his breast; she said to him: "Here is the blue water, the yellow water, which cleanseth our hearts, so that they be purified; which washeth away our filthiness. Take it! May it cleanse, may it purify thy heart; may it cleanse it."

Then she poured water on the crown of his head. She said to him: "My youngest son, my youth, take, receive the water of the lord of the earth, our sustenance, our refreshment, which is that which cleanseth one, that which batheth one. May the heavenly water, the blue water, the deep green, go into thy body; may it remain in thy body. May it remove, may it destroy the manner of things thou wert given with which thou wert arrayed in the beginning—the bad, the evil; for we are still left in its hands; we merit it; for even before, our mother, Chalchiuhli icue, knoweth of it."

Thereupon she bathed him all over; she massaged him. She proceeded speaking to him: "Wherever thou art, as thou art a baby cast down to earth: go, move!<sup>3</sup> Now the baby liveth again; he is born again; now he becometh clean, he becometh pure again. Our mother Chalchiuhli icue casteth, perforateth him again."

Thereupon she raised him as an offering to the heavens. She said: "Here is thy little creature. Thou hast sent him, thou hast given him to the earth, a place of pain, a place of torment, a place of penitence. Array him, inspire him! Thou art the master, thou art Ome tecutli, thou art Ome ciuatl."

quijhvia. Quauhtli, ocelutl, tiacauh, telpuchtli, noxocoiouh: otimaxitico in tlalticpac, omjtzalmij, oali in monan, in mota in vme tecutli, in vme ciuatl, otipitzaloc, otimamalioac in muchan in vmeiocan, in chicunauhnepanjuhcan: omjtzmomacavili in tloque, naoaque in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl. Auh in axcan ma itech ximaxiti in monantzin in chalchiuhli icue, in chalchiuhltlatonac:

njman conpaloltia in atl: quijhvia. Xicmocujli, xicmocelili: izcatquj injc tinemjz injc tijoliz tlalticpac, injc titzmolinjz, injc ticeliaz: izca in techcenmaceuh, in toiolca, in tonenca tlalticpac, xicmocujli,

Niman ijelpan quijtlalilia in atl, quijhvia. Izca, in matlalatl, in toxpalatl: in quipaca, in chipaoa in toollo, in catoctia in catzaoliztli: xicmocujli, ma quijqualtili, ma quijectili in moiollotzin, ma quijchipaaoa.

Niman iquanepantla contequjlia in atl: quijhvia. Noxocoiouh notelpuchtzin: ma xicmocujli, ma xicmocelili in jatzin tlalticpaque, in tonenca, in toulca, in tocelica: in techipaoanj, in teahaltianj, ma motlacapan iauh, ma motlacapan nemj in jlhvicaatl, in matlalatl, in xopaleoac: ma quijquani, ma quipolo: in quenamj timacoc, ic tapanaloc in iooaan in aquallotl, in aieciotl: ca oc imac ticaoalo in timaccoalit, ca oc ie quijmati in tonan in chalchiuhli icue:

njman ie novian caltia, qujmamatiloa: qujtonemj: canjn tica, injc titlamotlalli piltzintli: xictlal-cavi, ximjquan: axcan oc ceppa ioli, tlacati, in pil-tzintli: axcan oc ceppa qualtila, oc ceppa iectia, oc ceppa quipitz, qujmamali in tonan in chalchiuh-tlicue.

Niman ie ic conjiava in aco, in jlhvica: conjtoa. Ca izcatquj in motlaiocultzin, in otiqualmjaoali, no tiqualmomacavili in toneoia, in chichinacoian, in tlamacealoian, in tlalticpac: ma xiqualmuchichivili, ma xiqualmjpichili in titlacatl, in tometecutli, in tomechihoatl:

2. A translation of this passage may be read in Garibay, *Llave*, p. 293. The rôle of Quetzalcoatl as a creator god has been discussed by a number of authoritative scholars; see among recent works that of Cottie A. Burland, *The Selden Roll* (Monumenta Americana, Vol. II, ed. Gerdt Kutscher; Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1955), both explanatory text and reproduction of the roll.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "A dödequjera que estas tu, que eres cosa impezible al niño dexale, y vete, apartate del..."

A second time she raised him up; she raised him as an offering to the heavens. She said: "I address thee, I cry out to thee, thou who art mother of the gods, thou who art Citlallatonac, thou who art Citlalicue. Whatsoever is thy spirit, give it to him. Give thy spirit to the commoner."

A third time she raised him as an offering to the heavens. She said: "Now, ye who are dwellers in the heavens, ye who are heavenly noblemen, ye who are assembled in the heavens: here is the commoner. Whatsoever is your spirit, give it to him. Give your spirit to him that he may dwell on earth."

A fourth time she raised him as an offering to the heavens. She addressed, she cried out to the sun. She said: "Our mother, our father, Tonatiuh, Tlaltecutli: here is the commoner, thy troupe, thy roseate spoonbill, the eagle, the ocelot. Unto thee I declare him, unto thee I commend him, unto thee I raise him as an offering — to thee, the resplendent one, the turquoise prince, the eagle, the ocelot which is ashen, which is well blotched, the brave warrior, the valiant warrior.<sup>4</sup> He is thy possession, thy property; he is dedicated to thee. For this was he created, to provide thee drink, to provide thee food, to provide thee offerings. He belongeth to the battlefield there in the center, in the middle of the plains."

Then she took up the shield, the bow, the spear. She said: "Here are the instruments of war,<sup>5</sup> the little shield, the shield, the spear, the long one, the curved one, which are for thy gladness, for thy praise. Provide that which thou providest [for warriors], whatsoever his desert, his merit, his lot. Perhaps he will be able to arrive by thee. Perhaps he will be able to go there; perhaps he will go to know thy home, the place of contentment, the place of happiness, there where the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, the valiant warriors, those who died in war, rejoice, are glad, are happy, remain gladdening thee, remain giving cries to thee. Perhaps the poor commoner will be able to arrive by them. Show him mercy, master, ruler."

And all during the time that she bathed the baby, a pine torch stood burning. It was not extinguished. And then they there gave him a name, they there gave him his earthly name. Perhaps they would give

injc oppa cacocuj, in conjiaoa ilhvicac: qujtoa. Nimjtznotza, njmjtztzatzilia: in teteu tinnan, in Ticitlallatonac, in Ticitlallicue, quenamj njhijo: ma xicmomaqujli, ma itech ximjhijoti in maceoalli.

Injc expa conjiaoa in jlhvicac: qujtoa. In axcan in jlhvicac anchaneque, in amjxqujchtin in amjlhv-capipilti, in ilhvicac ammonoltitoque: ca izcatquj in maceoalli, quenamj amjhijo, ma xicmomaqujlican, ma itech ximjhijotican, injc nemjz tlalticpac.

Injc nappa conijaoa in jlhvicac, qujnotza, qujtzatzilia in tonatiuh: qujtoa. Tonan, tota tonatiuh, tlaltecutli: izcatquj in maceoalli, in moquaquan, in moquechol, in quauhtli, in ocelutl, movic noconjtoa, movic noconpoa, movic noconjaoa in tehoatl in titonametl, in tixippilli, in tiquauhtli, in tocelutl, in vel tinexeoac, in vel ticuicujlivic in toquijchtli in titia-cauh: ca maxcatzin, ca motlatqujtzin, ca motech-tzinco pouhquj: ca ic oiocoloc in mjtzatlitiz, in mjtztlamacaz vmpa pouhquj in teuatenpan, in tlachinoltenpan, in jxtlaoatl ijtic, in-pantla.

Niman cacocuj in chimalli, in tlavitelli, in tlacochtli: qujtoa. Izcatquj in iooalli iolinca in jchiaoaloca in, in tevevelli, in chimalli, in tlacochtli, in pitzaoac in tlanololli in maviltloca, in mooviloca: ma xicmoiocolili in tlein ticmoiocolilia, in quenamj ijlhvil, imaceoal, inemac: cujx vel motech-tzinco aciz, cujx vel vmpa iaz, cujx matituh in muchan in avialoian, in vellamachoia: in vnpa paquj, avija, vellamat in quauhtin, in ocelo, in tiacaoan, in iaomjcque in mjtzaviltitinemj, i mjtzoiowitzinemj, cujx vel intech aciz, motolinja in maceoalli: ma xiqualmocnoittili tlacatl, tlatoanj.

Auh in jxquijchcauh caltia piltzintli, ocpilli tlalticac, amo cevi: auh njman vncan qujtocamaca, vncan qujmaca in jtlalticpactoca, in aço ictuzin qujtocamamaz, qujtonaleoaz:

4. Ibid.: "Señor sol, y tlaltecutli, que soys mi madre, y mi padre, veys aquí esta criatura, que es como un ave de pluma rica, que se llama caquán, o quechul, vuestra es, y e determinado de os la ofrecer a vos señor sol, que tambien os llamays totonametl y xipilli, y quauhtli, y oceluti y pintado como tigre de pardo, y negro, que soys valiente en la guerra...."

5. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

him the name of his grandfather; it would enhance his lot.<sup>6</sup>

Then the midwife addressed him, cried out to him. If [his name were] Yaotl, the midwife spoke man's talk. She said to him: "O Yaotl, O Yaotl, take thy shield, take the spear, the little shield which is for the gladness of the sun."<sup>7</sup>

Then she tied on [his cape], she bound on the breech clout. And the youths, the young boys, assembled, gathered together when the child had been bathed, when, it was said, the holy [ritual] had concluded. Then they took up the umbilical cord offering of the baby; they snatched it and ran; they went off eating it. They went addressing, they went shouting at the baby; thus they went shouting out that which was his name.

If [his name were] Yaotl, they went saying to him: "O Yaotl, O Yaotl, know the interior of the plains, the middle of the plains, the battlefield. O Yaotl, O Yaotl, thou wilt gladden the sun, Tlaltecutli. Thou wilt provide him drink, thou wilt provide him offerings.<sup>8</sup> Thou belongest with the eagle warriors, with the ocelot warriors, with the valiant warriors, those who died in war, who gladden, who cry out to the sun." And they came saying: "O valiant warriors, come, eat the umbilical cord offering of Yaotl."

These [young men], they said, corresponded to, represented, those who had died in war, because they robbed the umbilical cord offering of the baby. And when all was done, all which pertained to the midwife, then they brought the baby into the house. The pine torch went on burning.

vncan ic quijnotza, ic quijtzatzilia in ticitl: intla iaotl, oqujchtlatoa in ticitl: quijlhvia: iautle, iautle xoconcu in mochimal, xoconcu in tlacochtli, in tevevelli, in javiltloca tonatiuh:

njman quijtlalpilia, ic contzitzqua in maxatl. Auh in telpopuchtonti, in oqujchpilto in monechicoa, mocentlalia in oonmalti piltzintli, in mjtoa onqujz teoiutl: njman quijcujteo in jxic iven pilton-tli, qujmoltalochtia, qujquâquativi, qujnotztivi, qujtzatzilitivi in piltontli, ic quijtzatzilitivi in tlein itoca:

intla iautl quijlhvitivi. Iautle, iautle, xontlamati in jxtlaoatl ijtic, in jxtlaoatl inepantla, in teuatenpan, in tlachinoltenpan: iautle, iautle ticaviltiz in tonatiuh, in tlattecultli, ticatlitiz, tictlamacaz, intech tipouhquj in quaughtin, ocelo, in tiacaoan, in iaomjcque in cavilia, in coovia tonatiuh: ioan conjtotivi. Tiacaoane xioalhvian, xicxicvenquaquj in iautl:

injque in, qujl iaoqujzque ipan pov, ipan mjxeoa: ipampa i çan qujnamoia in jxicven piltonli. Auh in oixqujch qujchiuh: in jxqujch inepoal ticitl: njman qujcalauja in piltzintli, tlatlatiuh in ocutl.

6. *Ibid.*: "ponen nombre al niño, de alguno de sus antepasados, para que levante la fortuna, y suerte de aquél cuyo nombre le dan...."

7. *Ibid.*: "pongo por caso, que le pone por nombre [sic] iautl: comienza luego a dar voces, y habla como varón con el niño [cf. vocative *yaotle*, used by males, not *yaotl*, used by females], y dízelle de esta manera iautle iautle, que quiere decir o hōbre valiente rescribe toma tu rodela, toma el dardo que es poderoso para la batalla de todo el día...." The last nine words are in a different, later hand, replacing what had been cut off from the foot of the page (probably when the MS was bound). In Sahagún, Garibay ed., p. 208, the passage reads: "...el dardo, que estas son tus recreaciones, y regocijos del sol": as is more likely than the reconstruction attempted in the Florentine Codex MS.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "tu oficio es, regocijar al sol y a la tierra, y darlos de comer y beber...."



Thirty-eighth Chapter. Here are told how the girls were bathed, and what in particular was done to them, and what was done when they placed the babies in the cradle for the first time, and what the midwife said.

And the female was thus bathed: the midwife bathed her in the same way as the baby boy was bathed, as was told. Also [they made preparations] with kernels of parched maize; also the owners of the books, the soothsayers, selected the day; also [the rite was performed] in the middle of the courtyard; also, when the sun appeared a little, they bathed her in a new basin. However, behold how the bathing of the baby girl [and] the bathing of the baby boy were different. The bathing of the baby boy has been told.

And they prepared for the baby girl a little skirt, a little shift, and all the equipment of women, the little reed basket, the spinning whorl, the batten. They placed it all in the middle of the courtyard. When the baby girl was bathed, the midwife placed the water in a new basin. Then she uncovered the baby. Then she raised it as an offering in the four directions; then she lifted it up, she raised it as an offering to the heavens. Then she took the water. First she made it taste the water; then she placed water on its chest; then she poured water on the crown of its head.

The midwife proceeded addressing the baby; she proceeded saying to it: "Attain, receive thy mother Chalchiuhlti icue."

When the midwife made the baby taste the water, she said to it: "Here is thy mother, the mother of all of us, Chalchiuhlti icue. Take it, receive it; open thy mouth. Here is wherewith thou wilt endure, wherewith thou wilt continue to live on earth."

When the midwife placed the water on the chest, on the heart of the baby, she said to it: "Take it, receive it. Here is wherewith thou wilt grow, wherewith thou wilt develop. [Here is] that which will

Ic cempoalli oncaxtolli omei capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in juh maltiaia cihoapipiltonti, ioan in tlein inneixcavil, inpan muchioaia, ioan in tlein muchioaia, in jquac iancujcan quincoçolaquaja pipilotonti: ioan in tlein qujtoaia ticitl.

Auh in cihoatl ic maltiaia injc caltiaia ticitl: çan ie no ivi in maltia oqujchpiltontli, in juh omjto: çan no izqujtic, no qujtonalpepenja in amoxoa, in tlâpouhquj, no itoalnepantla, no iancujc caxtica in caltia, no iquac in achi oalmomana tonatiuh: iecc izca ic patiliuhtica in jnnealtiliz in oqujchpiltontli, in cihoapiltontli: in oqujchpiltontli incaltiliz, ca omjto.

Auh in cihoapiltontli, qujcencavilia cuetontli, vипiltonli, ioan in jxqujch ciatlatqujtl, tanatontli, mala-catl, tzotzopatztl, much itoalnepantla qujoalteca. In jquac maltia ciapiltontli: iancujc caxic qujteca in atl in ticitl: njman qujpepetlaoa in piltontli, njman nauhcampa qujiaoa: njman conacocuj, ilvicac conjiaoa: njman concuj in atl: achtopa conpaloltia: njman ijelpan contlalilia: njman iquanepantla contequjlia in atl,

qujnotzinemj in piltontli in iehoatl ticitl: qujvitinemj. Ma itech ximaxiti, ma xicmocelili in monantzin in chalchiuhlti icue:

in jquac qujpaloltia atl in ticitl, in piltontli: qujlvia. Izcatquj in monantzin, in tocennan, in Chalchiuhlti icue: xicmocujli, xicmocelili, ximocamachalolti: izcatquj injc tinemjz, injc tiultinemjz tlalticpac:

in jquac ijelpan, ijollopan qujtlalilia atl, in ticitl, in piltontli: qujlvia. Xicmocujli, xicmocelili: izcatqui injc titzmolinjz, injc ticeliajz, in qujxitiz, auh in qujchipaoaz, auh in qujtzmolinaltz in tlaçotli, in

awaken, and which will purify, and which will cause growth of that which is precious." That which is named precious, this is our heart; especially is it the liver.

And when she poured water on the crown of its head, she said to it: "Here is the coolness, the tenderness of Chalchiuhltli icue, who is eternally awake. She never considereth, never approacheth somnolence, drowsiness. May she go with thee, may she embrace thee, may she take thee in her lap, in her arms, that thou mayest continue watchfully on earth."

And as she washed it all over, its hands, its feet, she gave a talk to all. Its hands, it was said, she cleaned of thievery. Everywhere on its body, its groin, it was said, she cleaned it of vice.

She proceeded saying to it: "Wheresoever thou art which hath caused harm to my child, here is our mother Chalchiuhltli icue. Leave [the child]. Flow away. Disappear."

This her speech or her prayer she said not in a loud voice; she only continued speaking between the teeth — continued speaking barely intelligibly.

When the midwife had arranged the baby, then she wrapped it in cloth. Then she took it into the house, where the cradle had been prepared. Then she placed it, she set it there in the cradle.

The midwife addressed the cradle; she said to it: "Thou who art mother of all of us, thou who art Yoalticitl, thou who possessest cradling arms, thou who possessest a lap, the baby hath arrived. It was created above us in the place of duality, above the nine-tiered heavens, for our mother, our father Ometecutli, Ome ciuatl have sent it on earth where it will undergo trials, where it will endure fatigue. But it is yet left with thee; thou wilt strengthen it, for thou hast arms, thou hast a lap, even though it is true that our mother, our father Yopaltecumtl, Yacauitztli, Yamanyaliztli sent it."

Then she cried out as she spoke to address the cradle. She said to it: "[Thou who art] its mother, receive it! Old woman, do not do anything to the baby; be gentle to it."

Then the midwife placed the baby in the cradle. And there the parents took [the words]. When the parent placed them in the cradle she always said: "[Thou who art] its mother, receive the baby!"

motocaiotia tlaçotli: iehoatl in toollo: oc cenca  
iehoatl in eltapachtli:

auh in jquac iquanepantla qujtequjlia atl: qujlvia. Izcatquj in jtztic, in celic in Chalchiuhltlicue, in cemjcac itztica: in aic qujttta, in aic itech aci in cochinetzcoatl, in cochiztiaiatli: ma motlan iauh, ma mjtzmonaoatequjli: ma icuexanco, ma imacoch, co mjtzmaqujli: injc titzinemjz tlalticpac.

Auh injc novian qujpapaca, in jmac, in jcxic, muchi qujtlatollotia: in jmac, qujl qujpaqujlia in jchtequjlixtli: in novian itlacapan: in jquejilco, qujl qujpaqujlia in teuhtli, tlaçulli:

qujtotinemj. Canjn tica injc otimotlaloc noconetzin: izcatquj in tonan in chalchiuhltli icue, xictlal, cavi xatoco, xipolivi:

ijnj ic qujtoa itlatol, in manoço itlatlatlauhtiliz: amo naoati, çan motenpepeionjinemj, çan popolocatinemj.

In oqujcencauh piltontli, in ticitl: njman qujtzomaqujmloa, njman qujcalauja: in onca omocencauh in coçulli: njman vncan conteca, vncan conaqua in coçulco:

qujnotza ý coçulli in ticitl qujlvia. In titocennan, in tilooalticitl in timacoche, in ticuexane: ca omecavi in piltzintli, ca oiocoloc in topan in vmeiocan, in chincunauhnepanjuhcan: ca oqujoalmjiali in tonan, in tota in vme tecutli, in vme cihoatl in tlalticpac in qujhijoviz, in qujciaviz: auh ca oc tehoatl motec oalcavi, oc tehoatl tictmotetzaviliz, ca timacoche, ca ticuexane: auh manoço nelli qujoalmjiali in tonan, in tota in Iooaltecutli, in iacaviztli, in iamanjaliztli:

njman tzatz in qujtoa, injc qujnotza coçulli: qujvia. Inantzin: ma xiqualmanjli, ilamatzin maca quen xicmuchi in piltzintli, ma xiciamanjli:

njman ic conteca in coçulco in piltontli, in iehoatl ticitl: auh vncan qujcujque in pilhoaque, in jquac qujncoculteca in pilhoa, muchipa qujtoa: inantzin ma xiqualmanjli in piltzintli.

Then there was rejoicing, drinking, eating; there was drunkenness. It was called *pillanano*, and it was called *tlacoculaquilo*.<sup>1</sup>

Niman ic papacoa, atlio, tlaqualo, tlaano mjtoa: pillaoano, ioan mjtoa tlacoculaquilo.

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: "y a esto llaman pillaoano: y tambien le llama [sic] tlacoculaquilo que quiere decir, posicion o ponjimiento de la criatura en la cuna." In Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, Book II, "The Ceremonies," pp. 152-53, *pillanano* in the month of Incalli is described.



Thirty-ninth Chapter. Here it is told how the mothers [and] the fathers promised that the boys [and] the girls would live in the *calmecac*<sup>1</sup> when they were already partly grown, already somewhat experienced.

And while the baby yet lay [in the cradle], those who desired [their] children, those who loved [their] children, in order, it was said, that the baby would not quickly die, declared it to be for the temple, assigned it to the temple. Where it would be assigned, either to the *calmecac* or to the *telpochcalli*, was as the mother, as the father determined.

If they assigned him to the *calmecac*, it was said they put the male in the *calmecac* to be a priest, to be a penitent, to live cleanly, to live peacefully, to live chastely, to abstain from vice and filth. If it were a female, the same was also said: she would be a priestess, she would become an older sister, she also would live chastely, she would not come in touch with vice and filth, she would live among the continent, the virgins, the so-called older sisters, who resided in the *calmecac*, who were guarded, who remained interned.<sup>2</sup>

And for the baby to be introduced into the temple when it was promised, a feast day was celebrated; drink, food were prepared.

If the baby boy or the baby girl was to belong to the *telpochcalli*, the rulers of the youths were summoned. They ate, they drank; there was the mutual giving of gifts in the spirit of friendship. [The rulers of the youths] took up the baby; they cradled it in their arms to possess it, to make it forever their possession, until it reached a marriageable age.

And to make it known that he belonged to the *telpochcalli*, the [lower] lip was pierced in order to place the lip plug there.

Ic cempoalli oncaxtolli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenjn tenanoan, tetaoan, qujnnetoltiaia in oqujchpiltoonti, in cioapipiltoonti: injc calmecac nemjzque, in jquac ie qualoton, in ie achi ixtlamati.

Auh in ie onoc piltzintli: in pilnequj, in pillhaçoaque: qujlmach injc amo iciuhca mjqujz piltontli, teupan qujtoa, teupan qujpoa: ijollotlama in tenan, in teta in canpa qujpoaz: aço calmecac, anoço telpuchcali.

Intla calmecac qujpoa: mjtoa: calmecac caqua in oqujchtli, tlamacazquj iez, tlamateuhquj iez, chia-paoacanemjz, iocuxcanemjz, mopixtinemjz: acan qujttaz teuhtli, tlaçulli: intla cihoatl, no iuhquj mjtoa: cioatlamacazquj iez, ipitz: no mopixtinemjz, amo teuhtli tlaçulli itech aciz: intlan nemjz in mopixque in jchpupuchi: in mjtoa ipioan in calmecac onoque, in mopia, in caltentoque.

Auh injc aqujlo piltontli in teupan, in jquac netoltilo: ilhvtil quiça, mocencaoa in atl, in tlaqualli.

Intla telpuchpan poviz piltontli: in anoço cihoapiltontli: notzalo in telpuchtlatoque, atli, tlaqua: nel motlauhtia in netlacamatcapan: conana, connapaloa in piltontli: injc conmaxcatia, cemjcac ymaxca, ixqujchca in tlapaliuhcatitiuh:

auh injc macho in telpuchpan povi, motexapotla, injc vncan motentetia.

1. *calmecac*: in our translation often referred to as "priests' house." Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 781, and elsewhere (*calmecac*, *calmecatl*). Various translations of the term are more or less current. Cf. also León-Portilla, *op. cit.*, Chap. 5 and pp. 378-79; Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 325. The Codex's corresponding text in Chap. 39 refers to "la casa de religión," "el monasterio," in connection with both *calmecac* and *telpochcalli*; for example, "aquella religión, o manera de vivir que se llamó [sic] *telpochcalli*" (fol. 176v), and "la religión del *calmecac*" (*loc. cit.* and fol. 177v). Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 211-13.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "anja de vivir en castidad, y guardarse [sic] de todo deleite carnal, y vivir con las vírgenes religiosas, que se llaman las hermanas que vivían en el monasterio, que llamaban *calmecac*, que vivían encerradas."

And if the baby girl belonged to the *telpochcalli*, she was left in the hands of, she was entrusted to the one called the leader of the girls. When she was already partly grown, she was to live in the place of song, to serve the god to whom she was dedicated; his name was Moyocoya, and his name was Tezcatlipoca, and his name was Yaotl. This [girl in the meantime] lived only with her mother, with her father.

And if [the child] was to be dedicated to the *calmecac*, if the baby boy was to be a priest, or if the baby girl was to be a priestess, when [the child] was placed in [the *calmecac*], drink, food were also prepared. The old priests, whose names were *quaquacuitin*, were summoned; these were informed, and they informed the priest called Quetzalcoatl; because nowhere did [the latter] enter [any] one's house, for he was venerated, feared, considered as a god; he could enter only the palace, the house of the ruler. Thereupon they carried the girl to the temple; they took her in where she was assigned, where she was promised. They grasped her [hand, or] took her in their arms; they carried her into the presence of, they raised her up as an offering to the god called Quetzalcoatl, the one whom the priests served.

They said to him: "O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, here is thy vassal, the commoner. The mother, the father come bearing her, come dedicating her, come bringing her as an offering unto thee. Thou dost not mistake her, for the poor thing is thy property. Receive her. Perhaps for a little she will perform for thee here the sweeping, the cleaning, here in thy house, the house of penance, the house of weeping, the house of tears, where the daughters of noblemen remove the secrets from thy bosom, from thy lap,<sup>3</sup> where thou art consulted, where thou art called upon, where thou art called out to in sorrow, where thy spirit, thy words are demanded. Show her mercy, receive her. Assign her to — may she be with<sup>4</sup> — the penitent, the priestesses, those of cut [hair]. O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, incline thy heart, favor her with that which thou wilt favor her, with that with which thou wilt compensate her."

When she was already somewhat grown, they placed a marking on her, it was said; they scarified

Auh in cihoapiltontli, in telpuchpan povi: imac caoalo, qujmocujtlavia, in mjtoa: ichpuctiachcauh, in ie qualton cujcoian nemijz: injc qujtlaiecoltz in jtech povi teoutl, in jtoca Moiocoia, ioan itoca Tezcatlipuca, ioan itoca Iautl: auh injn çan jtlan nemjin jnanzin, in jtatzin:

auh intla calmecac poviz, intla tlamacazquij iez piltontli, anoço cioapiltontli. Intla cioatlamacazquij iez: in jquac aqujlo, no mocencaoa in atl, in tlapalli: notzalo in tlamacazque vevetque, in jntoca Quaquacujltin: iechoantin caqujtilo: auh iechoantin qujcaqujquia in tlamacazquij, in mjtoa Quetzalcoatl: ipampa amo canpa tepan calaquij, ca mavizio, ca tlamauhitia iuhqujnma teumacho: çanjio tecpan, datocan in vel calaquij: njman vnpa qujvica in piltontli in teupan, in vnpa caquja, in vnpa qujpoa, in vnpa qujnetoltia, quojalana, quojalnapaloa: ixpan qujvica, ixpan conjiaoa in teoutl, in mjto Quetzalcoatl, in qujlaiecoltz tlamacazque:

qujvicia. Tlacate, totecujoe, tloquee, naoaque: aca izcatquij in mocujtlapiltzin, in matlapaltzin in maceoalli: movictzinco qujtzqujtvitz, qujtotivitz, qujvenchiuhvitvitz in nantli, in tatli: ca tel amo ticmotlanevilia, ca maxcatzin, motolinja: manoço xicmocelili: anoço achica njcan ochpanoaztli, tlacujcujlitzli mjtzmuchivililiz, in njcan mochantzinc, in tlamaceoalizcali, in choqujzcali, in jxaiocali: in vncan moxillantzinco, mocozcatlantzinco mamaavi in tepilhoan, in vncan tinotzalo, in vncan titzatzil, in vncan titlaoculnonotzalo, in vncan titlanjilo, in mjhijo, in motlatol: manoço xicmocnelili, ma xicmocelili: ma intech xicmopovili, ma inioan povi in tlamaceuhque, in tlamacazque, in motecque. Tlacate, totecujoe, tloquee, naoaque: ma tlacaoa in moiolltzin, ma xicmopovili, in tlein tcmopoviliz, in tlein tcmocuepiliz.

Niman qujmachiotia in ie achi qualton, mjtoa qujquapaxotla, ijelpan qujtequj: auh in oc conetontli

3. *Ibid.*: "donde las hijas de los nobles, meten la mano en vñas riquezas...." References in this chapter to the reception of females into the *calmecac* or the *telpochcalli* are more often explicit in the Spanish than in the Nahuatl text.

4. Read *inuan*.

her hip, they incised her chest; and when she was yet a small child, they provided her with the *yaqualli* necklace. And the female child, even though already somewhat older, they provided only with the *yaqualli* necklace. While yet the child was small, its mother [and] its father reared it — [whether a] male child [or] a female child. But when already older, then the male child entered the temple; he entered the *calmecac*, the house of penance. The female child, when already grown, also entered the *calmecac* where her older sisters remained, where they were guarded.

quijcozcatia hijaqualli. Auh in cioatl conetontli, inmanel noço ie achi vei: çanijo quijcozcatia in hijaqualli: in oc conetepil qujoapaoa in jnantzín, in jtatzin, in oquichpiltontli, in cioapiltontli. Auh in ie vei: njman calaquj in teupan in oquichpiltontli, calmecac calaquj tlamaceoalizcali. In cioapiltontli in ie qualton: no calaquj in calmecac in vñcan onoque, in vñcan mopia ipihoan.



Fortieth Chapter.<sup>1</sup> Here it is told how the mothers, the fathers, the kinsmen, the old men, the old women assembled when it was time to introduce [their children] into the *calmecac*, as had been their vow.<sup>2</sup> And they advised the boy or the girl; they informed [the child] of the vow whereby they had promised him, and of the place where they had promised him. And they told him how he was to live.

"Now our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath placed thee here, and thy mother, thy father are here, they from whose loins thou camest. And although thou camest from the loins of thy mother, of thy father, even before thy mother, [thy father] is the one who traineth, who reareth, who openeth the eyes, who openeth the ears; the one in whose hands, in whose mouth is the reprimanding.<sup>3</sup>

"And now grasp, hear this: when thou wert yet a tender thing, thy mother, thy father dedicated thee, presented thee as an offering to the *calmecac*. They assigned thee to the sweeping, to the cleaning for the lord, our lord Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. And now [for] this thy mother, thy father are here, to entrust thee, to raise thee up as an offering where thou belongest, where thou art a possession, where thou art property.

"Take heed, O my son, O my grandson, O hair of my head, O nail of my finger, O youngest son: thou wert given life, thou wert born on earth. The master, our lord, sent thee. And thou comest not as thou wert before; before, thou couldst not defend thyself; before, thou couldst not stretch out thy arms. Truly thy mother hath given thee strength; with thee, she hath endured fatigue, weariness; with thee,

Ic vmpoalli capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenjn in ic iquac qujncalaqujzque in calmecac, in juh ca inetol: ic mocentlalia in tenanoan, in tetaoan, auh in teoaiulque, in vevetque, in jlamatque: ioan qujnonotzaia in oqujchpiltontli, in anoço cioapiltontli: qujcaqujta in netolli injc qujnetoltique, ioan in canjn qujnetoltique: ioan qujlviaia in quenjn vel nemjz.

In axcan ca njcan mjtzalmotlalia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: auh ca njcan oncatquj in monantzin, in motatzin, in jntechcpa otimoqujxti: auh maçonelivi in monantzin, in motatzin, in jntechcpa otimoqujxti: oc vel ie monantzin in tlacazcaltianj, in tlacaoapaoanj, in teixcoionjanj, in tenacaztlapoanj, in jmac, in jcamac ca in alcecec, in tzitzicaztli.

Auh injn axcan, xicmocujli, xicmocaqujti: ca oc tatzintli in mjtzito, in mjtzvenchiuh in monantzin, in motatzin in calmecac mjtzpouh in ochpanoaztli, in tlacujcujliztli ticmochivililiz in tlacatl, in totecujo, in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl: auh injn axcan, ca iz oncatquj in monantzin, in motatzin: mjzonmacaoa, mjzonjiaoa in vnpa tipouhquj, in vnpa titlatqujtl, in vnpa taxcatl.

Tla xiccaquj nopiltze, noxviuhtze, tzontle, iztittle, xocoiotle: ca otimoioliti, ca otimotlacatili in tlaliticpac: ca omjtzalmjoalli in tlacatl in totecujo: auh amo ieppa tiuhqujn tioalla y, amo ieppa vel timomapatla, amo ieppa vel timaçoa: quemaca omjtzmotetzavili in monantzin, ca omotlan qujhijovi, omotlan qujciauh, omotlan cochiaiatricatca, oaxixpalanticatca: auh ijaiotzin injc omjtzmotetzavili: auh ie tiuhca-

1. Another translation of fols. 178r-181v of this chapter — the exhortations of the father to the son — may be found in Garibay, *Literatura*, pp. 128-31.

2. Read *innetol*.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "mas verdaderamente sō tu padre y tu madre, los que te an de criar, y ensenarte [sic], las buenas costumbres, y te an de abrir los ojos, y los oydos, para que veas y oias, ellos tienen autoridad para castigar, y para herir, y para reprender a sus hijos que enseñan."

she hath nodded half asleep; she hath been soiled by [thy] excretions; and with her milk she hath given thee strength. But even as thou art, thou wishest to look for thyself, to move for thyself.

"Now go where thy mother, thy father have dedicated thee with paper, with incense, to the *calmecac*, the house of weeping, the house of tears, the house of sadness, where the sons of noblemen are cast, are perforated; where they bud, where they blossom; where like precious necklaces, like precious feathers they are placed, ordered by our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh; where he by whom we live showeth compassion, where he selecteth one. Thence emerge our lords, the lords, the rulers, the guardians of the city; thence emerge those who assume the reed mat, the reed seat of authority, whom our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, setteth there, selecteth there: those who are of the order of eagles, those of the order of ocelots; those in whose hands rest the eagle vessel, the eagle tube.<sup>4</sup>

"And for this go, O my son, O my grandson. See to it that thou lookest not longingly to thy home, to something within thy house. And do not say something within thyself, do not say: 'My mother is there, my father is there. My neighbors, my protectors exist, flourish.<sup>5</sup> And my property is there, my possessions are there; I have drink, I have food. I came to life, I was born at the place of abundance, a place of riches.'<sup>6</sup> It is ended; thou goest knowing it.

"Here is what thou art to perform, here is what thou art to do: thou art to sweep, to clean, to place things in order, to arrange things; thou art to hold vigil, to pass the night [in vigil]. Do] that which thou art told to do, [take] that which thou art required to take, [do] that which thou art required to do. In places not easy for running, thou art to run, thou art to proceed with agility. Be not lazy, be not slothful. Hearing it only once thou art to do [what is commanded]. When once thou art to be summoned, thou art to depart light-footed, thou art to depart running; thou art not to be summoned twice. And although not summoned, rise up, rise running, take quickly that which thou art told to take, do quickly that which thou art told to do.

tzintli y, ie quenteltzin timotlachialtzncquj, ie timoholinjznequj.

In axcan ma xoiatiuh in vnpa omjtzamapouh, in vnpa omjtzcopalpouh in monantzin, in motatzin in calmecac, in choqujzcali, in jxaiocali, in tlaoculcali, in vncan mopitza, momamali: in vncan xotla, cuelponj in tepilhoan: in vncan cozcateuh, quetzalteuh motemanilia, motevianjlia in totccujo in tloque, naoaque: in vncan moteicnoittilia, in vncan motepepenjlia in jpalmemoa, in vncan quijca in totccuioan in tetecutin, in tlatoque, in apia, in tepepia, in vncan quijca in petlati, in jcalti, in vncan quijnmanjlia, in vncan quijnmopepenjlia in totccujo, in tloque, naoaque, in quauhpetlatl, in ocelopetlatl ipan cate: in jnmac manj in quauhxicalli, in quauhpiaztl.

Auh injn ma xoiatiuh nopiltze, noxviuhtze: ma nen itla tiqualnacacitta in mochan, in mocalitic: auh ma itla mjtic tiqujto, ma tiqujto: vncia nonan, vncia nota, tlacaonoac, tlaxquaoatoc, in noncaoan in necaoan: auh vncia naxca, vncia notlatquj, naoa, njtlquale, totoncapan, iamancapan nijol, njtlacat: centlamjc ticmattiuh.

Izcan taiz, izcan ticchioaz: tochpanaz, titlacujcujz, chico, tlanaoac titlavicaz, titlatecavaz, ticochiçaz, ticalquixtiz in iooalli: tlein tilhviloz, tlein ticujtlanoz, tlein tichioallanoz: amo cholovaian in ticholoz, titzicujcatinemjz, amo teticapul tiiez, amo tixocopati-capol: çä ce monacaz ticchioaz: in ceppa tinotzaloz titzicujnteoaz, ticholoteoaz, amo oppa tinotzaloz: auh intlacanel tê tinotzalo, ximoquetzteoa, xicholoteoa, tê xicciutivetzi, yn tlein ticujtlano, tê xicchiuh-tivetzi, in tlein tichioallano.

4. *Ibid.*: "tambien los que estan en los oficios militares que tienen poder de matar, y derramar sangre allí se criaron." Cf. also Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, pp. 330 (*cuauhpetlatl*), 346 (*ocelopetlatl*).

5. Possibly to be read *tlaxuauatoc*.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "donde naci: ay riquezas y mantenimientos...." Cf. Siméon, *op. cit.*, *totoncayotl* (p. 655) and *yamancayotl* (p. 141).

"Listen, O my son, as thou goest thou goest not to be honored, to be obeyed, to be respected. Thou art only to be sad, to be humble, to live austerity. But when thou art already a little strong, perhaps thy body becometh perverted, perverse. Punish thyself, humble thyself thoroughly; do not think of vice and filth, do not covet [vice and filth]. O unfortunate art thou if within thyself thou art to covet, to welcome the bad, the evil, vice and filth, for thou wilt lose thy merit, whatever thy merit, that which is thy desert. And to this exert all thy strength; cast away perversion, the distraction of the spirit.

"This is what thou art to accomplish, this is what thou art to do. Thou art to be diligent in the breaking off of [maguey] spines, in the cutting of pine boughs, in the insertion of [maguey] spines [in thy flesh], in the bathing in the streams. And do not gorge thyself with what thou eatest; be moderate; value, be fond of empty-guttedness. He who goeth hungry, famished, goeth skin and bones, he goeth not suffering much in his bones, in his body; [like] a chill and fever, rarely cometh the distraction of the spirit."

"And do not clothe thyself excessively. Let thy body chill, because verily thou goest to perform penance; for thou goest to ask [mercy] of the lord of the near, of the nigh; for thou goest to remove the secrets from the bosom, the lap of our lord. And when the fasting setteth in, when the abstaining from food occurreth, do not break it; that which is done is as all practise it. Do not take it as painful; be diligent in it. And take care [to understand] the writings, the books, the paintings. Enter with the prudent, the wise.

"O my child, O my youth, thou art no longer much of a little bird; for already thou art understanding; already thou hast discretion. Here is a word or two to the satisfaction of us who are old men, who are old women. Go taking it as thy charge; do not reject it. If thou art to laugh at it, accursed art thou. But there thou wilt be told, thou wilt be given some more,<sup>7</sup> for thou goest to a school. There thou wilt examine, thou wilt compare the words of the old men. And if thou hearest something which seemeth

Xiccaquij nopiltze, injc tiauh: amo ic tiauh in timavitztiz, in titlacamachoz, in tixtililoz: çan vel motolol, momalcoch ticchioaz, timopiloz, timocnemjitz: auh in ie achi tioapactzintli: at mjtonja, at mamana in monacaio: ximocotona, ximozqujpijilo: ma nen teuhtli, tlaçulli tiqujlnamjc, ma tiquelevi: omotlaveliltic, intla mjtic xiquelevi, xicceli in aqualli, in aiectli, in teuhtli, in tlaçulli: ca otoconmocavili in momaceoal, in quenamj momaceoal, in tlein molhujl: auh injn cenza ixqujch motlapal xicchiao: njpa xictlaç in neitonjliztli, in neamanaliztli.

Izcan taiz, izcan ticchioaz: itlan taqujz in vitztlapanaliztli, in acxoiapoztequjliztli, in nevitztlaliliztli, in apantemoliztli: auh ma ica tipachiu titlaqua: xitlaixieco, xictlaçotla, itech ximomati in cujtlaçolpitzactli: in çaquaoatinemj, in omjçauhtinemj, amo cenza mjtonjtinemj in jomjo, in jnacaio, in mahan atonavitztli: çan quenman in jpan oallauh neamanaliztli.

Auh ma timotetequenti: ma tetzilivi in monacaio, canel noço titlamaceoato, ca tictlaitlanjlito in tloque, naoaque, ca ixillan, ca itozcatlan timamaiaavito in totecujo: auh in jquac motlalia necujtlaxcolçaoaliztli, in jquac netenoatzaliztli muchioa: ma tiqujtlaco: in quexqujch chioalo injc nemoa: ma tictecococama, itlan xaquj. Auh xicmocujtlavi in tlilli, in tlapalli, in amuxtli, in tlacujlolli: intloc innaoac ximocalaqui in iolizmatque, in tlamatini.

O nopiltze, notelpuchtze: ca aocmo cenza titototzintli, ca ie timotlachialtia, ca ie timotlacaujitia: izcatquij in cententli, in cencamatl, in tonequjxtl in tivevetque, in tilamatque: ma xoconmotqujlitih, maca can tocontlatlaçaz: intla xicvetzca, omotlaveliltic: à tel quexqujchitzan vmpa tilhvilo, vmpa timacoz, ca nezcalilizcali in tiauh: à vmpa ticnepanoz, à vmpa ticnamjctiz in jntlatol vevetque: auh intla itla avmpa itztiuh ticcaquj, maço tivalvetzca. O notlaçopiltze, noxocoiove: maiecuel, ma xonmo-

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "los que andan flacos, y se les parecen los huesos, no desean su cuerpo, y sus huesos las cosas de la carne; y si alguna vez viene este deseo, presto pasa como una calentura de enfermedad."

8. quexqujchitzan: read quexquichtzin.

not correct, thou art not to laugh. O my precious son, O my youngest son, it is time to go. Be diligent in the sweeping, in the offering of incense."

Here is that wherewith they advised the girl when she entered the temple. The old men spoke to her briefly. Especially extended were the words of the old women, because some who spoke had been her older sisters, priestesses; also some had inhabited the *calmecac*.<sup>9</sup>

[The old woman] said to her: "My daughter, dove, little one, youngest one, thou hast grasped, thou hast taken the discourse of thy progenitors, those who are here. They have given thee the incomparable [words], like precious things, like bracelets, like precious green stones, resplendent like precious feathers, deep green, wide, perfect,<sup>10</sup> which lie inert, lie folded in their bosoms, in their laps.

"And now herewith a word or two wherewith I help, I reaffirm the mothers, the fathers, the discreet, the able, [who are] the candles, the torches, the mirrors. Take heed, my daughter, my young noblewoman, the youngest one: when thou wert still a tender little thing, still tiny, there were present those from whose loins thou camest, thy father, thy mother, those of whose blood thou art, those of whose color thou art, those of whose essence thou art. Verily thou wert still a tender little thing, yet a girl, yet a baby when they declared thee, promised thee, dedicated thee unto our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, that thou shouldst belong with the good, fine older sisters of our lord, the beautiful, the virgins, those like precious green stones, like bracelets, like precious turquoises, like precious feathers. Thou art to go there, to enter there where the older sisters [of the *calmecac*] are all together, remaining guarded as precious.

"And this [being so], as thou art already of age, put thy heart to it. Do not break, do thy best not to ruin thy vow, for no longer art thou much of a girl, for no longer art thou much of a baby, for already thou hast discretion.

"And this: thou goest not to the place of courtesans, the place of diversions, [but rather] to the house of our lord; for there the word is awaited; he is summoned, he is cried out to. It is a house of

vica: ma itlan xonmaqujti in ochpanoaztli, in trena mactli.

Izcatquj ic quijnonotza in cioapiltontli, in jquac teupan calaquj: in vevetque, can qualli in quijtoa: oc cenza iehoan veiaquja in jntlatol ilamatque: ipampa ca cequijntin ipihoan catca, ciatlamacazque in tlaotl, no cequijntin calmecac nencia:

quijvia. Nochpuchtzin, cocotzin, tepetzin, xocotl: ca otoconmocuji, ca otoconmanjli in jmjhijo-tzin in motechiuhcaoan in monoltitoque: ca omijzonmomaqujlique in anemjuhquj in tlaotl, in maqujztic, in chalchiuhitic in cuecueioca: auh in juhquj in quetzalli in xopaleoac, in patlaoac, in vel iaque, in jnxillantzinco, in intozcatlantzinco, in cepoatoc, in cuelpachiuhtoc.

Auh in axcan: njcan cententica, cencamatica, ic njqujnnpalevilia, ic njqujnnpatilia, in nanti, in tati, in jxeque, in nacaceque, in iolloque, in tlaviltil, in ocome, in tezcame. Tla xicmocaqujti nochpuchtzin, nocioapiltzin, xocotl: in oc tatzintli, in octitepitzin: meviltiticate in jntechpa timoqujxti in motatzin, in monantzin in timezio, in tintlapallo, in timoxijo: ca oc tatzintli, ca oc ticonetzintli, oc tipiltzintli: in mjtzitoque, in mjtznetoltique, in jvic mjtzitoque in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque, in jtech tipovizquj in qualtin, ictin in jveltioatzitzinoan totecujo, in chipaoaque, in jchpupuchtin, in chalchiuhitin, in maqujztin in teuxiuhtin, in quetzalti: ca vmpa timovicaz, ca vmpa timocalaqujz: in vmpa cenqujztoque, in motlaçopixtoque in jpihoan.

Auh injn ca ie tiuhcatzintli in: ma xiciollocacopavi, ma te xicxitinj, ma moiollcopa xicvelo in monetol: ca aiocmo cenza ticonetl, ca aiocmo cenza tipiltontli, ca ie timotlacauqujtitl:

Auh injn: ca amo avilpan, ca amo camanalpan in tiauh: ca ichan in totecujo, ca vmpa tlatolchialo, ca vmpa notzalo, tzatzililo, ca choqujzcali, ca ixaiocali, ca tlaoculcali: ca vncan ixillantzinco, itozcatlantzinco

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "porque las que habían estado en el monasterio y así eran bacheleras...."

10. Cf. Chap. 33, n. 5; Chap. 34, n. 7.

weeping, a house of tears, a house of sadness, where the secrets of our lord are taken from his bosom, from his lap; where his spirit, his words are requested, are sought; where there is penance.

"Whoever hath wept, whoever hath sorrowed, whoever hath sighed, whoever hath hung his head, whoever hath humbled himself, whoever entereth unto our lord hath benefited himself; for our lord will array him; he will grant him that he will attain that which is his desert, his merit. For our lord faileth no one.

"But whoever also belittleth one, whoever is negligent, verily of his own volition plungeth himself into the torrent, from the crag, and certainly our lord will smite him with suffering, perhaps putrefaction, perhaps blindness, perhaps paralysis. And he will live in poverty on earth, he will endure misery, rags, tatters. As his ending which he will attain on earth, he will be poverty-stricken, he will be consumed by pain.

"And [because of] this, my youngest child, my daughter, go carefully, little by little; arrive with, approach the precious noblewomen, the virgins, the beloved older sisters of our lord, those called, those named the older sisters, the penitents, the weepers, the sad ones.

"Here is what thou art to accomplish, here is what thou art to do, here is thy vow. Thou art to live in purity. Thou art not to recall—in thy heart are not to enter—within thyself thou art not to foster vice and filth; do not consider it to thyself, do not wish it, nor long for it. Thy heart is to become as a precious green stone, a precious turquoise. Thou art to exert thy heart, thy body; thou wilt forget, banish the things of the world. Thus thou gainest merit.<sup>11</sup>

"Thou art to think only of, to be diligent in, to take care of the sweeping, the cleaning, and then of the drink, of the food of the lord of the near, of the nigh. Is it true that our lord is fed as a person? Is it rather only offerings? Be diligent with the grinding stone, the chocolate, the making of offerings. And be obedient; do not be summoned twice. Nobility is the good doctrine, the way of prudence, the way of reverence, the way of fear, and then the way of peace.

"Do not live like a fool; do not go panting. Let people live as they will live; do not take heed of

mamaiaooa in totecujo: vñca itlanjlilo, vñcan temolilo in jhijotzin, in jlatoltzin, vñcan tlamaceoalo.

Aqujn onchocac, aqujn ontlaocux, aqujn onelci- ciuh, aqujn ontolo, aqujn onmopechtecac, aqujn vel itlan onmocalaquj totecujo: ca onmocneli: ca quj- muchichiviliz in totecujo, qujmotlamamaqujliz: qujttaz in tlein ilhvil, in tlein imaceoal: ca aiac quj- monenqujxtilia in totecujo.

Auh aqujn no iê, atle ipan ontlachiaz, aqujn tla- avilmatiz: ca inomatca qujmoquechilia in atoatl, in tepexitl: auh ca ic qujmomochiliz in totecujo, in tecoco: in at palanaliztli, in at ixpopoiotl, in at cocotztl: auh vmpa onqujçaz in tlalticpac, in jcnoiotl timaliviz, in tzotzomatl, in tatapatli, icentlanca in qujttaz tlalticpac, vel vmpa onqujçaz: vel ijellecaciaz.

Auh ynjin noxocoiouh, nochpuchtzin: ma çan ivian, ma çan iocuxca xonmovica: ma intech xonmaxiti, ma intech xonmopachiviti in tlaçocioapipilti, in jchpupuchtin in jveltioatzitzinoan totecujo, in mjtoa, moteneoa ipitzitzinoan in tlamaceuhque, in chocanj, in tlaocoianj.

Izca in timailiz, izca in ticmuchiviliz, izcan mone- tol, tchipaoacanemjz: amo tiqujlnamjqujz, amo moiollo ipan qujztnemjz, amo mjtic ticnemjtiz in teuhlti, in tlaçulli, amo ipan timoiolnonotztinemjz, amo ticnequjz, amo tiqueleviz: chalchiuhitz, teu- xiuhitz in moiollo, ticchichiliz in moiollo, in mona- caio, tiqujlcãoaz, ticpoloz injc tlalticpac, injc timace- oalti.

Tiqujxcaviz, itlan taqujz, ticmocujtlaviz in ochpa- oaztli, in tlacucujliztli: auh njman ie iehoatl in jatzin, in jlaqualtzin tloque, naoaque: mach nelli motlacatlaqualtia in totecujo? a çan ventzintli? itlan xaquj in metlatl, in atl, in venchioaliztli: auh ximotetlacamacchiti, maca oppa tinotzalo: iehoatl in pillotl, in velnenotzaliztli, in nezcaliliztli, in tlaima- caxiliztli, in mauhcanemjlistli: auh njman ie iehoatl in iocuxcanemjlistli:

maca xixtomaoatinemj: ma ticcatinen: ma nemoa in quenjn nemoaz: ma itla tetech tiqujta, oc cenca

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "as de hacer fuerza a tu corazón y a tu cuerpo para olvidar, y hechar lejos de ti toda delección carnal..."

others. Pay special attention, be especially humble, incline thy body considerably, put forth all thy effort to enter unto our lord. Cry out unto him, appeal to him in sorrow.

"Take heed of what is said, my daughter, my noblewoman, my youngest one; it is not a matter of the conduct of others on earth. We ourselves are accountable for ourselves, whatsoever is done. Especially do not deviate in something; do not go crooked before our lord; do not falter in something before him.

"This is all the satisfaction which thy mothers, thy fathers, thy older sisters provide. Go in peace and calm, my little one."

tlē ticmati: cenca ximopilo, cenca ximopechteca, ixquijch motlapal xicchioa, itlantzinco ximocalaquj in totecujo: xicmotzatzilili, xicmotlaoculnonochili:

xiccaquj nochpuchtzin, nocioapiltzin, noxocoiouh: amo tenenemjlilo tlalticpac, tihixcoian, titehcoan, ma iocolilo: oc cenca tehoatl: ma itla ic ixpantzinzco titlacolo, titlaviltec in totecujo: ma itla ic ixpantzinzco timotecujnj.

Ixquijchtzin nequjxtilli conchiao, in monantzitzin-oan, in motatzitzinoan: auh iehoantin in mopitzinoan: ma ivian ma iocuxca xonmovivicationuh no-centetzin



Forty-first Chapter.<sup>1</sup> Here are told some of the sayings called adages, which they told and [still] tell.

#### SERVANTS ARE SENT

This is said of one sent as a messenger who does not return from his errand, or who does not go where he has been sent.

In truth, this is said: it is told that Quetzalcoatl was ruler of Tula. They say two women were bathing in his bathing place.<sup>2</sup> When he saw them he thereupon sent some to see who were bathing. But these messengers only remained looking at the bathing women. They did not proceed to report to him. Then once again Quetzalcoatl sent forth his page, that is, his messenger, to see who were bathing. He did the same. No more did one proceed to return from his errand.

In this way began, originated, the saying, "Servants are sent."

#### THE KNOW-IT-ALL

This is said of one who says he knows all about what is said, what is done.

#### IN ALL PLACES

This is said of one who readily enters into that which is not his affair, who

1. Brief but recent discussions of the lore and literature represented in this and the two following chapters may be consulted in Garibay, *Historia*, Vol. I, Chap. VIII (esp. pp. 445-48), and *Panorama*, Chap. VII (esp. pp. 138, 141f.). In Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, pp. 41-50 (esp. p. 46), additional valuable comment may be found in the Introduction to Book VI; and on pp. 241-49 ("Adiciones al libro sexto") are the results of Garibay's collating of various editions of the Spanish text besides his translation from the Nahuatl of some of the riddles of Chap. 42. See also pp. 101-105 of his *Literatura*, where the section "Proverbios" has examples from Sahagún, Olmos, and Mijangos. A translation of Chaps. 41-43, by Thelma D. Sullivan, may be consulted in *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, IV (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1963), pp. 93-178. To some of the various sources of proverbs and the like of approximately contact times may be added a collection of some of the *refranes* and *metáforas* of Chaps. 41 and 43, with a few found in neither of those chapters, in the anonymous *Santoral en mexicano* (MS No. 464) in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson: "Refrares en un santoral en mexicano," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, VI (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1966), pp. 55-64.

In order to assist the reader to a fuller understanding of the material in this and the next two chapters, we arrange them trilingually. The Spanish is given with as little comment as possible; allowance should be made for the fact that it was written in the Sixteenth Century by a native Mexican amanuensis. Comparisons and verifications can be made, however, by reference to existing standard publications of the Spanish text. The one or two insertions in brackets are in today's, not the sixteenth-century, language.

2. Read *inealtilan*.

Ic omipoalli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in cequj tlātlatolli, itoca adagios, in qujtoaia, ioan in qujtoa.

Capítulo. 41. de algunos de los adagios que esta gente mexicana vsaua.

#### MOXOXOLOTITLANJ

Itechpa mjtoa: in aqujn motitlanj: in amo quijoalcuepa in jnetitlanjz, in anoço amo iauh in vnpa titlano.

In vel ic mjtoa: qujlmach quetzalcoatl, tullan tlatoanj catca: qujl vmentin ciao mahaltiaia in jnnealtiaian: in oqujnoalittac: ic njman quinoalioa cequjntin qujmjtazque, in aqujque maaltia: auh in iehoantin titlanti: çâ ie qujmjtazticate, in maaltia ciao: amo ma qujnonotzato. In quetzalcoatl: oc cepa çatepan conjoa in jxolouh, qujtoznequj, ititlan: in qujmittaz aqujque in maaltia: çan no iuh quichiuah, aiocmo qujcuepato in jnetitlanj:

ic vncan tzintic, nelhoaiocoac: in mjtoa: moxoxolotitlanj.

#### TOMACHIZOA

Itechpa mjtoa: in aqujn moch conmomachiztia in tlein mjtoa, in tlein muchioa.

#### NONOVIAN.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aqujn vel oncalaj, in amo icalaqujan: in onmaçoa, in

#### MENSAJERO DEL CUERVO.

Este refran se dice del que es embiado a alguna mésaieria o cō algún recaudo y no buelue con la respuesta. Tomo principio este refran segun se dice: porque Quetzalcoatl Rey de Tulla vio desde su casa dos mugeres que se estauan lauado en el baño o fuente donde el se bañaua y luego embio a uno de sus corgouados para que mjrassse qujen eran las que se bañauan: y aquel no bolujo con la respuesta embio otro paxe suyo con la misma mensajeria y tampoco bolujo con la respuesta embio el tercero y todos ellos estauan mjrando a las mugeres que se lauauan y njnguno se acordaua de boluer con la respuesta: y daquj se comenzó a decir moxoxolotitlanj qujere dezir fue no bolujo mas.

#### EL QUE TODO LO SABE.

Dizesse este refran: por via de mofar del que piensa que todo lo sabe y todo lo entiende y en todo habla en todo se entremete y burlan del dizen tomachizoa como si dixessen vn nño bachiler o lo que dezi. Petrus in cunctis.

#### ENTREMETIDO EN TODO.

Dizesse este refran: del que entra donde no deuja entrar a mjrar del que

lends a hand where it is not his task. In whatsoever is being done, he throws himself among the others to do it.

I AM YET [ONLY] HALF-ENTANGLED;  
THOU ART YET [ONLY] HALF-  
ENTANGLED;<sup>3</sup> HE IS YET [ONLY]  
HALF-ENTANGLED

This is said when some drunk has ill-used someone, such that he really died. But since it was a drunk who ill-used him, he is yet [only] half-entangled, because he did not now know that he had killed one. It was as if he had fallen into a net when he ill-used one. So he hoped that perhaps he might yet escape it; accordingly, just as if he had entered a net, so perhaps he might escape<sup>4</sup> the net. Hence it is said, "I am yet [only] half-entangled."

THE ASTUTE ONE

This is said of one who can think out how he should seek, how he should bring to light what he requires; or who can find what is difficult in a riddle.

ON EARTH ONE MAY TOIL

This is said when sometimes we can save up some little thing; but sometimes poverty overwhelms us. Sometimes it is possible, sometimes it is impossible.

FRUIT IS BORNE ON EARTH

This is said of some leader who is cast aside, driven away because of some fault. He is like a well-ripened fruit: it then falls.

NO ONE IS THE NAVEL ON EARTH

We are to belittle no one; that is, to detest him. Although he appear detestable, he is perhaps prudent, perhaps discreet, perhaps able.

CHIPPING AWAY ON EARTH

This is said at this time: if we persevere in something, [if we] give it our care, we become able in it even if

3. Read *mochicomatl*.  
4. Read *quicaz*.

amo imaçovaian: in tlein chioalo, tehoan qujchiuhtivetzi.

hecha mano de lo que no es a su cargo y se entremete [sic] a hacer lo que los otros hazen sin ser a su cargo.

OC NOCHICOMATL. OC MOCHIMATL.  
OC ICHICOMATL.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca tlaoranquj otemjcti, in te vel omjc: auh injc tlaoranquj otemjcti, oc ichicomatl: iehica ca aiocmo qujma in temjcti, in ma iuhquj matlac ovetz, injc otemjcti: ic motemacha, aço ça oc ic maquicaz; ñ ma ca ñan iuhquj matlac ocalac, aço quicmatlacpa quicaz, ic mjtoa: oc nochicomatl.

AUN AY LUGAR DE ESCAPAR DESTE  
PELIGRO.

Este refran se dice: del que estido vorracho mato alguno y despues que buelve en si y ya esta presso por el homcidio dize aun no estoy enredado del todo aun pueome desenradar [sic] porque estaua vorracho quando mate y no supe lo lo [sic] que me hize: y por esto pienso de escapar desta red o dese lazo.

IXPETZ.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aquin vel qujnemilia, in quenjin vel qujtemuz, in quenjin vel qujmonextiliz in jtech monequj: anoce vel quitta in tlein ovi in çanjillj.

Es VM MERLIN.

Este adagio se dice de aquel que responde con facilidad a qualquiera cosa que le preguntan aunque sea dificultosa y tambien que tiene medios abctos para qualquiera cosa de presto.

TATACAPITZ VELI IN TLALTICPAC.

Iquac mjtoa: in quenmanjan vel itlatzin tictopialia: auh in quenmanjan vel totech ñiauh in jcnoiotl: quenmanjan veli, quenmanjan aveli.

AY DIAS MAL AFORTUNADOS.

Este refran se dice: quando no ay posibilidad de hacerse alguna cosa que otros dias se haze con facilidad.

COSTÜBRE ES EN EL MÜDO QUE VNOS  
SUBEN Y OTROS DESCIEDEN.

Este refran se dice: de los que estan en alto estado y cayen del y de los que estan em bajo estado y suben a alto estado de repete: y ansi dizen floresce el müdo como el manzanillo q se llama texocutl que tiene mançanas maduras y otras q uñ madurado y otras q florescen a este modo dizel del müdo.

A NADIE MENOSPRECIES POR VIL QUE  
PAREZCA.

Este refran se dice: porque muchas veces los que parecen viles y de menosprecio son habiles o tienen algunas virtudes dignas de precio.

LA GOTTA CAUA LA PIEDRA.

Este refran se dice: de los que perfian o perseueran en salir con alguna cosa que parece que es muy dificoltosa

it is difficult, like wood carving, stone sculpturing, or still other crafts, or something in the arts — song, grammar, etc. If ability is gained, it is said: "Chipping away on earth."

#### WORDS ARE HIS FOOD

This is said at this time: one who is a little offended at once scolds someone. Or he is reprimanded just a little. He therefore comes back at one with words, with which to abuse one. Or else when something is said he at once joins others to speak.

#### THE SACK DRAGGETH BELOW

This is said of one who appears on the surface like a rustic; of humble circumstances on the surface; pious, a good person. But in truth he is very perverse, very quarrelsome; a backbiter, violent. Good is what he says on the surface, but within what he says to others is evil.

#### ALREADY THE *nagual* COMETH FORTH; OR, THE *nagual* CAME FORTH

This is said when some take great care in making a living, in gaining a good livelihood. And some are just lazy; they just pass the time idly; they gain no livelihood. But some of these gain a very good livelihood. At this time it is said: "The *nagual* came forth."

Also it might be said when something is to be learned. Some only go about it lazily, and some ignore their sustenance. When they study they quickly can attain what is taught them. Hence it is said: "The *nagual* came forth." Hence it can be said, they say, the *nagual* means the devil.

#### A FOOL, VERILY A FACE OF WOOD

This is said of a shameless one, of a brazen one — one who in truth rushes into the presence of the illustrious.

#### WOODEN-MOUTHED

This is said of the arguer, the one who is not to be bested in talking, who is unworthy of being bested in talking.

tetzotzoncailotl, anocita oc centlamanti tultecaiutl: auh anoce itla tlamatiliztli, cujcatl, grammatica, etc: intla vel omoma: mjtoa: cujcujdavilli in dalticpac.

asi como el que no tiene habilidad para alguno de los oficios mechanicos y queriendo depreder porfa y sale con el: por esto disen la perseverancia haze mucho.

#### SALTA COMO GRANJO DE ALBARDA O ES *noli me tangere*

Este refran se dice: de aquellos que tocandolos un poco con alguna palabra aspera, luego saltan en colera y en rife y hechan ponciona por la boca: y quando oyen hablar mal de otro luego ayudan.

#### LOBO EN PIEL DE OREJA O DOBLADO QUE VNA COSA TIENE DE DENTRO, Y OTRA COSA MUESTRA DE FUERA.

Este refran se dice: de aquellos que en su manera de hablar y de mirar y de andar son como simples y llanos, y de dentro son maliciosos y enganadores [sic] y aborrescedores disen uno y hacen otro.

#### TLANJ XIQUJPILHVILAX.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aquijn panj neci iuhqujn anaotl ixijcnotzin, tlalacatzintli, qualtzin: auh tlacaqo ie cenza tla-veliloc, cenza teaoanj, techicoitoanj, iollocujcujtla: qualli in quijtoa panj, auh in jtlic amo qualli in quijtoa tevicpa.

#### IE ONQUJZA NAOALLI: ANOCE ONQUJZ IN NAOALLI.

Iquac mjtoa: in cequjntin cenza motlacujtlavia, injc motlaiecoltia vellaxinxextia: auh in cequjntin, can tlatzivi, maaviltia, atle quixnexitia: auh in cequjntin vellotlaixnextique, iquac mjtoa: onqujz in naoalli.

#### TIENE ALGUN TRASGO QUE LE AYUDA.

Dizesse este refran: de aquellos que no parece que hazen nada y estan ricos, tambien se dice de aquellos que trabajan poco en deprender y en comparacion de los que trabajan mucho en deprender o en ganar la vida saben mas y tienen mas.

No vel ytechpa mjtoaia: in jta momachtia, in cequjntin can tlatzih-tinemj: auh in cequjntin aintlaqualiz quijmati in momachtia, ic iciuhca vel quijmati, in tlein qujmomachtia, ic mjtoa: onqujz in naoalli: injc vel mjtoa, qujl in naoalli, qujtoznequj tla-cateculotl.

#### IXQUAVITL, VEL IXQUAUH.

Itechpa mjtoa: in amo pinaoanj, in amo temamatatinj: in vel iativetzi imjxpan in maviztilonj.

#### RABOLA O CARA SIN VERGUÉZA O CARA DE PALO.

Este adagio se dice: de aquellos que no tienen empacho de hablar, ni parecer entre las personas sabias, y siendo ellos de poco saber y de baxo quilate.

#### TENQUAVITL.

Itechpa mjtoa: in tlatalchicaocac, in avel tenpanavilo, in amo tlatalpanavilonj.

#### PORFIADO O QUE NO CONSIÉTE SER CONTRADICHO, O BOCA DE PALO.

Este adagio se dice: de los que confian mucho de lo que disen, y lo que los otros disen nūca les parece biē y son porfiados.

### HE GLORIETH IN CHILDISHNESS

It is said at this time: if some already grown person still persists in childishness, if one already a youth still digs holes with stones or shows great curiosity, and if one already a maiden still carries her dolls with her, still makes mud pies, this one glories in childishness.

### I PLUCK MY OWN TENDER MAIZE PLANTS; THOU PLUCKEST THY OWN TENDER MAIZE PLANTS

It is said at this time: if someone whom I esteem perhaps offended me in something, I quarrel violently with him; I shame him. If I make known something of his secret doings, I shame him therewith before others; I therefore throw [his secret doings] in his face. When this is done, it is said: "I pluck my own tender maize plants."

### TWICE HE EATETH HIS OFFAL

It is said of this: if one gave something to someone, perhaps something to eat, or a cape; once again he demands it, he takes it from him.

### HE KNOWETH NOTHING OF WHAT IS IN HIS EYE [NOR] ON HIS HEAD

It is said of one who is stupid about his body. He is tangle-haired, dirty-faced. He does not wash his head, he does not wash his face.

### HE LAYETH NOT HIS HANDS UPON HIMSELF

It is the same as "He knoweth nothing of what is in his eye, [nor] on his head."

### INCAPABLE

It is said of the immature. Where he is sent, there he goes not at all. What he is to undertake, he does not undertake.

### I GO ASTRAY, THOU GOEST ASTRAY

It is said at this time: if I study something but cannot learn it, just as if I, as a fruit tree, bore no fruit. Hence it is said: "I go astray," or "I went astray," or "I went completely astray." That is to say, I learned nothing, I produced nothing.

### PIPILPAN TIMALTI.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca ie vei tlacatl, noma pipillotl qujnemjtia, in ie tel-puchtli noma motetecomolhvía, anoço mitzpepetzinalhvía: auh in ie ichpuch-tli, noma icoconeuh ietinemj, noma mo-çoujtlaxcalhvía: in iehoatl in, ca pipil-pan timalli.

### GLORIASE O IACTASE DE LAS NJÑERIAS.

Este refran se dice: de aquellas per-sonas que segun la edad aujendo de auer dexado las njñerias no las dexan sino siempre las lleuan adelante y antes se deleytan en ellas.

### ARRANCO MJ MJSMA SEMETERA O LO QUE YO SEMBRE.

Este refran se dice: de aquellos que tienē algun amijo y por poca ofensa luego riñen y descúpadrá con el y si alguna cosa sabian de sus secretos luego la hechan en la plaça o les dan publicamente con ello ē la cara.

### COME OTRA UEZ LO QUE AUJA HECHADO DE LA BOCA O DEL CUERPO.

Este refran se dice: de aquel que dio algo a otro dado y despues se lo torna a pedir.

### TIENE LA VIGA EN EL OJO Y NO LA VEE O NO VEE SUS FEALDADES Y SUZIEDADES.

Este refran se dice: de aquel que tiene la cara suzia y no lo vee y mas propriamente del que es necio y se tiene por sabio y es pecador y se tiene por iusto.

### NO SE PALPA A SI MJSMO.

Es lo mismo de arriba.

### NO HAZE NJ ENTIENDE COSA A DERECHAS.

Este refran se dice: de vnos bobos o tontos que nj entiendē a derechas lo que los dizen nj hazen a derechas lo que les mandan.

### ARBOL SIN FRUCTO O TRABAJO SIN PROUECHO.

Este refran se dice: de aquellos que trabajaron por alcançar alguna cosa o por salir con alguna cosa y despues de mucho trabajo nj la alcançaron nj salieron con ella.

### OLD HAND

It is said of one if he seizes either one's bracelets or one's book, or something else guarded somewhere. He seizes it from there, even though in a basket, or no matter where, there where is guarded something worthy of being guarded.

### MY HAIR, THY HAIR; OR, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS MY HAIR, MY HEAD OF AMARANTH GREENS?

It is said at this time: if I have done someone a favor or taught him something for which, because of my help, he should have valued me, but it is only with his abuse, his disdain that he repays me. Of this it is said: "It is [because of] my hair," or "It is [because] my hair is on one side," "Thy hair is on one side."

### I GO IN CIRCLES, THOU GOEST IN CIRCLES

It is said when I cannot speak the truth, or I am questioned about something which I should answer truthfully, but I only mix my words, I only end inconclusively. Some of it I hide, but some I tell truthfully; or else I only falsely accuse someone.

### WHERE IS IT IN THY FACE?

It is said at this time: if one who hates me, who accuses me so that I may be tormented, so that I may be persecuted somewhere in the city, but it cannot be done, I cannot be so tormented nor can I be persecuted, for that reason I say to my tormentor: "Where is it in thy face?"

### WHERE IS MY NOSE?

### WHERE IS THY NOSE?

It is said at this time: if someone has abused me, I should have abused him, but he has fled from my presence. Although he has gone somewhere, I shall abuse him when he will appear. Hence it is said: "Where is my nose?"

### OUR SHIN

It is said of one who boasts of his bravery, one who says: "I am a brave

### MAÇOL

Itechpa mjtoa: intla tlacujivetzi, aço temacuex, aço teamauh, anoço itla oc centlamantli cana mopia, vmpa concujivetzi, intlanel tanaco, intlanel noço canjn: in vmpa mopia in itla pialonj.

### ARREBATADOR O ARAÑADOR.

Este refran se dice: de aquellos que qualquiera cosa que veen en las manos de los otros se la arrebatan o toman lo que esta guardado aunque este a buen recaudo.

### NOTZOTZON, MOTZOTZON, ANOÇO CUJK NO CUELE NOTZOTZON IN NOVAUHTZON.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca itla ic onjqujcneli, anoço itla onjcmachti: in jpampa in, notepaleviliz, ic nechtlaçotlazqua: auh cā ie itetolinjliztica, yetelchiaoaliztica nechtlaçuepcaililia, ic mjtoa: notzotzon, anoço ie ne notzotzon, ie ne motzotzon.

### Mi GOZO EN EL POZO DONDE ESPERAUA AGRADEZIMENTO ME VINO CONFUSION.

Este refran se dice: quando alguno haze bien a otro y el que recibio el beneficio responde con desagradecimiento entonce se dice mjs cabellos cubrieron mj cara.

### NITLACOCOLOA, TITLACOCOLOA.

Iquac mjtoa: in amo vel melaoac njqujtoa notlatol, in anoço itla ic njtlanljlo, in melaoac ic njtlananqujllizqua: auh ie çan njquixneloa in notlatol, çan campa nocontlatlamja: cequj njctlatia, auh cequj melaoac in njqujtoa: anoce çan aca itech nocontlamja.

### HABLAR POR RODEOS.

Este refran se dice: quando alguno no queriendo dezir la verdad habla por rodeos para que no se entienda lo que quiere encubrir y satisfaga al que le pregunta sin decir verdad.

### CAMPA MJXCO.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca nechcocolia, nechteixpavia in ma njtolinjlo, in ma cana altepetli ipan njtotoco: çan amo vel muchioa, amo tie vel ic njtolinjlo, amo no njtotoco: ic noconjlhvia in notecocolicauh: campa mjxco.

### CON QUE CARA ME MJRAS.

Este refran se dice: de aquel que quisó dañar a otro y no pudo y despues de descubierto su atreujmiento el que le entendio dizele donde esta tu cara como si dixesse con que ojos me mjras desvergonzado?

### CAN NOIACAUH,

### CAN MOIACAUH.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca onechtolinj, ono njctolinjzqua: çan njxpampa oieoac: inmanel campa oia, ca njctolinjz in jquac neciz: ic mjtoa. Can noiacauh.

### EL ME LO PAGARA.

Este refran se dice: del que hizo alguna afrenta a otro y se huyo el afrontado dize Can noyacauh q'ere dezir no se me escapara que no me la pague.

### TOTLANJTZ.

Itechpa mjtoa: in mohoquichitoa aca, in qujtoa: ca njtiacauh, ca njtla-

### NRA ESPINJLLA O EL REMEDIO DE NRA AFILCTION.

Este refran se dice: por uja de mofa de aquel que se alaua falsamente de

warrior, a taker of captives, experienced in war," but perhaps he is not a brave warrior, perhaps he is not experienced anywhere. And perhaps his body is just scarred somewhere. He shows it to others; he says: "This is because they wounded me in battle." Hence it is then said: "Our shin." Likewise we say: "I shin myself, thou shinnest thyself."

HE HATH BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE  
FOUR HUNDRED

It is said of one who knows many things — books, painting, or some profession such as the casting of copper, the carving of wood, the casting of gold: all of this he knows well. Hence it is said of him: "He hath been able to achieve four hundred."

IT IS REALLY MY ARROW;  
IT IS REALLY THY ARROW

It is said of something which I guard for myself, which is really my property, really something mine which by my own toil, my own efforts I have produced, which I have not just picked up somewhere nor stolen.

Also it could be understood in days of old to refer to him who took a captive in war. Then came a second, who seized one of his arms, or his leg. Then still a third also seized one of his arms, or his leg. Then a fourth also seized one of his arms, or his leg. These, the captor and the ones who had captured with others' help, said: "It was really my arrow." But if later someone else were to come, if he were to take an arm or a leg when [the captive] had already been taken, it was said: "It was not really his arrow."

MISERY IS COMPLETE

It is said at this time: if after much time I amassed something through my own work, and someone just stole it, or somewhere along the road I let it fall into the hands of others.

I COME AGAINST A STONE

It is said at this time: if I were asking for something of some ruler or someone worthy of honor because thereby he would help me, but he only was

manj, ca iaoc njmatinj: auh acacemo tiacauh, acaço can onmati: auh aço ça cana titiqujltic in jnacaio: qujteittitia, qujtoa. Injn, ca iaoc ic nechvitecque: ic vncan mjtoa: todanjtz: no ioan tiqujtoa. Ninotlanjtztia, timotlanjtztia.

auer hecho algunas valentias y es como decir blasona del arnes este fanfarrón.

TODO LO SABE.

Este refran se dice, por via de mofa de aquel que se iacta de que sabe muchas cosas ya estado muchos lugares y ya [sic] visto muchos acayecimientos y ansi dizesse deste Centzon vel acic: mijl cosas sabe y e [sic] mill cosas se a visto.

CENTZON, VEL ACIC.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aca mijec tlamantli quimati, amatl, tlacujollti, anoço itla netlaiecoltiliztli: in juhquj tepuzpitzcailotl, quauhxincailotl, teocujtlapitzcailotl, much vel quimati: ic mjtoa itechpa. Centzon, vel acic.

VEL NOMJUH,  
VEL MOMJUH.

Itechpa mjtoa: in tlein njcnopialia, in vel naxca, in vel noiocauh, in nocaviliztica, nodatequjpanoliztica onjcnonextili, in amo çan cana onjccuic, anoço onjquchtec.

No vel itech moquaqua in ie vecauh: in aquin tlamaia iaoc: njman oallauh in concaiotia, cana ce ima, anoço icxi: njman oc ce tlaietaciotia, ce no cana ima, anoço ijxhi: njman tlanauhcioletia, no ce cana ima, anoço ijxhi: in iehoatl in, tlamanj, ioan in tepallama: qujtoa. Vel nomjuh: auh intla aca çatepan oallaz, intla canaz ce maitl, anoço icxitl in ie oaxioac: mjtoa. Amo vel iomjuh.

POR MI LANÇA LO GANE.

Este refran dice: el que gano o merecio alguna cosa muy bien ganada y muy bien merecida y otro le contradice o se la quijere tomar dice en su defension nomjuh como si dicesse es mi sudor y mi trabajo.

ICNOPILOTL OMMOMELAUH.

Iquac mjtoa: intla itla vecauhtica onjcnjnxnextili: auh ne aca, ça quijoalichetequj: anoço cana temac njctlaçatotica.

NO PUEDE SER PEOR O NO PUEDEN SER LAS ALAS MAS NEGRAS QUE EL CUERVO.

Este adagio se dice: de aquel que echo su caudal todo en alguna mercadería y se le perdió todo en la mar o de otra manera para encarecer su perdida dice ycnopillotl ömomelauh: el mal a venido todo iunto.

TETITECH NONEOA.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca tlatoanj, anoço aca maviztilonj njcnolatlahtilia, itla ipampa, injc nechpaleviz: auh çâ ie ic qualanj, çan itlavelpan nonvetzi: aço ie

IVA POR LANA Y PORUJ [VOLVI]  
TRASQUJLADO Y TROPEÇE EN LA PIEDRA.

Este refran se dice del que yua a negociar alguna merced con alguna persona de manera, y cayo en su desgracia y no recauo nada.

angered by it, I fell into his fury, or he also chid me there; it would be as if I came against, I beat myself against a stone.

I FLY INTO THE FIRE LIKE A MOTH  
It is said at this time: if someone is to wrangle with another, to go about very furious with others, much angered, in order to abuse others, to wrangle with others; but only he himself is abused, is shamed. It is as if he fell into the fire. The fire moth comes up to it thinking that perhaps the fire does not kill one. When it has gone to fall into the fire, it at once dies there. Just so is one who is to wrangle with one. Perhaps he goes to fall into the hands of others, or he will be put to death there.

#### ASH-FACE

It is said of one who perhaps has done something, who perhaps has committed something. Perhaps it is a carnal life, a theft, when he thinks no one knows his secret faults, but his secret faults are already known. What is to his shame has been made public. Hence it is said: "Ash-face."

#### SCATTERER OF FRIENDS

It is said of one who is purely bad, who hates people, who only wrangles with them. If somewhere there is a gathering together, he sits there among them. They leave one by one; they quickly leave him. They fear that he might wrangle with them. Hence it is said: "Scatterer of friends."

#### IT WAS IN VAIN

It is said at this time: if I wished in my heart for something but it could not be achieved; if I studied [something] but could not understand it. Hence it is said. "It was in vain," or "It was not in vain."

#### THERE HE COMETH TO HIS END ON EARTH

It is said when we are very poor, when with difficulty there appears what we require — the little cape, the little food. So may it be understood of one who is poor, who undergoes great trials, whose rags are much worn, much tattered. When he clothes himself, they are almost used up; they are about to

vmpa no nechaoa, iuhqujnma tetitech noneoa, nonnovitequj.

#### NOTLEPAPALOCHIUHTIUIH.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca teaoaz, cencac motlaveltitiu, cenza qualantiuh injcetolinjz, injc teaoaz: auh ca ie vncan tolinjlo, pinauhtilo: iuhqujn tleco onvetzi. Itech oalqujça in tlepapalotl: in momatia acaçomo temjcti in tletl: in jquac ovetzito tleco: njman vncan ommijquj, çan no iuhquj in aqujn teaoaz: aço ie vmpa temac, vetzitihu, aço mjctiloz vmpa.

#### IXNEX.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aço itla oax, aço itla oqujchiuh, aço avilnemljiztli, ichtequjiztli: in momati aiac qujmachilia: auh ca ie omachililoc, otepan cenman in tlein ipinaviz: ic mjtoa itechpa yxnex.

#### ICN JUHMOIACTLI.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aqujn çan tlatlaue-liloc, in aijel teitta, in çan teaoa: intla cana necentlalilo in vncan teoan motllia, can ipan tlacacaoalti, qujcauhquj-ça, qujmacaci in ma teaoa: ic mjtoa icnjuhmoiaclli.

#### ONEN ONCATCA.

Iquac mjtoa: intla itla oqujnequja noiollo, çan amo vel omuchiuh: intla onjnomachitiaia, çan avel onjcma: ic mjtoa: onen oncatca, anoço a onen oncatca.

#### VMPA ONQUJÇAN TLALTICPAC.

Iquac mjtoa: in cenza ie titotolinia, in aixcan neci totech monequj, in tilmatzintli, in tlaqualtzintli: injc vel caqujzti in motolinja, in cenza tlaihiju-ija, in jtatzomatzin cenza ojoliuh, cenza ie tzatzaijan, in qujmoquentia ça achi injc tlaltantica ie oalcocotonjz, ie vmpa onqujçaznequj in jnacaio: injc

PENSE DE GANAR ALGO Y PERDI LO QUE  
LLEUAUA ACONTECIOME COMO A LA  
MARIPOSA QUE DE NOCHE SE LLEGA A LA  
CANDELA POR AMOR DE LA LUZ QUE LA  
DELEYTA QUEMASE EN ELLA

Este refran se dize de aquel que sin consideracion acomete algú negocio arduo para salir con el y no salio con el sino antes quando cum perdida de honrra o de hacienda o de salud.

#### SABEN TODOS Y IGNORALO EL O CARA DE CENJZADO.

Este refran se dize: de aquel que hizo algun mal y piensa que nadie lo sabe y es verdad que lo saben muchos y todos los que con el conuersan y el piësa que esta secreto por esso dice cara de cenjza.

#### DERRAMA SOLACES DESBARATADOR DE AMJGOS O DE AMJSTAD.

Este refran se dize: de aquel que es malquisto por su mala condicion, y quando entra donde estan muchos en algun regocijo en entrando el, todos se salen vnos por oaca [acá] otros por alla y por esso disen del ya ujno el derrama solaces.

#### TRABAJO SIN FRUCTO.

Esto se dize: de aquel que trabajo por ser letrado o por ser rico o por ser honrrado y despues de auer trabajado no salio con nada o cõ poco disen del onen oncatca em balde trabajo.

#### E VENJDO A ESTREMADA POBREÇA O ESTOY EN ESTRAMADA POBREÇA.

Dizesse este refran: del que nj tiene que comer nj que se vestir nj en que dormir y por esso disen del onpa onqujça tlalticpac, no tiene tras que parar.

fall apart; his body is about to show through there. So began there the saying: "There he cometh to his end on earth," or "He liveth coming to his end on earth."

#### HE BOASTETH OF HIS ABILITIES

It is said of one who boasts of something which he has — perhaps wealth or wisdom. He goes about saying: "I am one who abounds in wealth; for here is my property, my goods." Or he says: "I am a wise one," etc.

#### DOOTH THE HUMMINGBIRD FIND EVERYTHING?

It is said at this time: if we distribute among ourselves a small tortilla or a little of something to eat, and if someone says: "Ye have given me but little," then he is answered: "Doth the hummingbird find everything?" For the hummingbird's beak is very small. When it sucks the little blossom, the nectar which it sucks is also very little.

#### DRAGGING TALKER

It is said of one unwilling to speak, who cannot answer at length when he is addressed.

#### SWALLOW-MOUTH

It is said of one who is a great talker, a great chatterer.

#### DOOTH THE COYOTE PERCHANCE TRAVEL WITH HIS OWN FIRE?

It is said at this time: if we quickly gobble something not very well cooked when we are very hungry, it is like what the coyote does when he chews up quite green maize. Just so does it happen when one is starved; even if the tortilla or the meat is not very well cooked, one bolts it down as it is. And if one would argue about it or try to shame one, it is therefore then said: "Doth the coyote perchance travel with his own fire?"

#### AM I ALSO PERCHANCE A USELESS, WITHERED EAR OF MAIZE?

It is said at this time: if one not of means, also if a captain invites one to

vñcan peuh in mjtoa. Ie vmpa onqujca in tlalticpac, anoço onqujzintemj in tlalticpac.

#### MOCICINOA.

Itechpa mjtoa: in mochachamaoa itla itechpa, aço necujtonolli, anoço tlamatiliztli: qujtotinemj, Ca njnocujltonoan, ca vnca naxca, notlatquj: anoço qujtoa. Nitlamatinj, etc

#### CUJX IXQUJCH QUJTIA IN VITZITZILTZIN.

Iquac mjtoa: intla ce tlaxcalli, anoço itla qualonj tictomamacatepititzin: auh intla aca qujtoa: çan tepiton in oannechmacaque: njman ic onmonanqujlia. Cujx ixqujch qujttia in vitzitziltzin. Ca in vitzitziltzin cenca çan pitzaton in jten: in jquac qujchichina tepiton xuchitl, cenca çan no achiton, in conchichina necutli.

#### TLATOLVILAX.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aqujn aiiellatoa, in amo cenca vellananqujlia, in jquac noztalo.

#### TENCUCUJUTZCA.

Itechpa mjtoa: in cenca tlatlatoan, in cenca tlatole.

#### CUJX ITLEUH IETINEMJ IN COIOTL.

Iquac mjtoa: intla itla aiamon cenca vel icucic, tiqujciuhcaquativetzi, in jquac cenca ie toteucivi: in juh qujchioa coiotl in çan xoxouhquj qujtelexoa elotl: ca no iuh muchioa, in jquac aca cenca ie onapizmjqquj: intlanel aiamon cenca vel icuci tlaxcalli, anoço nacatl, iuhquj qujquativetzi: auh intla aca ic tlatzoviz, anoço ic tepinauhitznequjz: ic mjtoa iquac. Cujx itleuh ietinemj in coiotl.

#### CUJX NO NEN NJPATZACTZINTLI.

Iquac mjtoa: in amo qualli ynemjiliz intla no teachcauh tecanoatza, anoço

#### GRAN BALADRON.

Este refran se dice, del que se alarga mucho en decir bien de si o de sus cosas.

#### MALCONTENTADIZO.

Este refran se dice: de aquel que no se contenta con lo que le dan o con lo que le cupo sino que murmura porque no le dieron mas a este se le responde por cierto con mucho menos que esto se contéta el paxarito zinzon dizesse por uja de mofa.

#### LARGO EN HABLAR.

Dizesse este refran: a contrario senso del que apenas le pueden sacar una palabra quado es menester por ser corto en hablar y encerrado dizenle largo en palabras y quiere decir es corto en palabras demasiadame.

#### BOCA DE GOLDRINO.

Este refran se dice del que es muy habrador o parlero dizen que tiene boca de golondrino.

#### EL LOBO O CORRO NO TRAE CONSIGO EL FUEGO PARA COZER O ASAR LO QUE A DE COMER.

Este refran se dice: de los que por no esperar a que se cueza o ase la gujanda la comen medio cruda por suceder a su hambre y si alguno los reprehende porque comen la carne medio cruda para escusar su bestialidad dizen Cujx ytleuh ietinemj coiotl mas cruda la comen los coyotes.

#### POR UENTURA YO SOLO SOY DESMEDRADO

#### Y PARA POCO.

Este refran se dice: quando alguno quiere hacer algú cibite profano ?

a banquet, or gives him something, and likewise I wish to do the same, to invite him to a banquet or to give him something, then it is said: "Am I also perchance a withered ear of maize?" or, "Am I also a useless, withered ear of maize?"

#### THROUGH HIM I EXTEND MY FAME

It is said at this time: if someone has trained well, reared well, his child, his youth, or his daughter, or merely his student, and [the child] is thus praised on account of his rearing, and also the parent or the teacher are well praised on this account, therefore it is said of one: "Through him I extend my fame"; "I extend one's fame"; "We extend one's fame," etc.

#### MY TASK IS TO GUARD TURKEYS. SHALL I PECK AT THOSE WHO PECK AT ONE ANOTHER?

It is said concerning this: The turkeys, when they preen, constantly peck at one another. The turkey guardian does not bring it about that turkeys constantly peck at one another, for they simply fight among themselves as they constantly peck at each other. Hence it may well be said when common folk contend, when they fight among themselves over perhaps their lands, their houses, or something. The leaders do not stir them up; the commoners purely of their own accord contend among themselves, fight among themselves.

#### WHAT'S THE USE? SINCE WE ARE FORCED TO SAY: "WHAT'S THE USE," WILL HE NOT ALSO SAY: "WHAT'S THE USE"?

It is said at this time: if something is taken from me, or I lose it myself; it appears nowhere. Then I take courage by saying: "What's the use? Since we are forced to say: 'What's the use,' will he not also say: 'What's the use?'"

#### THE MOUSELET MAY HAVE DRUNK IT

It is said at this time: if we began something but the same was interrupted; such as when some were playing the ball game but the same was interrupted; they could not finish. Then at that time they say: "The mouselet may have drunk it."

itla qujtemaca: auh no iuh njccchioaz-nequij njtecoanotzaz, anoço itla njctemacaz: ic mjtoa. Cujx no njpatzac-tzintli, anoço. Cujx no nen njpatzac-tzintli

#### IPAL NONJXPATLAOA.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca ipiltzin itel-puch, anoço ichpuch, anoço çan itlaao-paoal, vel oqujoapauh, vel oqujzcalti: auh ie ic iecteneoalo in jpampa in jne-caliliz: auh ie no ic iecteneoalo in pil-hoa, manoço in teoapaoanj: ic itechpa mjtoa. Ipal nonjxpatlaoa. Niteixpatlaoa. Titeixpatlaoa. etc.

sütioso y mas largo de lo que puede segun su valer y si alguno le dice que excede los termijos de la razon para escusar su profanidad dize: cujx no nen njpatzac-tzintli: solo soy yo mëguado y escaso?

#### POR EL SE ME ENSANCHA LA CARA O POR EL SE AUGMENTA MI HONRRA Y MI FAMA.

Este refran dize: el que a criado a alguno em buenas costumbres y despues que sale de su casa es loado de la buena crian a el que le crio dice ypal nonj-spatlaoa la buena vida del discipulo es honrra del maestro.

#### TEQUJTL NJTOTOLPIXQUJ: CUJX NJQUJNCHOPINJ, MOCHOPINJQUE.

Intechpa mjtoa: in totolti in jquac moxima mochochopinj: ca in totolpix-quj, amo qujchiao, injc mochochopinj totolme: ca çan monetechvia in mochohopinj. Ic no vel intechpa mjtoa in maceoalti in mochalania, in momjctia, aноce intlal, incal, a o itla ipampa: amo iehoantin techalanja in teiacanque ca çan iehoantin monomavia in mocha-lanja in maceoalti, in momjctia.

#### NO ESS [sic] A MI CARGO ESSO O NO TENGO YO CULPA DESSO SOLAMENTE SOY COMO GUARDA DE GALLINAS.

Este refran dize: el que tiene cargo de regir algun pueblo o republica en la qual algunos ri en o se le rebuelen y si alguno le nota de negligente para escusar su negligencia dize yo no soy mas de gvarda de gallinas y si se pican ellas las vnas a las otras no tengo yo cargo de despartillas.

#### QUENNEL, TLA NEL TOCONILHVITI IN QUENNEL: AMO ÇAN NO QUJOALITOZ: QUENNEL.

Iquac mjtoa: intla itla onjcujliloc, anoço onjcopolhuj, acan tle neci: ic njoalnellaquaaoa in njqujtoa. Quennel, tla nel toconilhviti in quennel: amo çan no qujoalitoz: quennel:

#### YA ES ECHO GUARDEOS DIOS DE YA ES ECHO.

Este refran se dize: quando a acon-tescido algun mal recado q no se puede remediar dizen los vnos a los otros guardeos dios de hecho es.

#### SIQUJERA LO BEUAN LOS RATONES O NO VINO A EFECTO LO QUE SE PRET DIA O LO QUE SE PROMETIO NO SE DIO.

Este adagio se dize: quando los que juegan por ser impedidos de alguno no concluyeron el iuego o quando alguno prometio algo y no lo cumplio dizen beujoselo el raton.

#### MA QUJMICHPILOCONATLIC.

Iquac mjtoa: intla itla oticpeoaltica, auh ca no onjtlacauh. In juhquj iquac acame moquauhtelolomomota: auh çan onjtlacauh, amo vel omotlanque: ic yquac qujtoa. Ma qujmichpil oconatlic.

AM I PERCHANCE AN EAR OF GREEN  
MAIZE THAT HE WILL BREAK OPEN  
MY ENTRAILS?

It is said at this time: if someone in dire straits had stolen, had committed adultery, had taken a paramour, or had done something else wrong, and then this one said to me: "This thou hast witnessed; tell no one." And thereupon I answer him: "Am I perchance an ear of green maize that one will break open my entrails?"

#### HUMBLE LIKE A TURTLEDOVE

It is said of one who is only poor, who has not much to enjoy, who husband his very few possessions.

#### I HAVE YET A DAY; THOU HAST YET A DAY

It is said at this time: if a wild beast might have eaten me, or I came upon a poisonous serpent which might well have bitten me, I quickly fled. Or a bull might have gored me. But having fled, I thus freed myself of the danger: because, if I had not done these various things I would have died; yet I shall perchance live some few days. Hence it is said: "I have yet a day."

#### HOW IS THIS? LOOK WELL TO THYSELF, THOU FISH OF GOLD

It is said at this time: if one some time ago lived a good life [and] later fell into some [evil] — perhaps he took a paramour, or he knocked someone down so that he took sick or indeed died; and for that he was thrust into jail: hence at that time it is said: "How is this? Look well to thyself, thou fish of gold."

#### THE EARTH IS SLIPPERY

It is the same as the one mentioned. Perhaps at one time one was of good life; later he fell into some wrong, as if he had slipped in the mud.

#### IT CANNOT YET HATCH FROM HIS HEAD

It is said of one who does not accomplish a task; nothing comes of it. Perhaps he studies a song but cannot master it. A little later he studies Latin; neither can he master it. A little later on he studies the Castilian tongue;

#### CUJX NJXILOTL NECHITITZAIANAZ.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca ivivi onjcan oichtec, otetlaxin, anoço omomecati, anoce itla oc centlamantli tlataclulli oqujchiuh: auh njman ie ic aca nechilhvia. Injn otiquittac: ma aca tiqujhvi: auh njman ie ic noconnanqujlia. Cujx njxilotl, nechititzayanaz.

SOY COMO MAJORCA DE MAHYZ QUE ME  
AN DE ABRIR LA BARRIGA PARA COMER  
LO QUE ESTA DENTRO: O AMMELO  
DE SACAR DEL QUAJO?

Dize este refran: el que a rescebindo algun secreto y quando le encarga que no lo diga a nadie el que se le dixo respondiendo que estara secreto dize Cujx njxilotl nechititzayanaz quiere decir que nadie se lo sacara nj por bien nj por mal.

#### ICNOCOCOTZIN.

Itechpa mjtoa: in çan motolinja, in amo cenza mocujltonoa, in çan quexquichtzin qujmopialia iaxca.

#### OC NOCETONAL, OC MOCETONAL.

Iquac mjtoa: intla tequanj onechquazqua, anoço tequanj coatl ipan onjcholo, ca achi in onechalquazqua, onjnodalotivetz, anoço toro onechquaquivizqua: auh oixpampa neoac, ic onjnomaqjxti: iehica, intlacamo onjchionaj in jzqujtlamantli: ca onjmqujzqua, açoc quezqujlvitzintli nonnemjz: ic mjtoa. Oc nocetonal.

#### HUMJLDE COMO VNA TORTOLICA QUE NJ TIENE NJ DEUE.

Este refran se dice: del que tiene poco y esta contento con ello y esta en paz con todos.

#### AUN QUJERE DIOS QUE VIUA MAS.

Este refran dice: el que escapo de algun peligro de muerte y gozandose de auer escapado dize, oc no cetonal, aun tiene dios por bien que viua mas.

#### QUEN VEL XIMJMATIA IN TITEOCUJTLAMJCHIN.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca qujnicoa vel monemjtia, çatepan itla ipan vetzi: aço omomecati, anoço aca oqujtopeuh: ic ocoocolizcujc, anoço vel omjc: auh ic teipiloian otlatilic: ic iquac mjtoa. Quen vel ximjmatia titeocujiatlamicchin.

#### O PEZ O PECEZICO DE ORO MJRA TOR TI QUJEN SE PODRA GUARDAR DE TATOS LAZOS Y REDES COMO AY EN ESTE MUÑDO.

Este refran se dice: quando alguno que es bueno cayo en algun peccado publico por donde perdio la honra y el buen nōbre que tenia: la otra gente hablado del disen que vel ximjmati in titeocujiatlamicchin mjre cada vno por si que ay muchos resbaladeros y caydas en este mundo.

#### TLAALAUJ, TLAPETZCAUJ IN TLALTICPAC.

Çan ie no iuhquj in omjto: aço qujn jzqujnpa qualli inemjliz: çatepan itla ipan vetzi tlataclulli, in ma iuhquj oma-lauh çoujtitlan.

Es lo mismo que arriba se ya [sic] dho que apenas ay qujen se pueda escapa de cayer en algun peccado.

#### CON NJNGUNA COSA SALE DE QUATLATLATZTA.

Itechpa mjtoa: in amo çan centlamantli qujmotequjta, çan amo te nelti: aço qujmomachia cujcatl, çan avel quijchiao: ie ne qujmomachia latin, ano vel quijchiao: ie ne castillan tlatalli qujmomachia, amo no vel qujmati. In

Este refran se dice: del que comienza a deprender algun oficio o scien-cia y luego le dexa y pasa a otro y con njnguno sale: por esto disen del ayamo quatlatlatzta: como si dixesse en nada asienta.

neither can he master it. Of him who does this it can be said: "It cannot yet hatch from his head."

#### NO ONE CONCERNETH HIMSELF FOR A PERSON TEN TIMES

It is said at this time: if someone has a task, something by which he gives help, he is supplicated, he is entreated. He says: "O that I may abandon my task." When he does this, he thinks that because of it he will be greatly esteemed, greatly honored. But he only gives offense thereby, whereupon he is released. But when he has been released, then still another is set in his place and performs his task even better; he who later offered himself did it with even better care. Hence it is then said: "No one concerneth himself in his half."

#### THANKS TO ANOTHER, I SCAVENGE

It is said at this time: If I have nothing to eat, and thanks to some friend of mine I eat a little of his food, perhaps someone asks how it is that I eat, and I then answer him: "Thanks to another, I scavenge."

#### WHEN THE SUN RISETH, IT IS NOT WARM; LATER, AS IT TRAVELETH, IT IS ALREADY WARM

It is said of those who marry. For they are still very poor when they begin their life. Later, when they have continued a little, they are already content. Perhaps they already lay aside some little thing.

#### WHENCE DO WE COME?

It is said at this time: if someone uses us very badly or tries to kill us—not our enemies, only our friends—then it is replied: "Whence do we come?"

#### HOW IS ONE SEEN?

It is said at this time: if one is much esteemed, honored, obeyed, someone says: "Why do they much esteem him?" Thereupon it is replied: "How is one seen?"

aqujn iuh quijchoa y, vel itechpa mjtoa.  
Aiemo quatlatlatztza.

#### AIAC MATLACPA TECA.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca itla itequjuh, itla ic tlapalevia mocujcujlia, monene-nequj: quijtoa. Ma njccaoa ū note-qujuh: in jquac iuh quijchoa in, in momati aço cenza ic tlaçotlaloz, maviztililoz: auh çan ic tlaolitlacoa: njman ic caoaltilo. Auh in oqujcauh: njman oc ce qujmixiptlaiotia: auh oc ie cenza vel quijchoa in jtequjuh, oc cenza ie vel motlacujtavia in qujn omjxquetz: ic mjtoa iquac. Aiac ica.

#### TEPAL NJTZOPILOTI.

Iquac mjtoa: intlacate in njcquaz: auh aço aca nocnjuh, achitzin ipal onjqua itlaqual: aço aca nechtlatlanja, in cujx onjtlaqua: auh ie ic noconnanqujlia. Tepaltzinco onjtzopilot.

#### IN OALQUJÇA TONATIUH AMO TOTONQUJ: QUJN JQUAC IJEIZ IETIUH IE TOTONQUJ.

Itechpa mjtoa: in qujn ommonamjcia: ca oc cenza motolinja, injc conpeoaltia in jnnemjiliz: qujn jquac in ie achi quijtoca ie moiollalia: aço ie itlatzin ie qujmopialia.

#### CAN MACHPA TIVITZE.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca cenza techtolinja, anoço, techmjctiznequj, amo ma tijoavan, çan tecnjuh: ic onmonanqujlia. Can machpa tivitze.

#### QUEN TEHITTO.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca cenza tlaçotlalo, maviztililo, tlacamacho: aca quijtoa: tleica in cenza qujmaviztilia in: njman ic monanqujlia. Quen tehitto.

#### NO AY QUE CONFIAR EN PARENTES O A MUERTOS Y A YDOS NO AY AMJGOS.

Dizesse este refran: de los que estan en necessidad o los mismos lo dizen de si mismos porque no ay nadie que entonce los fauorezca y asi dizen aiac matlacpa teca. quijere dezir todos me an desamparado.

#### EL QUE VIUE DE GALLOFERIA Y ES BAGABUNDO DIZE NO FALTARA QUE COMER.

Este refran dize: el bagabvndo y que no tiene oficio njnguno si le preguntan de donde come y beue dize tepal njtzopiloti como si dixesse nunca falta porque las auras hallan siempre que coman.

#### NO ESCALIENTA EL SOL LUEGO EN SALIENDO.

Este refran se dize: de los principiantes en qualquiera oficio o sciencia que poco a poco van comprendiendo y nadie comprende el oficio o sciencia de repente como el sol que quando sale no calienta y como va subiendo poco a poco va calentando mas y mas.

#### AUNQUE AGORA ME DESCONOCEN Y DESFAUORESCEN MJS PARENTES ADADO EL TIEMPO BOLUERAN POR MJ.

Este refran dize: el que a caydo en manos de sus acreedores o de los que le maltratan y no buelue nadie por el y dize cam machpa tiuitze acordarse an mjs parientes que soy su pariente y fauorescerme an.

#### CADA VNO TIENE SU PROPIO PARECER BUENO O MALO.

Dize el que le hicieron alguna honrra particular entre otros que la merecia mejor: y dizen del los otros como te hizo hórra aquél pues que eres el mas ruyn de nosotros y el responde quē

teito: pareciole assi que yo la mereci  
[sic] mejor.

#### HE IS LIKE HIS RABBIT

It is said of these: when some drink wine, when one weeps much and one wrangles with others, shouts at others, of him who shouts at others or who weeps to himself it is said: "He is like his rabbit." It is because in times of old, wine was falsely attributed to the rabbits, whom the ancient ones worshipped.

Also it is said of one who much afflicts others or of a pious person whom everyone loves, even if he is not drunk; it also was said: "He is like his rabbit"; that is, "So is his way of life."

#### FACE OF GLORY

It is said of one who seems to be fair of body, to make things well, to do things well, but can do nothing. Especially is it said of women who appear to be able to embroider, to spin, but just can do nothing; they only fool one. Hence of such it is said: "Face of glory."

DOOTH A WRY LOOK HURT ONE? AND ALSO IT IS SAID: "PERHAPS THERE IS SHAME IN MY FACE; ARE MY ENTRAILS ALSO SHAMED?"

It is said at this time: if I am already very hungry, already dying of hunger; several are eating; I beg them to give me a little of what they eat; they give me nothing — they are only angry, they look askance at me.

But because I am already quite dying of hunger, I then quickly seat myself among them and I eat something, or else I quickly snatch myself a tortilla. At this time it is said: "Doth a wry look hurt one?" For looking askance at one does one no harm, but hunger kills one; because of it there is death.

#### WHERE DOST THOU FIND CONSOLATION?

It is said at this time: If someone abused me, injured me with words, already I go to see one of my friends,

#### IE IUHQY ITOCH.

Intechpa mjtoa: in jquac acame tlaana, in aca cenca chocá: auh in aca teaoa, tetzatzilia: in aqujn tetzatzilia, in anoço mochoqujlia, mjtoia: ie iuhqyj itoch. Ipampa ca in ie vecauh, in octli intech qujtlamjliaia in totocatin, in qujmoteotiaia vevetque.

No itechpa mjtoa in aqujn cenca tetolinjanj: in anoço tlatacatzintli, in muchi tlacatl qujtlacotla: macivi in amo tlaoranquj, no mjtoia. Ie iuhqyj itoch, qujtoznequj: ie iuhqyj yieliz.

#### IXTIMAL.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aqujn cenca qualli ic neci inacaio, in ca itla vel quijchiao, in ca vel itla ay: auh ie atle vel quijchiao. Oc cenca intechpa mjtoa in cios, in ca neci vellamachiao, vel tzaoa, auh qa ie amo, atle vel ai, çan teixcuepa: ic itechpa mjtoa. Ixtimal.

#### TIENE BUENA CARA: TIENE BUENA PARENCEIA.

Este refran se dice: de las personas que en su gesto y disposicion parece que son para mucho y no sô para nada en la verdad, o son pa poco desta se dice por uja de mofa ixtimal, cara gloriosa.

CUJX TECOCO IN JXCUELLI: AUH IE NO MJTOA. AÇO NOXAIAC IN PINAOA: IN NOCUJTLAXCOL CUJX NO PINAOA.

Iquac mjtoa: intla cenca ie njteucivi, ie no napizmjquj: cequintin tlaquaticate: njqujntlaitlanjlia, in ma tepiton nechmacan in qujqua, atle nechmaca: çan qualanj, nechixcuelitta:

auh iehica ca cenca ie no napizmjquj: njman intlan nonnotlalitivetzi, ioan nj-tlaqua, anoço çan no concuivitdzi in tlaxcalli: iquac mjtoa. Cujx tecoco in jxcuelli: ca in teixcuelittaliztli, aquen techiu: çan in apizmjqujiliztli temjcti, ic mjcoa.

#### LASTIMA EL CUERPO EL MJRAR CON CEÑO?

Este refran se dice: de los que no se dan nada del ceño de la cara nj dexan de hacer lo que les parece aunque alguno les mjre con cara enojada: como es quando algunos estan comiendo y entra alguno de nueuo y los que estan comiendo le mjran de mal rostro dandole a entender que les pesa de su vida nj aun le combidan a comer sino que querian que se fuese y el no obstante esto sientase a comer y come dize dentro de si. Cujx tecoco yn jxcueli qujere dezir, mas vale verguença en rostro que manzilla en coraçon.

#### DONDE HALLARA EL HOMBRE CONSOLACION? O DÔDE PENSE DE HALLAR CÓSOLACION HALLE REPREHENSION.

Este adagio se dice: del que desconsolado fue a hablar a algun amigo suyo contandole su trabajo y el no le consolo

#### CAMPA XONPATI.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca onechaoac onechcoco tlatoltica: ie njctoca ce nocnjuh njqujttaz, injc vmpa njnoiollaliz:

in order there to be comforted. But likewise there he abuses me, he afflicts me. Similarly he sends me away. I have fallen into his mouth. Hence then it is said: "Where dost thou find consolation?"

MY HEART WHITENETH, THY HEART  
WHITENETH, ETC.

It is said at this time of that which we much desire, for which our heart much longs; such as when already I die of thirst, or already I die of hunger, or there is something further desirable. When my heart realizes it, it greatly rejoices. At that time it is said: "My heart whiteth."

IT IS LOOSELY BOUND

It is said at this time: If someone accuses me with many things which he says so that I may be afflicted, and he belittles me exceedingly so that I cannot answer, but I still take thought how I can help myself. If someone will say: "Why dost thou not help thyself?" I answer him, I say to him: "It is loosely bound. Even though he trieth, it is only in vain. He doth not know in what wise I shall avenge his deceit."

HE IS WITHOUT HIS REAL NOSE

It is said at this time: When some untrue statement is proclaimed irresponsibly, if it nowhere can be verified — as if one said: "It is said that the Emperor died," this is just said; it is not true. Hence it is said: "He is without his real nose." But if the truth is told, it will be said: "It is his real nose."

MODERATION IS REQUIRED

We shall not put on us very tattered things, neither shall we dress magnificently; only modestly shall we adorn ourselves as to clothing.

ALL HUMANITY GETTETH UP TO GO

It is said at this time: When harvest is gathered, when everyone goes to gather the harvest. Also it may be said when everyone goes to his maize field when land is cultivated.

auh ça ie no vmpa nechaoa, nechtolinja: çan no iuh nechaoa, icamac nonvetzi: ic vncan mjtoa. Campa xompati.

mas antes le reprendio y desconsolo dize este. Campa xompati: fuj por lana y vine trasquijlado

NOIOLLO IJZTAIA, MOIOLLO IJZTAIA.  
ETC.

Iquac mjtoa: in tlein cenca tiquelevia, cenca itech vetzi in toiollo: in juhquj iquac cenca ie nonamqij, anoço ie napizmijquj, anoço itla oc centlamantli evelilonj: in jquac quijta noiollo, cenca papajquj: iquac mjtoa. Noiollo ijztaia.

PATLACHILPITICA.

Iquac mjtoa: intla itla aca ic nechte-ixpavia, mijec tlamantli in quijtoa injc vel njtolinjloz: auh cenca nechmoxic-tia, injc amo vel njtlananquljlia: auh iece vel njcnemjlia, injc njnopaleviz: Intla aca quijtoz. Tleica in amo timopaleuja. Nicnanquljlia, njqujlvia. Patlachilpítica: macivi muchicaoa çan quipiquj: amo quijmati in quenjn vel ipan njccuepaz itecanecaiaoaliz.

AIATLE IVEL YIACA.

Iquac mjtoa: in jtlalatollli amo melaoac, in çan iliujz moteneoa, acan vel ixneci: in juhquj tla aca quijtoa. Qujl omje in Emperador: injn ca çan mjtoa, camo nelli: ic mjtoa. Aiatile iuel iaca. Auh intla ie melaoac mjtoa: mjtoz. Ie iuel iaca.

TLACOQUALLI IN MONEQUI.

Amo cenca tzotzomatli in totech tic-talizque: amo no cenca titoieczquetzazque: çan jpan qualli injc titochichioazque: in jtechpa in tlaquemjtl.

TLACAITLEOA.

Iquac mjtoa: in jquac pipixco, in muchi tlacatl iauh mopixqujiliz: no vel mjtoa, in jquac muchi tlacatl iauh, in jmjlpan, in jquac elimjco.

Mi CORAÇON SE ALEGRO O MJ CORAÇO SE  
PUSO BLANCO O EL CORACO.

Dizesse este refran: del que se alegro por auer hallado lo que mucho desseava dize noiollo ijztaia alegroseme el ojo.

NO ES NUDO CIEGO QUE NO SE PUEDE  
DESHAZER FLOXAMENTE ESTA ATADO.

Este refran se dice: de aquel que le acusan de alguna cosa o le arguen de alguna cosa que con facilidad se puede responder o remediar, y dize patlachilpítica, ese negocio con facilidad se podra remediar o con facilidad se puede responder a ese argumento.

NO ES COSA CIERTA LO QUE DIZE, NO  
LLEUA CAMJNO PARA SER VERDAD ESTO.

Este refran se dice: de las nuevas hechadizas o fingidas que no lleva color de verdad el que las oye responde diciendo ayatle vel yiaca: no tiene esto apariencia de vdad.

LO MODERADO COVIENE MAS EN TODAS  
LAS COSAS.

Este refran se dice: de qualquier estremo ora sea en vestir o en comer o en hablar dizen tlacoqualli monequi, lo razonable es bueno.

ESTE ES TIEMPO È QUE TODOS VAN A  
HAZER SUS SEMENTERAS O A COGER SUS  
MAHIZES ETA. SIN QUEDAR NADIE.

Este refran se dice: de los tiempos quando todos acuden a hacer sus haziendas segun que el tiempo lo demanda dizen tlacaytleoa todos abarrisco van a hacer tal o tal cosa.

HAVE I JUST BECOME A COYOTE?  
DO I NOT SEE IT SOMETIME?

It is said at this time: If one pretends to know something. Perhaps he says: "I went to Castile," or to Guatemala, or he says: "I was an *alcalde*." But it is not true; he only lies. So it is said: "Have I just become a coyote? Do I not see at some time that he went to Castile or to Guatemala, or<sup>5</sup> that at some time he was an *alcalde*?"

MAY I BATHE MYSELF AT CHAPULTEPEC!

It is said at this time: If it befalls me that a great sickness settles on me or my burden is somewhat afflicting, I very much wish that I recover, that my burden soon come to an end. And if in some way I recovered or my burden came to an end, then I say: "May I bathe myself at Chapultepec!"

LIVING IS NOT WITH THE POOR

It is said of some ruler who enters the house of some poor commoner. Then it is said: "This ruler — living is not with the poor"; that is to say, he is not to enter the home of a poor man, but he should enter the house of a ruler. Also it is said of someone who is unappreciative. Perhaps some little thing is offered, perhaps a little food. He only belittles it, he only disdains it; he requires something costly; perhaps he requires a turkey hen. Then it is said: "Living is not with the poor."

HE IS RIGHTLY SERVED, OR  
HE HAD IT COMING

It is said at this time: If we send someone for something, with difficulty have we caused him to get it, to receive

QUJN JN NJCOIUTL: MA ICA  
NJQUJTTA.

Iquac mjtoa: intla itla aca quijmoma-chitoca: aço quijtoa. Onjvia in caxtilan, anoço Quauhtemallan, anoço quijtoa: nacalde onjcatca: çan ie amo nelli, çan quijztlacati: ic ommjtoa. Qujn jn njcoyotl: ma ica njqujitta in castillan ovia, anoço Quauhtemallan, anoco ica Alcalde ocatca.

COMENÇE AYER POR UENTURA A SER  
LOBO O ZORRO COMO NO LO VI, O NO LO  
SUPE SI ESSO FUERA VERDAD SUPIERALO  
YO O VUJERALO YO SABIDO.

Este adagio se dice del que cueta muchas cosas loables que a hecho y muchas cosas notables que a visto jactandose dello con falsedad y el que oye estas cosas y sabe que es jactancia no verdad y no verdad [sic] responde diciendo qujn in njcoiutl ma yca njqujitta qujere decir supiera yo esso si fuera verdad pues que no naci ayer pues que soy antiguo y tengo harta habilidad para saber lo que los otros hazen o donde an andado.

DESSEO YRME A BAÑAR A CHAPULTEPEC  
O QUERRIA PODER YRME A BAÑAR A  
CHAPOLTEPEC.

MA CHAPULTEPEC NJNAALTI.

Iquac mjtoa: intla nopen muchioa vei cocoliztli, notech omotlali, anoço itla notequjuh tetolinj: cenza njquelevia in ma njpati: in ma iciuhca tzonquija in notequjuh. Auh intla oquentel njpatic: anoço otzonquijz in notequjuh: njman ic njqujtoa. Ma chapultepec njnaalti.

Este refran dice: el que a tenido alguna gran enfermedad o algun cargo pesado con deseo de uestre libre de aquel cargo o enfermedad: dice. Ma chapultepec njnaalti que qujere decir, bañarme ya en agua rosada quado este cargo o enfermedad se me qujasse. Chapultepec es vna fuente que esta cerca de mexico muy buena los que se bañan en ella piensan que les haze dios gran merced: asi este adagio es de los mexicanos.

ESTE O ESTOS NO SE HALLAN BIEN CON  
LOS POBRES NJ QUJEREN SER TRATADOS  
COMO POBRES SINO COMO NOBLES  
Y GENEROSOS.

AICNOPILPAN NEMJTLIZTLL.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aca tlatoanj, ipan calaquij aca maceoaltzintli: njman mjtoa. Injn tlatoanj: amo icnopilpan nemjtiliztli, quijoznequij: amo icnotlatcatl ichan calaquijz, çan no tlatoanj in monequij ichan calaquijz. No itechpa mjtoa: in aca amo tlamavicoanj, aço itlatzin maco, aço tlaqualtzintli: çan atle ipan quijutta, çan quijtelchhoa, aço patiio in quijnequij, aço totolin quijnequij: njman ic mjtoa. Aicnopilpan nemjtiliztli.

Dizese este refran: de aquellos que quieren y desean ser honrados en todo assi en la comida como en lo demas, y si por uentura entran en casa donde no son tratados conforme a su fantasia enojanse y menosprecian a quien los hospedo o combido y el que siente esto que es el que cumbido o hospeda dice aycnopilpan nemjtiliztli qujere decir Este no es para entre los pobres.

JUSTAMENTE PADECES O HUELGOME QUE  
TE A VENJDO ESSE MAL.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca tictitlanj, aixacan oticceliltique aço itla oquijcujzquja: çan atle oquijcujto, qujoalitotiuh: ca

Esto dize el que ve a alguno que tropeço o cayo o le vino algú daño porque se huelga de aquel mal que le

it. Perhaps he was to have secured something; but he went getting nothing. He goes off saying: "What is it I should have secured?" Or he went off somewhere stumbling and falling. Hence it is said: "He had it coming."

#### IT AROSE FROM THY LAZINESS

It is said at this time: If we send someone to call someone but he does not wish to go and later we cause him to get him; and perhaps he meets him whom he was especially to call, perhaps just outside the house — perhaps he had left some time ago — then it is said to him: "It arose from thy laziness."

#### MY LOUSE-NITS HAVE HEARD IT ALL

It is said at this time: If one assigns someone to do something, many times he keeps turning away, many times he says the words.

#### THEY MAKE mole OF ALL THE HORNED TOADS I CATCH

It is said at this time: If someone is assigned some easy task, he regards it as difficult. Or he hears some little word; he thinks it dangerous, he is disheartened by it. Hence it is answered: "They make *mole* of all," etc.

#### I SPREAD THE BLACK

It is said at this time: By what we do wrong or say imprudently, we are therefore angered, offended. It derives from painters of colors who sometimes err when they outline something in black; sometimes they spread the black.

#### AS THE LITTLE SNAIL SAID, IT IS CERTAINLY NOT OUR PLACE OF SHATTERING

It is said at this time: If someone has committed some wrong and is punished for it; or they imprisoned him; or someone went somewhere [and] there he died. Hence it is said, "As the little snail said, it is certainly not our place of shattering."

teiyn onjccujzqua, anoço cana onmolhvia. Atelchjtl.

vino y de aquj dizen comûmente teca onjtlatelihiuh: q'ere dezir holgueme del mal ageno.

#### OMOTLATZIVIZ EOAC

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca tictitanj, aca qujnotzaz: auh amo qujnequj in iaz: auh çatepan vel ticceliltia: auh in mache qujnotzaz, aço ça caltenpan in connamquj, aço ie ocuel oalla, ic onjlhvi. Omotlatziviz eoac.

#### A PROPOSITO DE MJ PEREZA A VENJDO.

Este refran dize, el que con dificultad fue persuadido a que fuese a llamar a alguno o que hiziesse algo que el no queria a hacer y quâdo ya yua a llamar al que le mandan el otro vino o quâdo ya yua a hacer lo que le mandauâ y luego le mädarô que le dexasse dize onotlatziujz eoac. hisosse conforme a lo que mj pereza desseaua.

#### MUCHI OQUJCAC IN NACEL.

Iquac mjtoa: in aca itla qujteneoa, mjipecpa qujcujujtlacuepa, in atztzan qujtoa in tlatolli.

#### Y YA ESTOY ENHASTIADO DE OYRTE ESSO.

Este refran dize: el que le mädan hazer algo muchas veces y el no lo quijere hazer y para dar a entender que por mas que se lo digan no lo hara dize: muchi oqujcac inacel [sic]: todas las liendres que tengo en la cabeza â ya oydo esso y estan enhastiadas de oyrlo.

#### MUCH IN QUJMOMOLCHIOA IN TAPAIAXIN NJCACI.

Iquac mjtoa: in aca itla tequjilo, in amo ovi: cencu covicaitta: anoço qujcaquj itla tepiton tlatolli, covicamati, ic motequjpachoa: ic monanqujlia. Much in qujmomolchioa. etc.

#### NITLATLILPATLAOA.

Iquac mjtoa: in dein aiuhquj ticchiosa, anoço tiqujtoa atonezcaliliztia ic titlaqualanja, ic titlaiolitlacoa. In tlappallacujloque intechpa oalqujça: in quenmanjan tlatlacoa, in jquac tlatlilanjia: in quenmanjan qujtlilpatlaoa.

#### ESTOY BORRANDO O HAGO ALGUNA COSA QUE NO PARECERA BIEN.

Este refran dize: el que humillâdose de alguna cosa que esta haciendo dize njtlatilpatlaoa hago poco y mal como el pintor necio que haze mal su officio.

#### CANATARILLO QUE MUCHAS VEZES VA A LA FUENTE O DEXA EL ASA O LA FRÈTE EL CARACORILLO QUE MUCHAS VEZES ATRAUJESSA EL CAMJNO ALGUNA VEZ QUEDALLI PISADO DE LOS CAMJNATES.

Dizes este refran: por los que hazen muchas veces vn peccado q' alguna uez le toman en el y paga iunto lo que hizo y dizesse entonce aie nel toxaxamacaijan qujere dezir, llego el tiempo de pagar por los males hechos.

#### IUH QUJTO ATECOLPIL, AIE NEL TOXAXAMACAIAJAN.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca, itla oqujchiuh tlatlaculli: auh ic otlatzacujtiloc, anoço oqujtzacutia: anoço aca canapa oia, vmpa omomqjuli: ic mjtoa. Iuh qujto ateocolpil, aie nel toxaxamacaijan.

### WHERE IS THE SORCERER?

It is said at this time: If I sell something dear — perhaps its price has become five pesos, but only one peso is paid; or I undertake to make a little something for someone from which I cannot gain, profit a little. Then it is said: "Where is the sorcerer?"

### THERE A PIECE OF CLOTH WAS HUNG

It is said at this time: If I accuse someone because of some little thing but he takes even greater vengeance upon me so as to endanger me; or at this time: if something like a cape or a gourd vessel is rent — it is rent only slightly — and I later try to join it [but] it is thus rent even more, hence it is then said: "There a piece of cloth was hung."

### WHERE IS COYONACAZCO?

It is said at this time: If one finds fault with someone, explains something to someone, if he does not make his words very clear, though he discloses a little, then the fault-finder is answered: "Where is Coyonacazco?" Also it is said of one who is sent on an errand, perhaps to get something, perhaps to call someone; twice, thrice is he addressed, but really he does not hear it. Hence it is said to him: "Where is Coyonacazco?"

### HIS GULLET IS ALREADY GONE

It is said of one who very forcibly cites one before the law, aggressively argues his case, but when he can do nothing to cite one before the law, he only goes yielding meekly. And it can be said of one who is shameless, who becomes vain, who esteems no one. And many times one is so called who goes meekly, in humility; just like a colt he already goes about greatly tamed. Hence it is said: "Already [his gullet] is gone," etc.

### IT IS JUST BORN

It is said at this time: If it is only a little thing. We say it when the little quickly ends. When it has come to an end, we say: "It is just born."

### CANPA XONNAOALLI.

Iquac mjtoa: intla itla njcnamacatlaçotli, aço macujlpeso ipatiuh muchiuuh: auh ça ce peso injc quipatijotia. anoço itla çan tepiton njctechivilia, in amo vel itla vncan njcnjxnextilia, njquicnopilvia: ic mjtoa. Canpa xonnaoalli.

### VMPA CE ÇOTL OMMOPILO.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca njcteixpauja itlaton ipampa: auh ie uei, injc nopen quicuepa injc nechovitilia: anoce iquac intla itla otzaian, in juhquj tilmatli, anoço xicalli, çan tepiton ic otzaian: auh çatepan njquitzomaznequj, oc cenca ie vei injc oaltsaian: ic vncan mjtoa. Vmpa ce çotl omopilo.

### CANJN MACH COIONACAZCO.

Iquac mjtoa: in aca tenaoalaoa, tetlaçaujitia, in amo cenca qujnexitia tlatalli: tel achi caqujzti: ic monanqujlia in tenaoalaoanj. Canjn mach coionacazco. No itechpa mjtoa: in aquin qujtitlanj, aço itla quicuz, anoço tenotzaz, oppa, expa in jlvilo, ça nel amo quicauj: ic ilhvilo. Canjn mach coionacazco.

### IE ÔIAUH IN JTLATOLHOAZ.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aca cenca mochicaoa teteixpavia, in cenca motlatolchicaoa: auh in jquac in avel quichioa injc teteixpavia, in çan jvian mocauhitiuh. Ioan vel itechpa mjtoa: in aca aquen tlatta, moquaquatlaca, in aiac tle ipan qujttia: auh injc mjeepa nonotzalo, ie iviantzin mocnomattiuuh: in maca çan potro, çan jvian ie tlacaciuhitiuh: ic mjtoa. Ie ôiauh. etc.

### ÇAN JXQUJCH MOTLACATILI.

Iquac mjtoa: intla çan tepiton tiqujtoa in amo vei, in jciuhca ontzonqujça: in jquac ontzonqujz, tiqujtoa. Çan jxqujch motlacatili

### NO AY LUGAR SECRETO NO AY COSA QUE NO SE SEPA.

Este refran se dice: del que cõfia que no se sabra el mal que haze ansi dizen campa xõnaoalli no ay cosa que no se sepa. tambien qujere dezir donde pense ganar perdi.

### PENSE DE VENGARME Y DENDE ME VINO MAYOR INJURIA.

Este refran se dice: del que cõ apetito de vengarse hizo a su enemigo algun daño pequeño y de alli le resulto algun gran daño tambien se dice del que quiso remediar algun daño pequeño y empeorose lo que queria remediar.

### AL BUEN ENTENDEDOR POCAS PALABRAS O BIEN ENTIENDO QUE MURMURAYS DE MJ POR SUMAS.

Este adagio se toma de vn lugar que se llama coionacazco solamente se usa en el tlatilulco o poco mas porque en el esta este lugar que se llama coionacazco.

### YA SE LE ABAXA LA COLERA.

Este refran se dice del que entendia en algun negocio cõ mucho brio y co mocha [sic] colera y hallando resistencia perdio el brio dizen del ye oiauh in jtlatolhoaz ya perdio el brio en hablar que antes tenia.

### NO AY MAS POSIBILIDAD.

Dize este refran el que da poco o haze poco en fauor de otro y por dar a entender que si mas pudiera mas fiziera dize Çan ie ixqujch motlacatili qujere dezir rescebid la buena volütd que si mas pudiera hazer mas fiziera.

WHO CANNOT ORNAMENT HIS ENTRAILS?  
It is said of the artisan like a feather-worker, who ornaments what he makes well, who designs it well with designs to sell quickly, to be bought.

ONCE AGAIN IT WILL BE; ONCE AGAIN IT WILL BE CUSTOMARY, SOMETIME, SOMEWHERE

What was done in very old times, is no longer done, but once again it will be done, once again it will thus be customary as it was customary in ancient times. Those who live now will live, will exist once again.

THOU HAST NOT REACHED THE SEASON OF THE GREEN MAIZE EAR; THOU HAST NOT REACHED THE SEASON OF THE MAIZE TASSEL

This saying may be understood in two ways—one good and one bad. And as for the time when it is good: At a time if someone is very estimable, wealthy—who always watches his wealth, his riches, or his rulership here on earth, it was said: "He hath reached his season of the green maize ear, of his maize tassel; he is much esteemed, he is praised." Of one such as this it is said that he has achieved his merit.

AC AICUJTLAXCOLTZIN  
QUJTLATLAMACHICA.

Itechpa mijtoa: in tlachichiuuhquj, in juhquj amantecatl, in vel quijecchichioa in jtlachioal, in vel qujtlamachiotia: injc yciuhca aqujz, coaloz.

QUJEN NO SABE ADORNAR SU MANTENIMIENTO.

Dizesse este refran: de los oficiales mechanicos que ponen grā diligencia en adornar y hermosear las cosas de su oficio para que parezca bien y se vendan presto y valgan mas. Dizesse tambien de los lisongeros y de los que cōponē hermosamente sus palabras para alcançar lo que demāda o lo que pretenden y asi destos se dice aca ycujtlaxcoltzin qujtlatlamachia qujere [decir] por ganar de comer no sabe afeytar lo que dice y lo que haze.

OC CEPA IUCHCAN IEZ, OC CEPPA IUE TLAMANJZ IN JQUJN, IN CANJN.

In tlein mochiaoia cenca ie vecauh, in aiocmo mochiao: auh oc ceppa mochiaoaz, oc ceppa iuh tlamanjz, in juh tlamanca ie vecauh: in iehoantin, in axcan nemj, oc ceppa nemjzque, iezque.

LO QUE ES TORNARA A SER Y LO QUE FUE OTRA UEZ SERA.

Esta proposicion es de platon y el diablo la enseñio aca porque es erronea es falsissima es contra la fe la qual qujere decir las cosas que fueron tornaran a ser como fueron en los tiempos pasados y las cosas que son agora serā otra uez: de manera que segun este error los que agora viuen tornaran a biujr y como esta agora el mundo tornara a ser de la mjsma manera lo qual es falsissimo y hereticissimo.

MA AMO IXILOIOCAN TACI: MA AMO IMJIAOAIOCAN TACI

Injn tlatolli: vntlamantli injc mocauj: centlamantli qualli, auh centlamantli amo qualli. Auh in jquac qualli: iquac intla aca cenca maviztilonj, molamachtianj, in muchipa quipia in netlamachitilli in necujtonolli: manoço in tlatocaiotl in njcan tlalticpac: mijtoaia. Oacic in jmjiaoaiocan, in jxiloiocan: cenca maviztililo iecteneoalo: mijtoaia ca oimaceoal mochiuh, in aqujn iuhquj, yn.

NUNCA TE LOGRES O NUNCA VENGAS A COLMO.

Este refran es de los maldicentes q desean que el que esta en prosperidad caya della y el que va subiendo en dignidad o prosperidad no llegue a la cubre. tambien qujere decir mijra que no desfallecas por tu negligencia de saber la verdad deste negocio, tambien qujere decir pues guardaos que aūque agora estays en prosperidad por uentura la fortuna os dara vna çancadilla y caereys dello en que estays.



Forty-second Chapter. Here are told some riddles, the so-called "what-is-its" with which riddles are made as if they were mysteries.

What is it that is a small blue gourd bowl filled with popcorn? One can see from our little riddle that it is the heavens.

What is it that drags its entrails as it proceeds through the gorge? One can see from our little riddle that it is the needle.

What is it that is a horizontal drum of green stone bound about the middle with flesh? One can see from our little riddle that it is the ear plug.

What is it that is a little water jar to carry upon the head, which knows the land of the dead? One can see from our little riddle that it is the pottery pitcher for drawing water.

What are the ten broad stones which one bears on the back? One can see from our little riddle that they are our fingernails.

What is that which is caught in a black forest, which dies here on the broad white stones? One can see from our little riddle that it is the louse we catch on our head; we lay it out on our fingernail, where we kill it.

What is that which is a hollow straw singing? It is the sackbut.

What is that which is black, writing with liquid lead? The crawling snail.

What is that which lies pointing to the heavens, with its finger? The maguey point.

What is that which has a skirt of one piece with which lice are removed from one? The comb.

Ic ompoalli omome capitulo, vñcan mjtoa: cequj çacanjilli, in mjtoa çacan tleino, injc moçanjlvia, in juhqujma monaoaltotoca.

Çaçan tleino, xoxouhquj xicaltzintli, mumuchitl ontemj. Aca quijtaz toçaçanjlitzin, tlacanenca ilviciatl.

Çaçan tleino, icujtlaxcol quivilana, tepetozcatl quijtoca. Aca quijtaz toçaçanjlitzin, tlacanenca vitzmallotl.

Çaçan tleino chalchiuhtepunatzli, nacatica cujtlalpitoc. Aca quijtaz toçaçanjlitzin, tlacanenca nacochtli.

Çaçan tleino, quatzocoltzin mjctlan ommati. Aca quijtaz toçaçanjlitzin, tlacanenca apilolli, ic atlacujoa.

Çaçan tleino, matlactin tepatlactli qujmamamatimanj. Aca quijtaz toçaçanjlitzin, tlacanenca tozti.

Çaçan tleino, tlilquauhtla ommana, iztac tepatlacpan oalmiquj. Aca quijtaz toçaçanjlitzin, tlacanenca atemjtl: tocpac toconana, toztipan tiqualteca: vñcan tocommictia.

Çaçan tleino, cocoçacatzin mocujcucatia. Tlacanenca sacapuch.

Çaçan tleino, cacatzactli temetzatica tlacujloa. Teccizmamaque.

Çaçan tleino, ilhvicac vmmapijotoque. Vitztli.

Çaçan tleino, iççocuetzin moteahatemjlia. Tziqauoaztli

Capitulo. 42. de algunos çacanjles de los muchos que vña esta gente mexicano [sic]: que son como los que cosa y cosa de nuestra lengua.

Que cosa y cosa vna gicara azul sembrada de mahizes tostados que se llaman momochitl. Este es el cielo que esta sembrado de estrellas.

Que cosa y cosa, que va por vn valle y lleua las tripas arrastrado. Esta es el aguja quando cosen con ella que lleua el hilo arrastrado.

Que cosa y cosa, vn teponatzli hecho de vna piedra preciosa y ceñido con carne biua. Es la orejera hecha de piedra preciosa que esta metida en la oreja.

Que cosa y cosa, vn jarro o cantaro con asa que sabe yr al infierno. Este es el cantaro con que vñ por agua a la fuente.

Que cosa y cosa, diez piedras que las tiene alguno a cuestas. Estos sõ las vñas que estan sobre los dedos.

Que cosa y cosa que se toma [en] vna montaña negra y se mata en vn petlate blanco. Este es el piojo que se toma en la cabeza que se mata en la vña.

Que cosa y cosa vna caña hueca que esta cantando. Este es el sacavuche.

Que cosa y cosa vn negrillo que va escribiendo con vedriado: son los caracolitos negros que quando van andando dexan el camjno por donde van vedriado con vnas babitas que dexan.

Que cosa y cosa que esta señalando al cielo con el dedo. Es la espina del maguey.

Que cosa y cosa que tiene naoas de sola vna pierna y busca piojos. Es el peyne que en el medio tiene como vna pierna de máta angosta y de ambas partes las puas que sacan los piojos de la cabeca.

What is it that bends over us all over the world? The maize tassel.

Çaçan tleino, cemanaoac topapanco-loltzitzin. Miaoatl.

What is that which is a terrifying old woman who gnaws under the earth? The gopher.

Çaçan tleino, tetzavilama tlallan tlquaqua. Toçan.

What is that which is a little silver thing tied on a brown maguey thread? A nit.

Çaçan tleino, teocujtlapolotziqutzin iapalichtica mecaiotica. Aceli.

What is that which is a small mirror in a house made of fir branches? Our eye.

Çaçan tleynon tezcatzintli acxoiacalatica. Tixtelolo.

What is that which is a hill whence there is a flow? Our nose.

Çaçan tleino, tepetlamjmjlollj ijtic ameia. Toiac.

What is that which grinds with flint knives, in which a piece of leather lies, enclosed in flesh? Our mouth.

Çaçan tleino, tecpatica texoa, cuetlaxtli vncan onoc, nacatica tzacquij. Tocamac.

What is that of which the face is soft flesh, the occiput inserted? Our finger.

Çaçan tleino, ixnacapapatz, cuexochcacalacti. Tomapil.

What is that which is flesh-faced, bone-necked? It is the same, our finger.

Çaçan tleino, ixnaca quechomj: çan ie no iehoatl in tomapil.

What is that which has a small, wrinkled face, then goes kicking? Our knee.

Çaçan tleino, ixtexolochtzitzin qujn topeuhuih. Totlanqua.

What is that which is an old woman with hair of straw standing at the house entrance? The maize bin.

Çaçan tleino, çacatzontelama tequiaoac moquequetza. Cuezcomatl.

What is that which is red, slender; [which] easily bites one? The ant.

Çaçan tleino, tlaltepitzactli, aiovi tequa. Azcatl.

What is that which [says]: "You jump [so that] I shall jump"? This is the drum stick.

Çaçan tleino, xoncholo, noncholoz: iehoatl in olmaitl

What is that which [says]: "I go this way, thou goest that way, [so that] we shall meet there"? The breech cloth.

Çaçan tleino, njpa njiauh, njpa xi-iauh, vmpa tontonamquijzque. Max-tlatl.

What is a small white stone holding a quetzal feather? The onion.

Çaçan tleino, izardetzintli quetzalli conmanatica. Xonacatl.

What is that which is white-headed, holding a quetzal feather? This is likewise the onion.

Çaçan tleino, quaztalcomoctzin, que-tzalli conmanatica: çan ie no iehoatl in xonacatl.

Que cosa y cosa, que en todo el mundo encima de nosotros se encorba. Son los penachos del maiz qdo se uñ secado y encorvando.

Que cosa y cosa, vna vieja mostruosa debaxo de tierra anda comiendo o ruyedo. Es el topo.

Que cosa y cosa, vna cosita pequenita de plata que esta atada con vna hebra de ichtli de color castaño. Es la liendre que esta como atada al cabello.

Que cosa y cosa espejo que esta en vna casa hecha de ramos de pino. Es el ojo que tiene la cejas [sic] como ramada del arbol que llaman acxoatl.

Que cosa y cosa un cerro como loma y mana por de dentro. Son las narizes.

Que cosa y cosa que muele con pederales y alli tiene un cuero blando hechado y esta cercado con carne. Es la boca que tiene los dientes con que masca y la lengua tendida en medio esta cerrada con carne. sō los labios et<sup>a</sup>.

Que cosa y cosa que tie [sic] la cara de carne blanda y el cobote [sic] duro encaxado en la carne. Es el dedo de la mano q tiene de vna parte la carne blanda y de la contraria la vña encaxada.

Que cosa y cosa cara de carne y cuello de hueso. Es el dedo.

Que cosa y cosa, va dando embiones co cara arrogadas. Es las rodillas.

Que cosa y cosa, vna vieja que tiene los cabellos de heno y esta cerca de la puerta de casa. Es la troxe del maiz.

Que cosa y cosa, es colorada o bermeja y delgadilla y muere apresuradamente. Es la homjrga [sic].

Que cosa y cosa, que dice salta tu y yo saltare. Es la mano o palo con que tañen el teponaztli.

Que cosa y cosa, voy acolla ve tu a la otra parte y alla nos iuntaremos. Es el mastli que el un cabo va a una parte y el otro a la contraria y tornase a nudar iuntamente.

Que cosa y cosa, piedra blanca y della nacen plumas verdes. Es la cebolla.

Que cosa y cosa, que tiene los cabellos canos hasta al cabo y cria plumas verdes. Es tambien la cebolla.

What is that which we enter in three places [and] leave by only one? It is our shirt.

What is that whose ribs one scratches [so that] it lies crying out? The bone rasp.

What is that with large ribs on the outside which stands along the road? The carrying frame.

What is it we seize from the edge of its hole so that we harden the ground? This is the nose mucus.

What is that which enters the forest going with its tongue hanging? The axe.

What is that which bats its big head at the edge of one's roof terrace? The ladder.

What is it that has a tight shift? The tomato.

What is it that comes out—"take thy stone"? Excrement.

What is the scarlet macaw leading, the raven following? The conflagration.

What are those which with sandals of stone stand at the edge of one's house? The columns.

What is that which becomes pregnant in only one day? The spindle.

What is that which stands at the edge of the hearth, rising with a curve at the end? The dog's tail.

What is that which is filled with shields within? It is the chili; and its seeds are shields.

What is that which follows along the gorge, going clapping its hands? The butterfly.

What is the black stone standing on its head, resting listening to the land of the dead? It is the beetle.

Çaçan tleino, excanpa ticalaquj, çan cecnj tiqujça. Ca tocamsa.

Çaçan tleino, comjcicujltataca chiqujlichtzatzitoc. Omjchicaoaztli.

Çaçan tleino, omjcicujlpapanpul otlica moquetzticac. Cacaxtli.

. Çaçan tleinon, itlacoioctenpan ticmacujiuetzi, tlalli ic ticquappitzoa. Ca iehoati in iacacujtlatl.

Çaçan tleino quauhtla calaquj nene-pilotuh. Tepuztli.

Çaçan tleino, tetlapantenco moque-quetza quateconpol. Ecaoaztli.

Çaçan tleino, vipiltich. Tomatl.

Çaçan tleino, ie oalqujça xiccuj motueh. Cujlatl.

Çaçan tleino, cueçali teiacana, caca-lin tetocatiuh. Tlachinolli

Çaçan tleino, itetecac, tecaltenpan moquequetza. Tlaquetzalli.

Çaçan tleino, ça cemjlhvtil otzti. Malacatl.

Çaçan tleino, texcaltenpa moquetzti-cac pancololli. Chichicujtlapilli.

Çaçan tleino, chimalli ijic tentica. Ca chilli: auh ie in injachio chimalli.

Çaçan tleino, tepetozcatl quijtoca momatlaxcalotiu. Papalotl.

Çaçan tleino, tliltic tetl itzon jc icac, ontlacactoc mjctlan. Ca pinacatl.

Que cosa y cosa, que entramos por tres partes y salimos a vna parte. La camjssa.

Que cosa y cosa, que le rascan las costillas y esta gritando. Es el hueso que vsan en los areytos por sonajas.

Que cosa y cosa, que tiene las costillas de fuera y esta lleuantado en el camjno. Es el cacaxtli.

Que cosa y cosa, que lo tomas de presto de la boca de su agujero y arrojaslo en el svelo. Es son [sic] los mocos que se tomā de las narizes y se arrojan en el suelo.

Que cosa y cosa, que entra en la mótaña y lleua la lengua sacada. Es la hacha.

Que cosa y cosa, esta arrimado al açotea el vellaco cabeza de olla. Este es la escalera que se arrima para subir al açotea.

Que cosa y cosa, camjssa muy apretada. Es el tomatl que tiene el cuero muy iusto y apegado a ssi [sic].

Que cosa y cosa, ya sale toma tu piedra. Es hazer camara.

Que cosa y cosa, van gujando las plumas coloradas que se llama cueçali y van tras ellas los cueros. Es la chamosqujna de la çauanas.

Que cosa y cosa, tiene cotaras de piedra y esta lleuantado a la puerta de casa. Son los postes colaterales de la puerta.

Que cosa y cosa, que en vn dia se empreña. Es el huso con la maçorá.

Que cosa y cosa, esta lleuantado a la puerta y esta coruada le punta. La cola del perro.

Que cosa y cosa, que esta lleno de rodelas. Es el chilli que esta lleno de semjlla de hechura de rodelitas.

Que cosa y cosa, que va por vn valle y va dando palmadas con las manos como la muger que haze pan. Es la mariposa que va volando.

Que cosa y cosa, piedra negra cabeza abaxo esta escuchādo hazia el infierno. Es aquella sauandija que se llama pinacatl, que tiene el cuerpo negro, y siempre esta cabeza abaxo como quien esta escuchando hazia el infierno.

What is that which is a stone of red ochre which goes jumping? The flea.

What is that which is on round stones, standing singing? The olla for cooking maize in ashes.

What is that which is on the road which is biting one? It is the stone which we stumble over.

What is a tiny colored stone sitting on the road? Dog excrement.

What is that which is rounded above, which shakes, which cries out? The gourd rattle.

What are those things which, at their dancing place,<sup>1</sup> they give stomachs, they make pregnant? They are spindles.

Çaçan tleinio, tlatlauhquj tetl cholo-tiu. Tecpi.

Çaçan tleinio, tetipac totolon cujcati-cac. Nexcomjtl.

Çaçan tleinio, otlica tequatica. Ca titotecujnja tetl.

Çaçan tleinio, otlica eoatica paltetzo-coton. chichi icuji.

Çaçan tleinio, aco cujtliaiaoalli, movi-vixoa tzatzi. Aicacchtli.

Çaçan tleinio, ineitotiaian qujtitique, cotztique. Ca malacatl.

Que cosa y cosa, vna piedra alma-grada va saltando. Es la pulga.

Que cosa y cosa, esta sobre piedras y es redondo y esta cantando. Es la olla quando se cuccen [sic] mahiz.

Que cosa y cosa, que esta en el camjno y esta murdiendo. Es la piedra en que tropeçamos en el camjno.

Que cosa y cosa, esta en el camjno asentada de hechura de tintero. lo que el perro hecha.

Que cosa y cosa, que en lo alto es redondo y varrigudo y esta bulliéndose y dando voces. Es la sonaja q se llama aiacachtli.

1. Read *ineitotiayan*. There is no Spanish text of this riddle.



Forty-third Chapter. Here are told some of the figures of speech called metaphors, which are subtle expressions; and their interpretations, their explanations.

THOU ROUGHENEST THE GREEN STONE;  
THOU RENDEST THE PRECIOUS FEATHER

This saying is said of him who damages something very precious; who respects not what is worthy of respect: like those who, receiving the most Holy Sacrament, pay it no honor, humble themselves not, weep not, etc. Or some mere commoner dishonors some noblewoman. This saying is told him: "Thou hast roughened the green stone, thou hast rent the precious feather."

WHERE HAVE I PASSED OVER THE HAIR,  
THE HEAD OF OUR LORD?

That is: "Have I perhaps offended our lord<sup>1</sup> in something, so that he afflicteth me?"

I PROTECT THY HAIR, THY HEAD

That is, [I do this] in order thus to admonish thee, to take care of thy honor so that nothing may defame it, so that no affliction may befall thee.

IT IS MY DRINK, IT IS MY FOOD

That is, it is my property, my goods, my sustenance.

MY HERON FEATHER, MY CORD JACKET

That is, when the city gave me a task, I thereby became a slave. If I should harm it, if I should endanger something, I should be imprisoned.

IC VMPALLI OMEI CAPITULO, VNCAN MJTOA: CEQUJ MACHIOTLATOLLI, IN JTACA METAPHORAS, IN OHOUJ TLATOLLI: IOAN IN IMELAOACA, IN JCAQUIZTICA.

Capitulo. 43. de algunas methaphoras delicadas con sus declaraciones.

TICTETEÇOA IN CHALCHIVITL,  
TICOAOAÇOA IN QUETZALLI:

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoa: in aquijn ysla cenza tlaçotli qujtlacoa, in cenza malhvilonj, in amo qujmalhvia; in juhquj iehoantin, in aqujque qujmoçelilia Sanctissimo sacramento in amo tlamavitztilia, in amo mopechteca, in amo choaca. etc. in anoço aca çan maceoalli in cavilquixtia aca civapilli: ilhviloia injn tlatolli. Oticteteço in chalchivitl, oticvaço in quetzalli.

CANJN MACH ITZONTLAN, IQUATLA  
ONJQUJZ IN TOTECUJO:  
QUJTOZNEQUJ. CUJX ITLA IC ONJENOIOLIACALVI IN TOTEUJO: INJC NECHMOTOLINJLIA.

MOTZONTLAN, MOQUATLA NJTLAPACHOA:  
QUJTOZNEQUJ: INJC IUH NJMITZNONTZA, Y: IC NJCMALHIA IN MOTEIO, INJC AMO TLE IC AVILQUJÇAZ, INJC AMO TLE TETOLINJ MOPAN MUCHIOATIUH.

CA NAUH, CA NOTLAQUAL:  
QUJTOZNEQUJ. CA NAXCA, CA NOTLATQUJ, CA NONETLAIECOLTILIZ.

NAZTAUH, NOMECAKICOL:

QUJTOZNEQUJ. INJC ONECHTEQUJMACAC IN ALTEPETL: IC NJTLACAUH ONJNOCHIUIH INTLA NJQUJTLACOZ, INTLA ITLA IC NJCOVITILIZ: NJCTZACUTIAZ.

Esta letra quiere decir. Dañas el lustre y graciosidad de la piedra preciosa y paralelo como teçotli [sic] aspero y ahoiado: manoseas o desparramas o sobaras la pluma rica. Esta metaphora se dice: quando alguno profana alguna cosa sancta o maltrata o deshonra a alguma persona honrada o de gran valor. Como los que sin devida reuerencia resciben el sanctissimo sacramento: y tambien quando alguno deshonra a alguna donzella.

Esta letra quiere decir. Por uentura atrauese por sobre la cabeza del, estando dormiendo, menospreciandole y tenjendole en poco? Esta metaphora dizē, los que se quexan de nro señor dios de que los maltrata o afige demasiadamente: lo mjsmo dizen de alguna otra persona quexandose que le afige iniustamente o sin razon.

Esta letra quiere decir. Defiendo que nadie pase por sobre tu cabeza estando dormiendo. Esta metaphora quiere decir. Zelo y defiendo tu honrra para que nadie la periudique.

Esta letra quiere decir. Es mj comida y mj beuida. Y por methaphora. Con esto gano de comer y de beuer.

Esta letra quiere decir. Anme puesto vn penacho de esclavo y ame rodeado al cuerpo vna soga. Por methaphora quiere decir. En este oficio o cargo que me an dado anme hecho esclavo y sieruo de la republica o de las personas a quien rijo o goujerno.

1. Read totecujo.

THY HERON FEATHER, THY CORD JACKET  
HAVE BEEN PLACED ON THEE  
That is, the city hath made of thee  
a slave.

I HAVE GIVEN THEE THY BANNER; I HAVE  
GIVEN THEE THY SPOTTED PAPER

It is said when one is in his final  
desperation, finally at the end. One  
says to him: "I have given thee thy  
banner; I have given thee thy spotted  
paper."<sup>2</sup>

TOMORROW, THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW  
It means the time toward which we  
are going — a few days.

WHEN ALREADY THOU GOEST HELD  
IN PRISON, IN BONDS

It means: "I can now advise thee.  
But when already thou goest bound,  
can I perhaps yet then be able to tell  
thee something? Is it yet the propitious  
time [to regard me] asquint, askance?"

This saying is said at a time when  
one has been admonished many times,  
has not listened, has paid no heed; and  
already he is carried away, already he  
goes bound. Thereupon he is ani-  
mated; he is told this saying: "Thou  
wilt not regard me asquint, askance; for  
I have done my duty to thee."

ALREADY AT THE EDGE OF THE FIRE,  
ALREADY AT THE STAIRWAY

This saying was said of those who  
were about to be put to death, who  
already had been brought up to die: or  
they had already been placed at the  
edge of the fire; it was time for them to  
die. Well ahead of time had they been  
admonished, so that to no one would  
such befall.

ALREADY IN ANOTHER'S ENCLOSURE,  
ALREADY IN THE ENTRANCE OF  
ANOTHER'S HOUSE

With this saying were taught, with  
this were admonished one's sons or the  
common folk, in order that no one  
might do the improper, that which was

MAZTAUH, MOMECAJICOL  
OTITLALILILOC:  
quitoznequij. Omitzmotlacaoati in  
altepetl.

ONJMJTPANTI,  
ONJMJTTETEHTI:  
iquac mjtoa, in aca ca inexiuhtlatilco,  
ca tlatzaccan qujihvia. Onjmjtpanti,  
onjmjttetehtuhi.

IN MUZTLA, IN VIPTLA:  
qujitoznequij: in ie vmpa titztivi, in  
ca quezqujihvitl.

IN IE QUAUHTICA, IN IE MECATICA  
TANOTIVI:  
qujitoznequij. Axcampas njmjtne-  
machtia: auh in jquac ie tilpitihu, cujx  
vel oc vmpa itla njmjtzilvitiuh, cujx oc  
imonequa ixtlapal nacacit.

Injn tlatolli: ipan mjtoa: in jquac  
aca mijecpa, ononotzaloc, amo oqujac,  
atle ipan oqujttac: auh ie ujco, ie ilpi-  
tiuh: ic ellaquaoalo, ilvilo injn tlatolli.  
Amo ixtlapal, amo nacacic tinechoalitz-  
tiaz: ca movicpa onjnoqujxti.

IN IE TLECUYLIXQUAC,  
IN IE TLAMAMATLAC.

Injn tlatolli intech mjtoaia, in aqu-  
que in ie onmjctilozque in ie ontecal-  
vilo, injc mjqujzque: anoço ie tlecuyl-  
ixquac ontlaliloque. ie inman in mj-  
qujzque: vel achto ic tenemachtiloia,  
injc aiac iuhquj ipan muchioaz in.

IN IE TECHINANTITLAN, IN  
IE TEQUJIAOAC.

Injn tlatolli ic nemachtiloia, ic nono-  
tzaloia in tepilhoan, anoço macechoalti:  
injc aiac qujchiaoaz in amo chioalonj, in  
lein amo qualli: injc amo totocoaz, injc

Habla otro con el que se le a dado  
algun cargo de republica dizele Maz-  
tauah momecaxicol omjtztlalili in alte-  
petl. Ate hecho su esclavo la republica.

Esta letra quiere decir. Ete dado la  
vanderilla que as de llevar a la muerte  
y el papel q se llama teteujtl que se da  
a los que an de matar por justicia y  
aquella es señal que se despide ya dese  
mudo. Por metaphor a se dice del que  
avisa a su amijo pa q se guarde de  
algū vicio en que anda de que muchas  
vezes le a aujsado. dizele Esta vez te  
aujsa y nūca mas te aujsare.

Estra letra quiere decir mañana o es-  
tro dia sera tal o tal cosa. Y por meta-  
phora quiere decir. En los t[ien]pos  
que vendrá se hara o dira tal o tal cosa.

Dize esta letra. Quando estuijeres  
en la carcel o estuijeres atado o preso  
no te podre remediar o no tengas con-  
fiança en mj que te tengo de faorescer.  
Por methaphora dize. El q muchas  
veces a aujsado a algun su amijo o hijo  
o pariente para que se aparte de algun  
vicio con que anda como es de hurto o  
de adulterio: y despues a la poste ya  
vee que no se quiere emendar dizele.  
in ie quauhtica in ie mecatica tonotihu.  
Como si dixesse Agora te aujsa que te  
emjendes porque despues que cayeres  
en las manos de la iusticia no tengas  
confiança que yo te tēgo de faorescer.

Esta letra quiere decir. Quando estuijeres  
junto a la hoguera o al pie de la  
horca te acordaras de lo q te aujsse. Por  
methaphora quiere decir. Muchas veces  
te aujsado [sic] que te emjendes y no  
quieres. al pie de la horca o junto a la  
hoguera os pesara de no auer querido  
rescebir mj consejo.

Dize esta letra. Por casas agenas y  
por tierras estrañas y de puerta en  
puerta andando vendras a escarmientar.  
Por methaphora quiere decir. Mira que  
no hagas njngun peccado o crimen por  
donde merecas ser desterrado de tu  
pueblo de tu tierra y andar por tierras

2. For *nimitzpantia*, *nimitztetehtia* among a number of phrases, Olmos (*op. cit.*, p. 217) has "Encubro agora tu delito, pero si no" *emmiendas, a la otra vez lo pagaras todo.*"

had; in order not to be driven forth, in order not to be forced to wander to others' enclosures, to others' house entrances. He was advised: "If thou dost something [evil], thou wilt be driven forth, thou wilt be made to wander in others' enclosures, in the entrances of others' houses. Also we tell thee: 'Thou wilt not wander to the city of another, nor canst thou longer dwell in thy city.'"

#### DISHEVELED, FILTHY. THOU HAST PRACTICALLY PUT HIS WIG ON HIM

This saying is said of one who affronts his ruler or his protector. Perhaps he publicly accuses someone; or else he is one who dishonors his father or his mother, who wishes not to live as his beloved father or grandfather lived. Thus he was chidden, he was told: "Thou hast practically put his wig on him," or, "Thou hast caused thy beloved father, or thy beloved grandfather, to live as if disheveled, filthy."

Likewise was told, was chidden one who affronted his beloved father, his beloved mother, or his ruler, his protector. He was told: "Stand not the ruler, or thy beloved father, or authority on his hair, on his head."

#### THE SNARE, THE TRAP LIE QUIVERING BEFORE AUTHORITY

This saying was said of one who accused one before the ruler, or of one who lived with the ruler. He was told: "Take care, for the snare, the trap lie quivering before authority," that is, in the presence of the ruler.

#### STREWN WITH SCORPIONS, STREWN WITH NETTLES.

This is said to him who accused one before, or who lived with, the ruler. He was told: "Take care, for the ruler is a castigator, as well as merciful."

#### DUSTY, FILTHY

This saying was said of one who became a ruler by deception, who competed by deception, or acquired abundance by deception. He was told: "Is the rulership thou hast gained, or the

amo techinantitlan, tequjiaoac monenemjtiz: ilviloia. Intla itla ticchioaz, ca titotocoz, ca techinantitlan, ca tequjiaoac timonemjtitiuh: ca no iuh tiquijtoa. Amo teauh, tetepeuh ipan timonenemjtiz: aiocmo maltepeuh ipan tinemjz.

agenas como estrágero y peregrino fuera de tu natural.

#### TZONPACHPUL, CUJTLANEXPUL: VEL ACHI ITZONCAL TICTLALILIA.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtoa yn aquijn cavilquixtia in jlatocauh, anoço itepachocauh: aço qujteixpavia: anoço in aquijn cavilquixtia ita, anoço, inan: in amo iuh nemjznequj, in juh nenza itatzin, anoço icol: ic aioia, ilviloia. Achi itzoncal tictlalilia, anoço: iuhqujn tzonpachpul, cujtlanexpul tienemjtia in motatzin, anoço mocoltzin.

Esta letra quiere decir. Vellaco desgreñado suzio. Por methaphora se dice: de aquel que a hecho alguna afrenta o desobediencia a su padre o a sus mayores o a los que rigen en el pueblo y reprehendiendole le dizen tzöpachpul cujtlanexpul: Vellaco desvergüizado y suzio que afrentas a los tuyos o a los de tu pueblo o a tus mayores.

Ca no iuh ilviloia, ic aoaloia: in aquijn cavilquixtia in jtatzin, inantzin: anoço in jlatocauh, in jtepachocauh: ilviloia. Macamo itzonjc, iquavic xicquetza in tlatoanj, anoço motatzin, anoço in petlatl, in jcpanlli.

A los tales tambien les deziā ma amo ytzonjc yquaujc xicquetza y tlatoani. etc.

#### TZONVAZTLI, TLAXAPUCHTLI NEVIVIXTOC IN JXPAN PETLATL, ICPALLI.

Injn tlatolli, ilviloia: in aquijn ixpan moteilviaia tlatoanj, anoço in aquijn itlan nemj tlatoanj: ilviloia. Ximjmati: ca vncan neujujxtoc in tzonoaztli, in tlaxapuchtl in jxpan petlatl, icpalli: qujtoznequj: in jxpan tlatoanj.

Dize esta letra. Es comparado al que anda cerca de vna sima o lazo o red o pozo que facilmente cayera dentro. Por methaphora quiere decir. El que viue o conversa con los señores o reyes es comparado al que anda cerca de vna sima o pozo o lazo o red que facilmente cayera en algun gran delicto de donde no podra salir.

#### COLOIOTOC, TZITZICAZCOTOC:

ilviloia in aquijn moteilviaia ixpan tlatoanj, anoço itlan nemj: ilviloia. Ximjmati: ca tetlatzacujltianj in tlatoanj, ioan tetlaocolianj.

Dize esta letra. Esta lleno este lugar de alacranes y de hortigas o espinas o abrosos. Por methaphora dice. Andas en pleyto con el señor o delante del señor o juez mja que andas en peligro porque andas entre alacranes y hortigas y abroios.

#### TEUHIO, TLAÇOLLO.

Injn tlatolli: ipan mjtoa in ichteca tlatoati, in mochtaca tlaxtilavia, anoço ichteca mocujltonoa: ilviloia Cuix qualli injc titlatocati, anoço timocujltonoa, anoço in tlein ticqua: ca çan teuh-

Dize esta letra. Esta lleno de polvo y de estiercol. Y por methaphora se dice. De los que an ganado el señor que tienen o la hacienda que poseen con engaños o con mentiras y ansi les dizen tu hacienda o tu señor no es

abundance thou hast acquired, or that which thou eatest, honorable? For the rulership, or the food which thou eatest, are dusty, filthy."

THEY ARE LOOKING SIDELONG AT THEE;  
THEY ARE LOOKING AT THEE OUT  
OF THE CORNER OF THE EYE

This saying is said of the great ruler or the great priest who rules, like the great cypress, the great silk cotton tree, because there can be confidence in him.

IN THE CLOUDS, IN THE MIST

This saying was said of the highly esteemed, the very great; of those never before seen, of those never before known, nor anywhere seen in times of yore. So here in all Mexico it was thus said that the Spaniards came emerging [from] within the clouds, within the mist. Or [it was said of] the highly esteemed, the very rich.

SMOKE, MIST; FAME, HONOR

This saying was said of some ruler not long dead, whose smoke, whose mist, had not yet vanished; that is, his honor, his glory; or someone who had gone far away, whose glory, whose honor had not yet vanished.

THE SEA, THE CONFLAGRATION

This saying was said when there fell a great war, or a great pestilence. It was said: "It is as if there came upon us, or there passed over us, the sea, the conflagration"—that is, pestilence or this same war.

THE OCELOT MAT, THE EAGLE MAT

It means, there live the strong, the brave, those no one can conquer. Thus it is said: "There lieth the eagle mat, the ocelot mat." And it is said: "There standeth the ocelot gate, the eagle gate with which standeth closed off the city"—that is, "the water, the mountain."

THE TAIL, THE WING

It means the commoner. Thus the commoners were called "tails, wings."

io, tlaçollo in tlatoaiotl: anoço tlaqualli in ticqua.

limpia o no es limpiamente ganada que esta llena de polvo y de estiercol de enganos [sic] y de hurtos. etc.

MITZOALIXTLAPALITZTICA,  
MJTZOAQNACAZITZTICA.

Injn tlatoalli, itechpa mjtoa in vei tlatoanj, anoço vei teupixquij: in juhquj vey avevetl, vey pochotl ic tlatoati: iehica ivicpa vel netemachilotoc.

MIXTITLAN, AIAUHTITLAN.

Injn tlatoalli: intechpa mjtoaia, in cenca maviztique, in cenca veveintin: in aic oitocco, in aic oiximachoque, ano can ittoia in ie vecauh injc njcan cen mexico: ic mjtoaia. Ca mjxtitlan, aiauhtitlan oquijaco in Espanoles: anoço aca cenca maviztique, cenca mocujltonoanaj.

POCTLI, AIAVITL: TEIOTL, MAVIZIOTL:

Injn tlatoalli: itechpa mjtoaia in aca tlatoanj, aiamo vecauh omjc, aiamo polivi in jpicio, in jaiauhio: qujtoznequij: imavizco, iteio: anoço aca veca oia, aiamo polivi in jtēio, in jmavizco

Dize esta letra. Tienen los ojos puestos en ti todos. Por metaphora quiere decir. Que los baxos y populares tienen esperanza de ser fauorescidos y abrigados de sus mayores y así dicen del mayor y del señor que los rige sea obispo o Arçobispo o Visorey Mitzoalixtlapalitztca mjzoalnacazytzica. Señor todo el pueblo tienen puestos los ojos en vos como quieren los a de hacer mercedes y fauorescer en todo.

Quiere decir esta letra: de entre las nubes o de entre las nieblas o del cielo a venido. Por methaphora se dice: de alguna Persona notable que vino a algun lugar o reyno q no le esperaua y haze gran prouecho a la republica: y por tanto dize la gēte mjxtitlan aiauhtitlā oquijaco que quiere decir. A uenido del cielo o de entre las nubes no esperado nj conocido.

Quiere decir esta letra. Au no [sic] se a deshecho el humo o la niebla del. Por methaphora quiere decir. Aun no se a perdido la memoria de su fama y de su loa dizesse de alguna persona muy querida que murió no a muchos dias. Aiamo polihuj yn jpucio yn jaiauhio. Aun esta reciente su memoria por el gran amor que le tenja.

TEUATL, TLACHINOLLI

Injn tlatoalli, itechpa mjtoaia: in vei iaociotl muchioaia, anoço vei cocoliztli: mjtoaia. Otopan muchiuh, anoço otopan onqujz: in juhquj teuatl, tlachinolli: qujtoznequij: cocoliztli, anoço vel iehoatl in iaioatl.

Quiere decir esta letra. El mar o la chamusquina vino sobre nosotros o paso sobre nosotros. Por metaphora se dice: de la pestilencia o guerra que quando se acaba dizē otōpā [sic] quijz in teuatl in tlachinolli. Paso sobre nosotros la mar y el fuego.

OCELOPETLATL, QUAPPETLATL:  
qujtoznequij: in vncan nemj chicaoaque, in oapaoaque in aiac vel qujnpeoa, ic mjtoa: vncan onoc in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl: ioā mjtoa: vncan icac in ocelotlatzacuillotl, in quauhlatzacuillotl ic tzacuticac in altepetl: quitoznequij: in atl in tepetl.

CUJTLAPILLI, YN ATLAPALLI,  
qujtoznequij: maceoalli. Ic notzaloia in maceoalti cujtlapiltin, atlapaltin.

Esta letra quiere decir. Asiétos y estrados ay de tigres y agujas. Por methaphora quiere decir. Ay en este pueblo o en esta ciudad gēte de guerra soldados y hombres valientes que la guardan que muriran por su defension.

Esta letra quiere decir. Alas de aue y cola de aue. Y por methaphora dice. Ay gente popular y republica.

He who possesses the tail, he who  
possesses the wing.

#### INSIPID, INFRAFRAGANT

It was said of him who was ungrateful; perhaps a commoner was driven forth. He was told: "Go; leave the city, for the city considereth thee insipid, infragrant." Or some ruler was told: "Thou art regarded as insipid, infragrant."

#### Cujtlapille atlapalle.

#### IN ATZOPELIC, IN AHAVIAC:

itechpa mjtoia, in aquin amocnemilma-  
tinj: aço totoco maceoalli, ilhviloia.  
Xijauh, xictlalcavi in altepetl: ca atzo-  
pelic, ca aavijac ipan ticmati in altepetl:  
anoço aca tlatoanj ilhviloia. Amo titzo-  
pelic, amo taviaj ipan timacho.

Cujtlapille atlapalle. Esta letra quiere decir. Aue que tiene alas y tiene cola Y por metaphora se dice. El señor o gouernador o rey que rige la republica.

Quiere decir esta letra. Cosa desabrida cosa desgraciada. Y por metaphora dizes. Del que destierrá del pueblo por desobediéte y ingrato a los que rigen dizenle desta manera. Vete del pueblo Ca atzopelic ca aujac ipā ticmati. Porque le tienes en poco y no le obedeces. Tambien se dice del señor que no es accepto a la republica. Amo titzopelic amo taujac ypan timacho. Desabrido y desgraciado res [sic] a tu republica.

#### THE SPINELESS, THE THORNLESS

[*Uitzio, ayayo*] was said of some ruler, or of a nobleman, of one worthy of great honor. No one could draw very near to him; he was considered as a wild beast. Therefore it was said to one who held a ruler not in esteem: "Is it as if thou thinkest the ruler or authority to be thornless? Dost thou consider him to be spineless as thou goest bringing thy complaints before him? Perhaps the continuous complaints trouble the ruler greatly!"

#### SWEET, FRAGRANT

It was said of the city in which there was contentment, happiness; or it was said of the ruler who was a provider of happiness.

#### IN AVITZIO, IN AHAVAIO.

Ipan mjtoia in aca tlatoanj, anoço  
pilli, cenza maviztilionj: aiac cenza  
vel itech acia: iuhqujn tequanj ipan  
machoia: ic ilviloia in amo tle ipan  
quijta tlatoanj. Mach iuhquj aaoaio  
ipan ticmati tlatoanj, anoço petlatl ic-  
palli: iuhqujn avitzio ipan ticmati,  
ixpan timoteilvitinemj. Aço muchipa  
moteilvia: cenza quijtequjpachotinemj  
in tlatoanj.

Esta letra quiere decir. Cosa espinosa o escabrosa que no osan llegar a ella, por las espinas o cambrones que tiene. Y por metaphora quiere decir. Persona venerable y digna de ser tenida y acatada como son los señores y consoles que rigen la republica dizen dellos invitzyo yacaaio. temjanlos a los tales como a bestia fiera.

#### TZOPELIC, AVIJAC.

Itechpa mjtoia in altepetl: in vncan  
netlamachtilo, pacoa: anoço itechpa  
mjtoia in tlatoanj, tepapaquiltianj.

Esta letra quiere decir. Cosa dulce y sabrosa de comer. Y por metaphora se dice. Del pueblo o tierra que es deleytosa y abondosa dizen tal o tal lugar tal o tal tierra. tzopelic aujac.

#### ONE'S HAIR, ONE'S NAILS, ONE'S SPINES, ONE'S THORNS, ONE'S BEARD, ONE'S EYEBROWS, ONE'S CHIP, ONE'S FRAGMENT<sup>3</sup>

It means the one born into the lineage of rulership, the status of nobility. And indeed he was also named "one's blood, one's color."

#### ONE'S EYE, ONE'S EAR

This saying was said of the messenger of the ruler, or of the messenger of a lord, who somewhere delivered the

#### TETZON, TEIZTI, TEVITZIO, TEAOAIO, TETENTZON, TEIXQUAMUL, TETZI-

CUEUHCA, TETLAPANCA:  
quijtoznequj. In aquin vncan tlacati-  
tlantli, anoço tecuitlantli: in canapa  
concaaia tlacatlatolli: ilhviloia in

Esta letra quiere decir. Cabellos vñas espina o cambron barbas cejas estilla de piedra preciosa. Por metaphora se dice. Del que es noble o generoso o de linaje de señores hōbre o muger. Ca tetzon ca teizti teujzyo tetentzon eta.

#### TEIX, TENACAZ.

Injn tlatalli ipan mjtoia in tlacati-  
tlantli, anoço tecuitlantli: in canapa  
concaaia tlacatlatolli: ilhviloia in

Esta letra quiere decir. Cara y oreja de alguno. Y por metaphora se dice. De los embaxadores que lleuan las embaxadas de vnos señores a otros

3. Cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," pp. 19-21, 47-9; also Chap. 27, *supra*, n. 7.

word of the ruler. The messenger was told: "Although the very ruler could not come, it is thou who comest, thou who art the eye, the ear, the listener for the ruler, thou who art his spy."

#### ONE'S DEPUTY, ONE'S VICAR

This saying was said of the messenger of the ruler, or of the son of the ruler when his father died, for he had departed deputizing his son, who was acting as his vicar.

#### THAT WHICH CAN BE CARRIED, THAT WHICH CAN BE SHOULDERED, THAT WHICH GOETH ON ONE'S LAP, IN THE CRADLE OF THE ARMS

This saying was said of the common folk, the governable, the leadable. It was said: "The common folk, who cannot lead themselves, are put on one's lap, are borne, are shouldered, are led, are governed; they go in the cradle of one's arms."

#### HE HATH COME FORTH FROM ONE'S WOMB, FROM ONE'S THROAT<sup>4</sup>

This saying was said of him who issued from the lineage of the rulers.

#### HIS BREATH, HIS WORD

Precisely this saying was said of the words of the rulers. It was said: "The breath, the word of the ruler"; not [just] anyone's word; precisely the word, the breath of our lord.

#### I LAY BEFORE THEE THE LIGHT, THE TORCH, THE MODEL, THE MEASURE, THE WIDE MIRROR<sup>5</sup>

This saying was said of one who spoke as a nobleman to the common folk. He placed a very good discourse before the common folk. He said to them: "Before you I set up that which is like a torch, like a light. And I place before you that which is like a mirror. Or I give thee thy model, which is like thy measure; from it thou art to take

titlantli. Maço nel ivi in amo vel iehoatl ovalla tlatoanj: ca in tehoatl otioalla, ca tix, ca tinacaz, ca titlacaccauh in tlatoanj, ca titlachixcauh

señores y donde lleuā la embaxada hazenles la mjsma honrra que harian al mjsmo señor y dizenle. Ca yx ca ynacaz.

#### TEIXIPTLA, TEPATILLO.

Injn tlatolli: itechpa mjtoia in tlatoatitlantli: anoço in jpiltzin tlatoanj, in omjc itatzin: ca oqumjxiptlatiteoac in jpiltzin, ca ipatillo muchiuhtica.

Esta letra quiere decir. Retrato y ymagen de alguno. Y por methaphora quiere decir. El que succedio a otro en el oficio o el que en nombre de otro haze algo o el embaxador que va con embaxada o el hijo que succedio en el oficio a su padre y en las costübes.

#### IN JTCONJ, IN MAMALONJ, IN TECUEXANCO, IN TEMAMALOAZCO

##### IETIUH:

Injn tlatolli intechpa mjtoia in maceoalti, in pacholonj, in iacanalonj: mjtoia: cuexanalo, itco, mamalo, iacanalo, pacholo, temamalvazco ietiuh in maceoalli: amo monomaiacana.

Esta letra quiere decir. Carga que se a de llevar a cuestas. Y por methaphora quiere decir. La republica que se a de regir como qujen los lleva a cuestas.

#### TEXILLAN, TETOZCATLAN OQUJZ.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtoia yn aqujn itech oqujz tlatoatlacamecaiotl

Esta letra quiere decir. Salio de las entrañas y de la garganta. Y por methaphora quiere decir. Persona generosa que viene de personas ylustres: quiere decir tambien. La platica o oracion que haze el orador que le sale de las entrañas y de la garganta.

#### IHIJO, ITLATOL.

Injn tlatolli, vel itech mjtoia in tlatoque intlatol: mjtoia. Ihijotzin, itlatoltzin in tlatoanj, aiac ylatol, vel totecujo itlatoltzin, ihijotzin.

Esta letra quiere decir. Su resuello o esp[iritu] o su palabra. Y dizesse por methaphora del razonamiento que haze el señor a sus principales o el predicador a sus oyentes.

#### IN TLAVILLI, IN OCOTL, IN MACHIOTL, IN OCTACATL, IN COIAOAC TEZCATL: MJXPAN NJCMANA.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtoia: in aqujn tecutlatoaia, in jvicpa maceoalli, in cenca qualli tlatolli ijxpan qujtlaliaia maceoalli: qujmjlviaia. Amjxpan njcquetza in juhquj ocutl, in juhquj tlavilli, ioan yn juhquj tezcatl mjxpan njcmana, anoço njmjtzmaca in momachiouh, in juhquj moctacauh, in jtech timomachiotiz, in jtech timjxcuj-

Esta letra quiere decir. lübre y hacha encendida y dechado y modelo y espejo ancho. Por methaphora quiere decir. Razonamiento que los principales hablan a los maceoales: y el sermon que el predicador predica y el bué exemplo de buena vida que alguno da.

4. In "Huehuetlatolli," pp. 45, 50, Garibay, for these terms, paired *seno* with *regazo* or *útero*; *entrañas* with *garganta*.

5. Cf. also León-Portilla, *op. cit.*, pp. 63ff.

thyself a model, thou art to take thyself an example, in order to live well, or in order to speak well."

#### THE COFFER, THE REED CHEST

This saying was said of one who guarded well the secrets, the entrusted words, or something evil which had occurred in his presence. To no one could he disclose it; he was indeed like a coffer, a reed chest. It was said he guarded well the words, or one's conduct.

#### HE BECOMETH A BEE; HE BECOMETH A WILD BEE

This saying was said of those who ate, who drank by the grace of the noblemen or of the city, or they were helped perhaps in that which they ate. Here they were told: "Brag not therefor; be not proud therefor, for thou merely becomest a wild bee, for thou merely becomest a bee. Thou dost suck the nectar by the grace of the city or of the ruler."

#### I MAKE THE ASH HEAP, THE CROSSROADS MY MOTHER, MY FATHER

This saying was said of the women, or of the men, who only remained somewhere on the road. Their mothers,<sup>6</sup> their fathers advised them in nothing. Just of their own accord they remained somewhere along the road, just of their own accord they betook themselves there.

#### I HEED NO MOTHER, I HEED NO FATHER

This saying was said of him who was admonished many times. He heeded not, he disregarded the discourse. So it was said: "He esteemeth not his mother, his father; he wisheth only to live for himself."

#### HIS FACE IS CAST DOWN: HIS TEETH ARE CAST DOWN

This saying was said of the ruler, or of the nobleman, who spoke not forthrightly, who said that which offended one exceedingly, that which it was not necessary to say. He was told: "Cease! Be prudent. Thou castest thy face down in public." It means: "Thou shamest thyself." And he was told: "Thou

tiz: injc vel tinemjz, anoço injc vel titlatoz.

#### TOPTLI, PETLACALLE:

Injn tlatolli itech mjtoia: in aquin vel quipia in jchacatlalotti, piattalotti: anoço in jtl aquallli ijxpan muchioia: aiac vel qujnextiliaia, vel toptli, vel petlacalli: mjtoia. Vel quipia in tlatolli, anoço tenemjz.

Esta letra quijere decir Cofre Arca. Y por methaphora quijere decir. Persona que guarda bien el secreto que le esta encomendado o persona muy callada.

#### XICOTI, PIPIHOLTI.

Injn tlatolli: intech mjtoia in aquique inpallaqua, atli pipilti, anoço altepetl: aço motlauhtia, anoço in tlein quijqua: njcan ilviloia. Macamo ic ximopoa, macamo ic xatlamati: ca çan tipipiolti, ca çan tixicoti titlachichina ipaltzinco in altepetl, anoço in tlatoanj.

Esta letra quijere decir Aueja o avexon que coge mjel de las flores. Y por methaphora dizese: del que es combidado muchas veces para comer con los principales.

#### NEXTEPEOALLI, OTLAMAXALLI

#### NJCNONANTIA, NJCNOTATIA.

Injn tlatolli intechpa mjtoia in coia, anoço oqujchi: i çan canjn otli ipan manaia, in amo te qujmjlviaia in jnanoan, in jntaoan: çan monomavia in campa vtlica manaia, çan monomaiaca-nia.

Esta letra quijere decir. Es mj madre y mj padre el muladar y camjno horcajado. Por methaphora se dezia esto de las malas mugeres que se dauan por ay a qujenquera, o de los hombre [sic] viciosos con muchas mugeres dezian de los tales que eran muladar camjno horcajado.

#### ANJTLANAMMATI,

#### ANJTLATAMATI.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtoia: in aquin nonotzalo mjiecta, amo tlatacamati, atle ipan qujttia in tlatolli: iuh mjtoia. Aiak inan, aiac ita ipan qujmati: çan ijollotlama nemjznequj.

Esta letra quijere decir. Ni haze caso de su madre nj de su padre como si no los tuujesse. Y por methaphora se dice, de los que no obedecen nj reuerencian a los que rigen el pueblo o republica.

#### MIXTLAÇA, MOTLANTLAÇA.

Injn tlatolli: itechpa mjtoia: in tlatoanj, in anoço pilli, in amo mellaoacatlatoa: in tlein cenza tepinauhti qujtoia, in amo monequj qujtoz: ilujoia. Ximocaoa, ximjmati: teixpan timjxtlaça: qujtoznequj: timopinauhtia: ioan ilviloia: timocatzaoa, timjçoloa, tiqujtlacoa in monemjz, in motlatol.

Esta letra quijere decir. Arrojar en el suelo la cara y los diétes. Y por methaphora se dice. De las personas venerables que dizē o hazen alguna cosa yndigna de sus personas dezianla mjxtlaça motlantlaça. Qujere decir. Confundese y averguençase a si mjsmo.

6. Read innanuan.

dirtiest thyself, thou dishonorest thyself; thou harmest thy life, thy speech."

HE BRINGETH FAME UPON HIMSELF;  
HE BRINGETH RENOWN UPON HIMSELF

This saying was said of him who did that which was very estimable, perhaps [in] warfare, or that which is well made. Thus it was said: "He hath brought fame upon himself, he hath brought renown upon himself. Already he goeth making illustrious his fame, his renown, his esteem, his glory."

HE ESTEEMETH HIMSELF;  
HE HONORETH HIMSELF

This saying was said of him who was not much in making friends by talking, and who treasured his words exceedingly. He did not demean himself with others either by laughter or by joking. Hence it was said: "He esteemeth himself greatly; he honoreth himself exceedingly."

[CAN SHE BE PLACED] PERCHANCE  
IN A COFFER, IN A REED CHEST?

This saying was said of women who could not be well guarded. Perhaps they had done evil, or perhaps they did no evil. Hence it was said: "Perhaps they have done evil; perhaps not. [Can they be placed] perchance in a coffer, in a reed chest? What is like gold is in its reed chest; it is in its coffer; it is that which can be guarded. But the woman is not comparable; she is not that which can be well guarded."

LIKE A PRECIOUS GREEN STONE, LIKE  
A PRECIOUS TURQUOISE, PERFECTLY  
CYLINDRICAL, WELL ROUNDED

This saying was said of one who made pronouncements, who admonished one very well. It was said: "He spoke very wonderfully; it was like a precious green stone, like a precious turquoise." The discourse which was heard was like a perfectly cylindrical, well-rounded precious green stone.

[PRECIOUS STONES] ARE SPREAD,  
SCATTERED

This saying was said of him who admonished one very well, who made pronouncements. And when he admonished one, then it was said of the admonisher, in order that he be thanked

MOTEIOTIA, MJTAUHCAIOTIA.  
Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in aquijn tlein quijchoa cenza maviztic: aço iaoiotl, anoço in tlein qualli tlachioalli: ic mjtoia. Onmoteti, onmjtauhcaioti: ie cacaoantiu in jteco, in jtahuca, in jmavizio, in jtleio.

Qujere dezir esta letra, gana honrra y fama para si mjsmo. Dizese de los que hazen valentias en la guerra y obras loables entre le gente que viue.

MIXTILIA, MOMAVIZTLIA.

Inja tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in aquijn aic cenza moteicnjuhitia tlatoltica: ioan cenza quijtlaçotla in jtlatol, amo tetlan mavilqujxtia: aço vetzqujzitica, anoço camanaloliztica: ic ilviloia. Cenza mjxtilia, cenza momaviztilia.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Estimase honrrase. Dizese de aquellos que mjan mucho por su honrra asi en las palabras como en las obras que nj dizen cosa de dôde les venga deshonrra o verguença.

CUJX TOPIO, CUJX PETLACALLO.

Injn tlatolli, intechpa mjtoia in cioa, in amo vel mopia: in aço otatlaco, acanoçomo tlatlacoa: ic mjtoia. Aço otatlaco, acanoçomo: cujx topio, cujx petlacalio: ca in juhquj teocujtlatl, ca vnca ipetlacalio, oncatquj itopio, vel pialonj: auh in cioatl camo iuhquj, camo vel cenza pialonj.

Esta letra qujere dezir. No es cosa que se pueda guardar en cofre o en arca. Por methaphora se dice. De las moças que por no estar en casa encerradas cayen en manos de qujen las deshonrra: y diciendo a sus padres: esto a hecho vuestra hija Responde. Cujx topio cujx petlacalio Qujere dezir: ella se tiene la culpa que yo no la puedo meter en arca o en cofre.

VEL CHALCHIUHTIC, VEL TEUXIUHTIC,  
VEL ACATIC, VEL OLOLIUHQUJ.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in aquijn cenza vel tecutlatoa, tenonotza: mjtoia. Cenza maviztic injc otlatl: iuhquj chalchivitl, iuhquj teuxivitl: in juhquj chalchivitl, vel acatic, vel ololiuhquj, in omocac tlatolli.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Finos chalchijtes finos safiros muy bien labrados, vnos largos otros redôdos. Por methaphora qujere dezir. hizo vna platica o vn sermon como finas piedras preciosas muy primamente labradas.

ONTETEPEOAC, ONCHACHAIAOAC.

Injn tlatolli, intechpa mjtoia: in aquijn cenza vel tenonotza, tecutlatoa: auh in jquac ontenonotz: njman ilhviloia in tenonotzanj, injc icnelilmachoia, in jquac ontenonotz. Onmotlamacthi

Esta letra qujere dezir. Derramaronse esparcieronse piedras preciosas. Por methaphora se dice, del que predico muy bien, o del que oro entre los senadores y señores dizan del. Ontetepeoac onchachaiaoc. Piedras preciosas hecho por aquella boca.

when he had admonished one: "The common folk have rejoiced; they have become rich; that which is much like precious green stones hath been spread, hath been scattered,"<sup>7</sup> etc.

THOU HAST REJOICED, THOU HAST  
BECOME WEALTHY. IT HATH BEEN PAID;  
THE DEBT HATH BEEN PAID BY MEANS  
OF THY MOTHER, THY FATHER

This saying was said of many of the common folk; also it could be said of a single person. When they had been admonished, they were told: "Thou hast rejoiced, thou hast become wealthy, thou who art a common person. It hath been paid; the debt hath been paid by means of thy mother, thy father, the city." Or: "Thou hast heard the justice, that is, the discourse."

HE STRIKETH OFF OBSIDIAN [POINTS];  
HE STRAIGHTENETH ARROW SHAFTS

This saying was said of him who went about hating one, fighting against one; who went about saying: "In what way can I do harm to him?" Diligently he went about seeking, doing that which would cause evil to one.

HE HATH SPREAD, HE HATH SCATTERED  
THINGS ON THE REED MAT,  
ON THE REED SEAT

It means, when someone complained of injustice before the ruler, perhaps merely because of something the ruler was offended by the commoner. It was said: "The commoner hath spread, hath scattered things before the ruler." It means that he had offended, he had troubled the ruler.

SHE SHATTERED IT; SHE BROKE IT

This saying was said of a nursemaid or of a midwife. If at some time some nobleman gave his child to a qualified woman to suckle and the baby just died, it was thus said: "She shattered it; she broke it." Or of a midwife, when she would cure [the child], if it just died in her care, it was said: "Thou hast shattered it;<sup>8</sup> thou hast broken it."

onmocujltono in maceoalli: ontetepac, onchachaoac in vel chalchiuhitic, etc.

OTONMOTLAMACHTI, OTONMOCUJLTONO:  
ONPOPOUH, ONJXTLAUH INJC  
MONANTZIN, INJC MOTATZIN.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia in maceoalti in mjequintin: no uel itechpa mjtoia in ca ce tlacatl: in jquac onnonotzaloque, ilviloia. Otonmotlamachti, otonmocujltono in timaceoalli: onpopouh, onjxtlauh injc monantzin, injc motatzin in altepetl, anoço in iusticia otoconcac, qujtoznequj, tlatolli.

Dize esta letra. Aste gozado aste enriquecido, a pagado a hecho el deuer tu madre y tu padre el pueblo, o regimjento o senado. Por methaphora se dize. En la conclusion de alguna ofon que auja hecho algun orador al pueblo deziēdo. Otonmotlamachti otonmocujltono etc. Qujere dezir. Todos los que aquistays aveys oydo cosas preciosas y cosas ricas para vña consolacion porque el pueblo o los senadores o regimjēto por ser vña madre y vño padre a hecho su deuer para con vosotros a pagado lo que concierne a padre y madre.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Labra casquillos de saetas de piedras de nauajas endereça cañas de saetas para tirar. Por methaphora se dize: del que aborresce a alguno y busca maneras para le dañar o le matar.

ONTLATEPEUH, ONTLACHAIAUH  
IN PETLAPAN, IN JCPALPAN:

qujtoznequj: in jquac aca moteilvia ijxpan tlatoanj, aço çan itla ic omoiolitlaco in tlatoanj, itechpa maceoalli: mjtoia. Ontlatepeuh, ontlachaiauh in maceoalli, in jxpan tlatoanj, qujtoznequj: oqujmoiolitlalcalvi, oqujtequjpacho in tlatoanj.

Dize esta letra. derramo y derroco en los estrados. Por methaphora se dize: del que hizo alguna iniuria o desacato al señor o a los senadores en juyzio por donde el señor y los senadores se enjarō del: y disen Ontlatepeuh ontlachaiauh in petlapan in jcpalpan qujere dezir. Este majadero enojo a los señores con sus palabras mal mjradas.

ONTLAXAMANJ, ONTLAPOZTEC.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in chichioa, anoço ticitl, in jquac tla aca pilli ipiltzin qujchichitia ce tlacatl ciatl: auh çan oommjc in piltontli: ic mjtoia. Ontlaxamanj, ontlapuztec: anoço ticitl, in çan jmac ommjquj, in jquac qujpatiznequja: ilviloia. Otontlaxamj, ontlapuztec.

Esta letra qujere dezir: quebrāto o hizo pedaços o rraxo cosa preciosa. Y por methaphora se dize: del medico que curaua algun hijo o hija de persona notable y murio por no le curar bien. Tambien se dize: de la ama que crialua a algū njño hijo de alguna persona notable y por su descuido se le murio: entonce disen ontlaxamj.

7. Read ontetepuac.

8. Read otontlaxamani.

**HE LINKETH PEOPLE; HE PLACETH  
PEOPLE IN ORDER**

It means: when one knew very well the genealogies of noblemen, it was said of him: "He linketh the people well; he placeth them in order." And it was said of him who was a nobleman, an esteemed nobleman; he was called one's jewel, one's precious feather, one's beloved son.

**ANOTHER'S SONG, ANOTHER'S WORDS**

It means the one who spoke words not his own — perhaps the words of the old men, the words of the noblemen; but a mere commoner, if he took it upon himself to talk, was told: "Are these perchance thy words, thy song, which thou utterest? What thou utterest is not necessary."

**BABYISHNESS, CHILDISHNESS,  
BESOTTEDNESS, DRUNKENNESS**

This saying was said of work not well done or of inelegant speaking, or of work well done, of elegant speaking, but as if in humility. When one did something well or spoke well, he did not say: "I did it very well," or, "I spoke well"; he just said: "I have performed, or I have said a thing of babyishness, of childishness, of besottedness, of drunkenness; or of folly, of imperfection. It may be that I perform, that I speak thus; perhaps it is not so."

**I DO THE SWEEPING, THE  
GATHERING OF RUBBISH**

This saying was said of service or of errands for the city or for the temple. Thus was it said: "Just the sweeping, just the gathering of rubbish, before our lord or the city, is done."

**I PRODUCE IT INCORRECTLY; I CAUSE  
IT TO BE HEARD INCORRECTLY<sup>9</sup>**

This saying was said of one when one laid a complaint before the ruler, if

**TEÇO, TEVIPANA:**  
qujtoznequj: in aquijn cenza vel qujntecpancamati pipilti: ic mjtoaia. Vel teço, tevipana. Ioan mjtoaia, in aquijn pilli, tlaçopilli: motencoaia: tecozquj, tequetzal, tepiltzin.

Dize esta letra: ensarta ordena. Por methaphora se dice: de los que estan diestros en contar las genealogias o sucesiones de la gente principal y en narrar sus obras y sus grandes como deciendo. N. es hijo de N. y njeto de N. eta. su bisabuelo de. N. hizo tal o tal hazaña deste se dice vel teço vel teujpana: muy bien sabe o muy bien cuenta los linajes de los principales.

**TECUJC, TETLATOL:**  
qujtoznequj: in aquijn amo itlatol qujtoaia, aço vevetlatolli, pillatolli: auh çan maceoalli in qujmotlatoltia, ilhvi-loia. Cujx motlatol, cujx mocuje in tiqujtoa: ca amo monequj in tiqujtoz.

Esta letra quiere decir: dice palabras y cantares agenos que alguno se los enseño. Por methaphora quiere decir: habla no de su boca sino de cabeza agena, no lo que el penso sino lo que le enseñaron como a tordo.

**PIPILLO, COCONEIO, IVINCAIUTL,  
XOCOMJCCAIUTL:**

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtoaia in amo vellachioaliztli, anoço amo vellatoliztli, anoço vellachioaliztli, vellatoliztli in çan juhquj necnomatiliztli, in jquac aca vel itla qujchiao, anoço vellatoa: amo qujtoaia in aquijn. In cenza vel onoconchiuh, anoço vel onjtlato: çan qujtoa. Onoconchiuh, anoço onoconjto in pipilotl, in coconeiotl, in jvincaiolt, xocomjccaiotl: anoço in chocholocaiotl, in aaccaiotl: in aço iuhquj, in acanoçomo iuhquj in njcchioa, anoço njqujtoa.

Dize esta letra: muchacharrias njñierias borracherias. Por methaphora dizelo de si: el que a hecho vna oracion buena y de buena manera, y al cabo dize humilládose: e dicho muchacharrias y njñierias y vorracherias o desbarates sin orde [sic] y sin concierto. Tambien dize esto mjsmo alguno que quiere mal a otro por afrontarle y por abatirle.

**TLACHPANALIZTLI,  
TLACUJCULIZTLI NJCCHIOA.**

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoaia: in tlacujcujpanoliztli, anoço netitlanjiztli itechpa altepetl, anoço in teupan: ic mjtoaia. Çan tlachpanaliztli, çan tlacucujliztli muchioa yn jxpantzinco in totecupo, anoço altepetl.

Dize esta letra: varrere y amontonare el estiercol. Por metaphora dizen esto: los que se ofrecen a seruir y obedecer en la casa de Dios o en la casa de los señores pa decir seruirre y trabajare en la casa de tal dios o en la casa de tal señor: dezian tlachpanaliztli tlacucujliztli njcchioaz.

**AVMPA NJCQUJXTIA,  
AVMPA NJCNACAZTIA.**

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoaia: in jquac aca moteilviaia ijxpan tlatoanj:

Dize esta letra: no enderece bien lo que dixe nj lo ordene bien. Esto dize de si humillandose, el que a hecho alguna ofon o platica delante de al-

9. *Aompa monacastia* and *yn aompa quiça*, among a number of phrases, Olmos, op. cit., p. 226, uses for "Maluado, suizo, pernicio que no toma consejo."

it was only a falsehood with which the accusation was made and later the ruler was thereby embarrassed. Later it could be heard wherefore the ruler was much embarrassed, so that it was said: "The commoner hath greatly embarrassed the ruler. He hath produced it incorrectly; he hath caused it to be heard incorrectly." It means what he did not correctly hear, what he did not correctly see.

#### DRIVEL, SLAVER

This saying means falsehood, untruth. It was said of him who was ruler or nobleman, who could always believe or listen to falsehood. Hence the liar was told: "Do not repeat drivel, slaver, before the ruler. Consider it well; examine it well."

And the ruler was told: "Do not listen, O ruler, to the drivel, the slaver. Consider well, hear well the words. Why dost thou take — dost thou grasp — the falsehood?"

#### THE TORMENT ALREADY INCREASESTH; ALREADY IT COMETH FORTH HERE

It means: "My heart, my body go in great torment. I am stricken by poverty. Nothing is my food, nothing my rags."

#### THERE IS THE GRIPPING, THE PRESSING TOGETHER, OF ONE WITH ANOTHER

This saying is said of the noblemen or the rulers who help one another, who love each other much. Thus it is said: "The noblemen, the rulers hold, press one another together."

#### IMPRUDENCE, FOOLISHNESS

It means the one who is not prudent, not well spoken; who does not well that which he is given as a task, who lives in imprudence, in foolishness.

#### BE YET WEALTHY, BE YET PROSPEROUS!

This saying is said of him who is highly esteemed or who is prosperous. There is what he drinks; [he is] one who eats. Thus it is said to him: "Be yet wealthy, be yet prosperous by the grace of our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh."

intla çan iztlacatiliztli, ic ixpan oneteil-viloc: auh çatepan, ic pinauhtilo in tlatoanj: çatepan vel mocaquj, ic cenza pinaoia in tlatoanj: ic mjtoaia. In maceoalli, cenza oqujpinauhti in tlatoanj, in avmpa oqujxti, in avmpa oqujnacazti: qujtoznequj: in amo melaoac oqujca, in amo melaoac oqujttac

gunos: y si lo dice de otro, dízelo por uja de reprehension notandole de necio. Tambié se dice del que acuso a otro con falsoedad en iuyzio.

#### IZTLACTLI, TENQUALACTLI.

Injn tlatolli, iehoatl qujtoznequj in jztlacatiliztli, in amo neltiliztli: itechpa mjtoaia in aqujn tlatoanj, anoço pilli, in çan muchi vel qujneftoca, anoço qujcaquj yn jztlacatiliztli: ic ilviloia in jztlacatinj. Macamo iztlactli, tenqualactli ijxiqujto, in ixpan tlatoanj: vel xictemo, vel xiqujtt:

ioan ilviloia in tlatoanj. Macamo xicmocaqujti tlatoanje, yn jztlactli, in tenqualactli: ma vel xicmottili, ma vel xicmocaqujti in tlatolli: tleica in ticcuj: in ticana iztlacatiliztli.

#### IE ONTIMALIHVI, IE VMPA ONQUJÇA IN TONEVIZTLI:

qujtoznequj. Cenza tonecoatinemj in noiollo, in nonacaio: atle notech monequj, atlei in notlaqual, atlei in notzotzoma.

#### NETLOC, NENAOAC NETZITZQUJLO, NEPACHOLO.

Injn tlatolli: intechpa mjtoa in pipilti, anoço tlatoque, in monepanpalevia, cenza motlaçotla: ic mjtoa. Netloc, nenaoc motzitzqua, mopachoa in piltin in tlatoque.

ANEZCALICAIOTL, XOLOPICAJOTL,  
qujtoznequj: in aqujn amo muzcilia, amo vellatoa, amo vel qujchiao in tlein tequjtilo: ipan nemj in amo nezcalicaiotl, in xolopicaiotl.

#### Oc XONMOTLAMACHTI, OC XONMOCUJLTONO.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoa: in aqujn cenza mavizti, anoço mocujltono, vnca quj quanj: ic mjtoa in jtechpa. Oc xonmotlamachti, oc xonmocujltono ipal-tzinco in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque.

Esta letra quiere decir: es escupidura o gargaxo. Y por methaphora quiere decir. Mentira o falsoedad.

Esta letra quiere decir: Glorificase y enseñorease la pobreza hasta alli puedo llegar. Y por methaphora quiere decir: tengo estremada pobreza en todo.

Quiere decir esta letra: estan asidos los vnos con los otros. Y por methaphora quiere decir: estan en paz y quieren bien los vnos a los otros, y tratanse bien.

Esta letra quiere decir: necesidad o tocheria: dizesse de lo que haze la gente baxa y de poco entendimiento.

Quiere decir esta letra: deseo que gozes de prosperidad y riqueza: o ruego a dios que te haga prospero y rico.

THE VERY BROAD, THE DEEP GREEN  
PRECIOUS FEATHER

This saying was said of that with which the ruler, or nobleman, or magistrate admonished one well. He who was admonished was told: "Grasp the discourse, the very broad, the deep green, like a precious feather. The lord, the ruler, hath shown thee mercy."

HE WHO GOETH SMOKING,  
WHO GOETH BURNING

This saying was said of him who was of very firm speech as he admonished one; and the words hurt one; he spoke not gently. And everyone was sore afraid; no more did one speak aloud; everyone heard him very well.

THOU ART A CYPRESS, THOU ART A SILK  
COTTON TREE. BENEATH THEE, THE  
COMMON FOLK WILL SEEK THE SHADE;  
THEY WILL SEEK THE SHADOW

This saying is said of the rulers who are esteemed like cypresses, like silk cotton trees. Beneath them there is seeking of the shade, beneath them there is seeking of the shadows.

THY RAMPART, THY REFUGE

This saying was said of those who served perhaps as a steward, or as a judge, or as a ruler, as a nobleman who governed the common folk. Like their ramparts, their refuge was he; he provided a rampart, he provided a refuge, for that which might befall the common folk first befalls the ruler or the nobleman.

ALREADY IN THE BONDS, ALREADY IN  
THE STOCKS OF OUR LORD, WHEN THOU  
ART ONLY A MOUTHFUL OF DIRT,  
ONLY A FACE OF DIRT

This saying is heard concerning sickness, because it is as if our lord bound us. For this reason it was said: "Be yet happy, be yet joyful; drink, eat yet. Wilt thou perhaps later eat — tomorrow, the day after — when sickness will have laid hold of thee, will have seized thee; when thou art already in the stocks, in the bonds of our lord, when thou who art only a mouthful of dirt, only a face of dirt, liest in the grasp of sickness?"

IN VEL PATLAOAC, IN VEL  
XOPALEOAC QUETZALLI.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in vel tenonotza tlatoanj, anoço pilli, anoço tecutlato: jlviola, in aquin nonotzalo. Ma xoconuj in tlatolli, in vel patlaoac, in vel xopaleoac; in juhquj quetzalli: omjtzmocnelili in tlacatl, in tlatoanj.

IN POPOCATIUH, IN  
CHICHINAUTIUH.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in aquin cenca chicoac tlatolli ic tenonotza, ioan tecoco tlatolli, amo çan ivian tlatoa: ioan cenca muchi tlacatl mauhtia, aocac naoati, cenca muchi tlacatl vel quicauja.

TAVEVETL, IN TIPOCHOTL, MOTLAN  
MOCEOVALHVIZ, MOIACALHVIZ IN  
MACEOALLI.

Injn tlatolli, intechpa mjtoia in tla-toque: juhquj[n] avevetl, pochome ipan-povi: intlan neceovalvilo, intlan neicavilo.

MOTENAN, MOTZACUJL.

Injn tlatolli, intechpa mjtoia in tla-tequippanoa: aço calpixcati, aço achcauhti, anoço tlatoanj, pilli, in quippanchoa maceoalli, iuhquj in jntenanoan, intzacujlhoan, quijtenantia, quijtzacujlia: iehica achtopa ipan muchioa in tlatoanj, anoço pilli: in tlein ipan muchioazqua maceoalli.

IN IE IMECAC, IN IE IQUAVIC IN  
TOTECUJO, IN ÇA TICAMATLALPUL,  
IN ÇA TXTLALPUL.

Injn tlatolli, itech moqua in cuculiztli: iehica ca iuhquj techmolpilia totecujo: ipampa in mjtoia. Oc xompa-quj, oc xonmotlamachti, oc xonatli, oc xontlaqua. Cujx quinjquac toconquaz, in muztla, in viptla, in omjzonan, in omjtzontzitzquj cocoliztli, in ie iquajc, in ie imecac totecujo, y çä txtlalpul, y çä ticamatlalpul tonoc, imac cocoliztli.

Quiere decir esta letra. Plumaxeric, y de perfecta color. Y por methaphora quiere decir. Oraciõ o platica elegante y sentida muy bien cõpuesta.

Quiere decir esta letra. Va humeando y ardiendo. Por methaphora se dice: de aquel que habla o haze alguna orõn o platica de reprehension con mucha argullo [sic] y valiente voz, de manera que causa temor a los que lo oyen.

Esta letra quiere decir. Eres Cedro, y Arbol de gran sombra q se llama puchotl. Por methaphora se dice: de qualquier señor o principal que es liberal, y consoela y fauoresce a todos sus basallos. Tambien se dice esto: de las otras personas liberales y que fauorenscen a los pobres.

Esta letra quiere decir. Tu muro y tu pared. Y por methaphora se dice: del señor o principal que defiende y zela a sus basallos, para que no sean maltratados de alguno y se pone por ellos a qualquier riesgo y asi del se dice. Ca totenan ca totzacujl: es nño muro es nño amparo.

Esta letra quiere decir: quando estuujeres en el cepo, o atado con la soga: quiere decir. esto, he dicho que te a hecho aujsandote pon lo por obra luego y no esperes quâdo ya estuujeres en el cepo o atado con la soga. Y por methaphora quiere decir: pues que agora estas bueno y rezio y comes y beues emienda tu vida y no esperes a quâdo estuujeres enfermo y muy cercano a la muerte quando tuujeres la cara como tierra y la boca llena de tierra quando ya estuujeres puesto en el cepo y atado con la soga de la muerte.

THOU GOEST ABOUT PANTING,  
BEATING THE BREAST, AS IF  
THOU HADST DRUNK JIMSON WEED

It was said of him who no longer wished to listen to admonition, who was as if drunk, as if he had eaten jimson weed. In his living, no longer did he remember that of which he had been admonished. Because of this, the imprudent one was chidden; he was told: "Why hast thou eaten it? Why hast thou tasted it? No longer can it abandon thee. No more will it leave thy heart. No more dost thou take, grasp the words."

THOU GOEST DRIVEN BY THE WAVES;  
THOU GOEST CARRIED BY THE WINDS

This saying was said of him who just went about here and there, who could nowhere settle down, nowhere found a home; he only went from house to house. He was told: "What dost thou? What makest thou? It is as if thou goest carried by the winds, driven by the waves. Settle down just by thyself. Do not go about here and there."

THOU HAST MADE THYSELF INTO A  
RABBIT; THOU HAST MADE THYSELF  
INTO A DEER

This saying was said of him who no longer lived at home, who no longer obeyed his father, his mother. He just fled when they found it necessary to admonish him. He just went wandering about somewhere; he no longer settled at his home; he just passed the days somewhere else; he just went to sleep somewhere. He became like a rabbit; he became like a deer. Hence such a one was told: "Thou hast made thyself into a rabbit; thou hast made thyself into a deer. Thou hast made thyself a fugitive; thou hast hardened thyself. Thou hast taken to the road of the rabbit, the road of the deer."

FOR PERHAPS A MOMENT, FOR PERHAPS  
A DAY [ONE LIVETH] BY THE  
GRACE OF OUR LORD

This saying was said of him who governed, who ruled. Thus was he besought, encouraged, animated. He was told: "Show yet honor to our lord. Perhaps there is still a day, still a moment on our lord's earth. But perhaps already there come here the stones, the clubs, that is to say, sickness, or

IN TICICATINEMJ, IN TIMELTZONTI-  
NEMJ: IN JUHQUJ MJXITL, IN JUHQUJ  
TLAPATL OTIQUIC.

Itechpa mjtoia: in aqujn aiocmo qujcaqujznequj tenonotzaliztli: ca iuhquj in ma tlaoanquj, ma tlapatl oququa: injc nemj: aiocmo qujlnamqquj in tlein ic nonotzaloia: ipampa injc aioia, in amo muzcalia: ilviloia. Tlein mach oticqua, tlein mach oticpapalo: aioc vel mjtzcaoa, aiocmo qujtlalcavia in moiollo: in aiocmo ticcuj, ticana in tlatolli.

IN TAMOIAOTINEMJ;  
IN TECATOCOTINEMJ.

Injn tlatalli, itechpa mjtoia: in aqujn çan qujqujztinemj, in acan vellatzicoa, acan vel muchantalia: çan cacalactinemj: ilviloia. Tlein tai, tlein ticchiao: in juhquj tecatocotinemj, tiamoiauhtinemj, çan cecnj ximotlali: macamo xiqujqujztinemj.

IN OTITOCHTIAC,  
IN OTIMAÇATIAC:

Injn tlatalli, itechpa mjtoia: in aqujn aiocmo ichan nemj, aiocmo qujtlacamat in jtatzin, in jnanzin: çacholao, in jquac qujnonotzaznequj: çacampa qujqujztinemj, aiocmo ichan motlalia, çacanpan ççemjlvitia, çacanpan cocochtinemj: iuhquj tochtli omuchiu, maçatl omuchiu: ic ilviloia in aqujn. Otitochtiac, otimaçatiac, otimochocholti, otimoquaquaquauhti: oticnamje in tochtli iovi, in maçatl iovi.

AÇO CUEL ACHIC, AÇOC  
CEM JLHVITL IN JPALTZINCO  
IN TOTECUJO.

Injn tlatalli itechpa mjtoia in aqujn tlatocti, tepachoa: ic tlataluhtiloia, ic chicaloia, ellaquaoalo: ilviloia. Oc xocontlamaviçalhvi in totecupo: açoc cemjlvitl, açoc cuel achic in jtlalticpac-  
tzinco in totecupo: auhanoço ie njz vitz in tetl in quaviti: qujtoznequj: cocoliztli, anoço temuxtli, in ehecatl, anoço

Esta letra quiere decir. Andas azendo y dandote palmadas en el pecho como hombre que a comido beleños. Por metaphora se dice: de aquel que siendo trauesso y desbaratado en su viuir, siendo coregido no se quiere emendar: y a este tal dizenle, que as beijido que as comido que njngun bien cosejo [sic] rescibe tu coraçon.

Quiere decir esta letra andas hondeando en el agua o a las ondas del agua te traen daca paralla y el viento te lleua de aca para alla. Por methaphora se dice esto, de qualquiera persona desassosegada que anda de casa en casa o de tianquez en tiäquez o de calle en calle reprehendiendole o por uja de reprobation.

Quiere decir esta letra: aste hecho conejo aste hecho cieruo. Por methaphora se dice: de aquel o de aquella que se van de casa de su padre, y andan de pueblo en pueblo o de tianquez en tianquez, nj quieren obedecer a sus padres nj estar en su casa, y reprehendiendoles disen: otitochtiac otimaçatiac: aste hecho como conejo y como Cieruo, que a nadie obedeces.

Esta letra quiere decir. Por uentura vn dia o algun poco de tiempo te dara de vida nuestro señor: goza della. Tambien por methaphora se dice, del señor que possee en paz su señorío y esta rrico y sano los que le visitan: dizéle. Se agradecido a nuestro señor por el beneficio que te a hecho y para que le puedas gozar muchos dias: porque si fueres ingrato qujtarle a dios la vida y lo que te a dado.

pestilence, or death." Hence he was told: "[If] I proceed lazily, [if] I go tired [of my work, our lord's] glory, his renown, will go to disappear."

#### OUR LORD BRINGETH COLD WATER, ICY WATER, UPON US

This saying is said of the time when our lord brings something upon us—affliction, pain, or sickness, or famine. Then it is said: "Our lord hath brought cold water, icy water, upon us. Our ears, our flanks have been tugged. Our lord hath pierced us, hath admonished us with that which is like a thorn, a bone awl."

#### THOU HAST CAST THYSELF INTO THE TERRANT; THOU HAST CAST THYSELF FROM THE CRAG

It means: "Thou hast placed thyself in danger; no one hath placed thee in danger"—[said to] him who brings about that which is not good, perhaps death, or that which is difficult, which frightens one, the impossible.

#### THE STIRRED DRINK, THE FOLDED TORTILLA

This saying was said of him who was anguished, perhaps a ruler or a nobleman. He was told: "Be not anguished. May thou not leave the stirred drink, the folded tortilla.<sup>10</sup> Take, lay hold of a little. Do not leave it. Thy anguish will become a grave sickness."

#### THE NIGHT, THE WIND, THE SORCERER, OUR LORD

This saying was said of the demon Tezcatlipoca. It was said: "Can perchance Tezcatlipoca, can Uitzilopochtli as personages speak to you? For they take a form only like that of the wind and the night. Can they perchance as personages speak to you?"

#### IT IS SLICK, IT IS SLIPPERY BEFORE THE REED MAT, THE REED SEAT; IT IS THE PLACE OF NO DEPARTURE, THE PLACE OF NO EXIT

It means, it cannot be a place of refuge; no one can escape the presence of the ruler.

mjquijztl: ic ilviloia. Ca nontlatzivitiuh, ca nonciavitiuh, ompolivitiuh intleiotzin, in jmaviziotzin.

#### IN ATL ITZTIC, IN ATL CECEC TOPAN QUJCHIOA IN TOTECUJO.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoa: in jqvac itla topan qujmuchivilia in totecujo, in tetolinj, in tecoco, in anoço cocoliztli, in anoço maianaliztli: iquac mjtoa. Otopan qujmuchivilia in totecujo, in atl itztic, in atl cecec: tonacaztitech, toiomotlan onmopipilo, anoço in juhquj vitztli, in juhquj omjtl, ic techmoçoçolia, ic techmononochilia in totecujo.

Quiere decir esta letra. Agua fria, agua elada embia nro señor. Por methaphora se dice esto: de la pestilencia o hambre o otras aflicciones que embia nro señor para nuestro castigo: entonce dizen yn atl itztic in atl cecec topa qujchioa totecujo. Afligenos nro señor como con agua fria y con agua elada.

#### OTIMATOIAVI, OTIMOTEPEXIUJ:

qujtoznequj: otimovitili, aiac omjtzovitili: in aquin tlein qujchioa amo qualli, aço mjquijztl: anoço in tlein ovi, temamauhti, amo chioalonj.

#### IN AMOIAOALLI, IN TLAMATZOALLI.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoa: in aquin motequipachotica in aço tlatoanj, anoço pilli: ylviloia. Macamo ximotequipachotzino, ma ic ximocavili in amoiaocaltzintli, in tlamatzoaltzintli: in achitzin ma xoconmocujli, ma xoconmanjli, macamo ximocavili: ilhviz cocoliztli mocepaz in monetequipachol.

Quiere decir esta letra. tu mjsmo te as arrojado en vna barraca, tu mjsmo te as despeñado de vn rrisco abaxo. Por metaphora se dice: del que cayo por su culpa y de su volüdad en algun gran crimen o peligro de muerte de donde nadie le puede librar: a este tal dizé otimatoiahuj otimotepexihuj. Arrojastete en vna barraca o en vna sima.

Esta letra quiere decir: la comjda la beuida: dizesse por methaphora. Del que por alguna tristeza nj come nj beue nj duerme nj se quiere alegrar a este tal consolandole sus amjgos dizenle. No dexeys la comjda, nj la beuida, alegraos comed y beued y dormjd porque no caiays en alguna emfermedad, de que no os puedā remediar.

#### IN IOOALLI, IN EHECATL Y NAOALLI IN TOTECUJO.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoaia: in tlacateculotl Tezcatlipuca: mjtoaia. Cujx vel amechnotzaz in tlacatl in Tezcatlipuca, in Vitzilopuchtli: ca çan juhquj in ehecatl, auh in ioalli qujmonaoaltia: cujx vel amechtlacanotzaz.

Esta letra quiere decir: La noche o obscuridad y el que se trasfigurā en diuersas formas. Por methaphora quiere decir. El dios tezcatlipuca o por mejor decir diablo. Por uentura hablarlos a como persona y vitzilopuchtli, hablarlos a como persona: no es possible, sino como ayre, y toma figura de obscuridad.

#### TLAALAOA, TLAPETZCAVI IN JXPAN PETLATL, ICPALLI: AQUJNEUHIAN, AQUJXOAIAN:

qujtoznequj: amo vel nemaquixtiloian: aiac vel ixpan momaquixtia in tlatoanj.

Dize esta letra. Resbalan y deslizan se muchos en presencia del trono y del estrado y nadie se escapa. Por methaphora quiere decir: el que caye en la yra del señor o reyno, [no] se puede escapar de sus manos.

10. Read *tlamatzoaltzintli*.

CONDUCT THYSELF GENTLY, HUMBLY IN  
THY BOWING, THY INCLINATIONS,  
BY AND NEAR OTHERS

This was said of the noblemen or of the sons of lords. They were admonished thus; they were told: "In order that you live gently, humbly by others, near others, you are not to live in arrogance, not to live in pride. Arrogance is not good, not righteous; one is not to live thus among others. It is good to live with bowings, with inclinations."

HE GOETH ABOUT GNAWING HIS FINGER-  
NAILS; HE GOETH ABOUT WITH HIS  
HANDS FORMING A NECKLACE

This saying was said of those who lived humbly — the needy. It was said: "Have mercy upon the needy, the poor, who go about gnawing<sup>11</sup> their fingernails, who go about with their hands forming necklaces, who wander from one's enclosure to one's entrance."

ART THOU NOT ADMONISHED, ART THOU  
UNINSTRUCTED, UNREARED, UNTRAINED,  
DISREGARDED?

This saying was said of the untrained, the disregarded, the stupid, the one who heeded not. He was told: "Truly, did not thy mother, thy father admonish thee, train thee how thou art to live? Thou are not admonished; thou art uninstructed, unreared."

VERILY HE HATH EYES;  
VERILY HE HATH EARS

It means one who is well instructed, who can see all, who can heed all. He is named [one who] verily has eyes, who verily has ears. He listens to no deceitful words; he takes only the truth.

PEACEFUL RULE,  
PEACEFUL GOVERNING

This saying was said of him who governed well, who was a peaceful lord, nobleman: very prudent, very circumspect, very discreet, who loved others, who respected others much. And he belittled no one who was poor, even though he were blind, maimed of hand,

IVIAN, IOCUXCA XIMONEMJTI: MA  
MOTOLOL, MA MOMALCOCH, IN TETLOC,  
IN TENAOAC:

Intechpa mjtoaia in pipilti, in anoço tetecutin inpilhoan, ic nononotzaloia: ilviloia. Injc annemjzque: çan ivian, çan iocuxca in tetloc, in tenaoac: amo anmopouhtinemjzque, amo amatlamatinemjzque: amo qualli, amo iectli in nepoaliztli: amo yc tetlan nemoa: ie qualli in tololtica, in malcochitica nemoa.

IJZTITZIN QUJTLANQUATINEMJ,  
IMATZIN QUJMOCOZCATITINEMJ.

Injn tlatolli, intechpa mjtoaia: in mocnonemjtia, in jcnotlaca: mjtoaia. Xictlaocoli in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja in ijztitzin qujmotlanqualtitinemj, in imatzin qujmocozcatitinemj: in techinantitlan, in tequjiaoac monenemjtia.

ATITLANONOTZALLI, ATITLAZCALTILI,  
ATITLAOPAOALLI, ATIMUZCALIA,  
ATITLACHIA?

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoaia: in amo muzcalia, in amo tlachia, xolopitli, amo tlacaquj: ilviloia. Nelli mach amo monan, mota mjtznonotz, amo mjtzizcali in quenjn tinemjz, atitlanonotzalli, atitlazcaltili, atitlaoapaoalli.

VEL IXE, VEL NACACE:  
qujtoznequj: in aqujn cenza muzcalia, muchi vel quijta, muchi vel quijcaquj: moteneoa vel ixe, vel nacace: amo te iztlacatlatolli quijcaquj, çan vel neltiliztli in qujcuj.

IVIAN TECUJUTL,  
IVIAN TLATOCAIUTL.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoaia: in aqujn vellatocati, ivian in tecuti, pilti, cenza mjmati, cenza tlachia, cenza mozcalia, cenza tetlaçotla, cenza temaviztilia: ioan aiac qujtelchiao in motolinja: manel ixpupuiotzin, macuecuetzin, vilaztin, quapupultzin, itzotzomatzin, icno-

Esta letra quiere decir. Viue pacificamente y muy humildemente inclinate y recogete entre los otros. Esta era exortacion de los pillos y nobles con que los aujsuan para que mostrassen toda humildad y subiección delante los principales señores y reyes, por su tyrānja mjrauan mucho en los que mostrauā algū brio o presucion [sic] en su presencia: y por esto les aujsuan y dezian. Si quereys viujr en paz entre los hombres, no mostreys presucion [sic] porque la soberuja es muy mala, y el que la tiene no puede viujr en paz: el que se inclina y se recoge viue en paz.

Esta letra quiere decir. Los que roen las vñas y los que traen las manos al cuello. Por methaphora se dice. De los pobres hambrientos y muy necessitados dezian desta manera. Haz misericordia con los huérfanos y con los pobres que andā muertos de hambre y ruyendo sus vñas, traen las manos cruzadas delante los pechos por la grande inopia, y andan demandando de puerta en puerta.

Esta letra quiere decir. Eres mal criado, y mal disciplinado y mal mjrado. Esto se dice: de los tochos y bouos y mal criados, por uja de reprehension, es possible que tu padre y tu madre no te doctrinaron? no te enseñaron como as de viujr?

Esta letra quiere decir. De verdad tiene ojos, de verdad tiene orejas. Por methaphora quiere decir: es persona prudente y sabia habil y esperta.

Quiere decir esta letra. Legitimo señorío, legitimo reyno. Dizesse: de aquellos señores que alcançaron sus señorios por legitima election y son verdaderos señores que amā a sus subditos y mas a los mas pobres: dizesse tambien de los pillos, y senadores, y valientes hōbres, que su nombre le ganaron con hazañas y valentias, segun

11. Read *quimotlanquatitinemi*.

crippled, disheveled, in rags, needy — one whose sustenance appeared not, one for whom that which was to hang about his waist, about his neck appeared not; one who loitered at one's enclosure, at one's entrance; one who went extending his hand at others' entrances, by others' walls: the poor, the destitute.

#### HEART, BLOOD

This saying was said of cacao, because it was precious; nowhere did it appear in times past. The common folk, the needy did not drink it. Hence it was said: "The heart, the blood are to be feared." And also it was said of it that it was [like] jimson weed; it was considered to be like the mushroom,<sup>12</sup> for it made one drunk; it intoxicated one. If he who drank it were a common person, it was taken as a bad omen. And in times past only the ruler drank it, or a great warrior, or a commanding general, a general. If perhaps two or three lived in wealth, they drank it. Also it was hard to come by; they drank a limited amount of cacao, for it was not drunk unthinkingly.

#### WITH EAGLES, WITH OCELOTS

This saying was said of warfare, because the noblemen could not be praised — [one could not be] honored if he were not one who went to war, if he were not a brave man, if he were not a brave warrior, if he were not a taker of captives. Likewise the commoner: only with eagles, with ocelots did he succeed, was he honored, praised. And furthermore, likewise the rich one, the prosperous one, perhaps the bather of slaves also succeeded in the same way. Although not a brave warrior, only because of his property was he praised, because many times he invited others to banquet, he gave gifts to others.

#### THE DRINKING CUP, THE EARTHEN BASIN; THAT IS, MAGEY WINE

This saying was said of him who became drunk, whether a child, a

tlacatl, in aoalneci in jcochca, in jneuhca: auh in aoalneci in jquezpan pilcاز, in jquechtlan onpilcاز, in techinanti-  
tlan, in tequjiaoac moquequetza, in imatzin qujmantinemj in tequjiaoatla, in tecaltech, in aoneoa, in aonmaci.

que estaua ordenado por las leyes de la republica.

#### IOLLOTLI, EZTLI.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoaia in cacaoatl: iehica ca tlaçotli catca, acan necia in ie vecauh: amo quja in maceoaltzintli, in jcnotlacatl: ipampa in mjtoaia: Iollotli, eztli, imacaxonj: auh no itechpa mjtoaia, ca mijxitl, ca tlapatl, ca iuhquij in nanaoati ipan momati: ca teivinti, ca texocomjcti: in aqujn qujia: intla maceoalli: cencu tetzammachoia: auh çan in quja ie uecauh: iehoati in tla-  
toanj, anoço in vei tiacauh, anoço tlacatecatl, tlacochcalcatl, in aço vme, aço ey cacitinemj, iehoan qujia: çan no vei necia, ca çan tlapoalli in cacaoatl quija: ca amo çan jliviz in mjia.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Coraçon sangre. Por methaphora se dezia. Del cacao que solamente le vsauan veuer los señores y senadores valientes hombres y nobles y generosos: porque valia muy caro y auja muy poco: si alguno de los populares lo beuja costauale la vida si sin licencia lo beujan: por esta se llamaua iollotli ieztli, precio de sangre y de coraçon.

#### QUAUHIOOTICA, OCEOLOIOTICA:

Injn tlatolli, mjtoaia: itechpa in ja-  
iutl: iehica in pipilti amo vel teneoaloia, maviztililoia: intlacamo iauc ianj, intlacamo oquijchtl, intlacamo tiacauh, intlacamo tlamanj: çan no iuhquij in maceoalli: ca çan quauhiotica, oceloiotica in pavetzia, in maviztililoia, in teneoaloia: auh tel no iuhquij in motl-  
machtianj, in mocujltonoanj: in aço tealitianj, no ic pavetzia: macanelmo tiacauh, çan tlatqujatica in iecteneoaloia: iehica ca mijiecpa tecanoatza, tetlauhtia.

Dize esta letra. Con agujas y Cō  
tigres se gano. Qujere dezir por methaphora: ganose con fuerça de aguja y de tigre: y dizesse de qualquera dignidad de la republica, que se gano: con trabajos y de la mercaderia o trato o con trabajos de la agricultura: de manera que el señor dira Quauhtica ocelotica onjcnexti y tlatocaiutl. Con trabajos de la guerra vine a ser señor y el tecutli o tiacauh dize. Quauhtica ocelotica dize Con trabajos de la guerra gane la dignidad que tengo: el mercader rico y estimado tambien dira. Con trabajos gane hacienda y la estima que tengo: lo mismo dira el hombre rico, que es labrador. Quauhtica ocelotica onjcnexti. Con trabajos y serujcios vine a ser lo que soy. Tambien se dira de alguna prouincia o reyno que se gano por fuerça de armas.

#### IN TETLAOAN, IN APAZTLI:

QUJTOZNEQUJ: OCTLI.

Injn tlatolli, intechpa mjtoaia: in aqujn tlaonaia, in aço piltontli, aço

Esta letra qujere dezir. Vino de la tierra con que se envorrachā. Era reprehension para todos los que beujan: este

12. Read *nancatl*.

youth, or a maiden; one not yet an old man, one not yet an old woman. He was told, he was reprimanded: "Leave it alone; thou art a boy, thou art a girl. Take great care of the drinking cup, of the earthen basin, that is, the maguey wine. Soon thou art a continuous drinker. Art thou an old man? Art thou an old woman? Verily, thou art a child."

THERE HATH BEEN PLACED UPON THEE  
THAT WHICH IS VERY THICK, THAT  
WHICH IS WELL TWISTED

This saying was said of him who had been admonished, whether a nobleman or a commoner. Thus was he encouraged. He was told: "Now thou hast taken, thou hast grasped, the most precious discourse, and upon thee hath been placed that which is thick, that which is twisted; about thy neck there hath been placed a rope."

CHAFF, STRAW

It means that which is not good, not righteous; a lie. Thus it was said of him who committed a fault, an ill-advised act, [who told] a lie: "On thee hath come evil, unrighteousness; like straw, like chaff, it is a lie." To him who was given only to — who occupied himself with — lies, it was told: "Chaff, straw, are thy food. Thou art a liar, a meddler."

NOWHERE IS THERE WATER WITH WHICH  
THOU WILT BATHE THYSELF, WITH  
WHICH THOU WILT CLEANSE THYSELF

This saying was said of him who did that which is evil; perhaps he had stolen or committed adultery. He was told:<sup>13</sup> "What more wilt thou do? Already thy fault is known. Is there perchance anywhere water with which thou wilt bathe thyself, with which thou wilt purify thyself? What wilt thou be? What more wilt thou do? Thou art unfortunate."

OUR LORD CONTINUETH TO TUG AT  
OUR FLANK, AT OUR EARS

This saying was said when our lord caused something to befall us. Perhaps

telpuchtli, anoço ichpuchtli, in aiamo veve, in aiamo ilama: ilviloia, tlacaoltolioa. Xiccaa in titelpuchtontli, in tichpuchtontli, in ie uel ticmocujtavia y tetlaoan yn apaztli: qujtoznequj: in octli, in ie cuel titlatlaoana: cujx tiveventon, cujx tilamatón: ca tipiltontli.

vino siendo mācebos o moças o muchachos o muchachas porque no se vsaua beuer hasta la vejez y a los que antes lo beujan dezianlos, Xiccaa yn tetlaoan in apaztli qujere dezir. Dexa de beuer el vino o vctli ca vn [ca aun] no tienes edad para ello.

OTONTLALILLOC IN VEL  
CHAMAOAC, IN VEL  
TETZILIUHQUJ.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mijtoaia: in aqujn nonotzaloia in aço pilli, in anoço maceoalli, ic ellaquaoaloia: ilviloia. In axcan otoconcujc, otoconan in vellaçotli tlatolli: ioan otontlalilloc in chamaoac, in tetziliuhquj, otontlalilloc mecatl in moquechtlan.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Ate sido puesta vna soga muy gruesa y muy rezia. Y por methaphora dezianlo: de aquellos a quien les davaun algun officio de la republica, para que se esforçarsen [sic] a hazerlo con diligencia. Otontlalilloc in vel chamaoac in tetziliuhquj: qujere dezir. Ante dado esse cargo, esfuerçate a hazer lo con diligencia y piensa que estas atado con vna soga gruessa, y rezia.

POLLOCOTLI, ÇACAQUALLI:

qujtoznequj: in tlein amo qualli, amo iectli, iztlacatiliztli: ic ylviloia in aqujn qujchioaia tlatlaculli, atetlanemljiztli, in jztlacatiliztli. Ca omutech mu-chiuh, in çacaqualli, in aiectli: in juhquj çacaqualli, in juhquj pollocotli, iztlacatiliztli. In aqujn çan qujxcavia quj-motequjta iztlacatiliztli: ilviloia. Pollocotli, çacaqualli motlaqual, tiztlacatinj, tetlatinemnjn.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Abrosos y espinas. Por methaphora se dize de los que son revultosos y perturbā la paz de la republica con metiras [sic], y con murmuraciones, y a los tales reprehendianlos diciendo. Ca motech omochiuh in çacaqualli pollocotli qujere dezir. De ti salio esta turbacion porque eres vn mentiroso y reboloso.

ACAN ATL IC TIMALTIZ,  
IC TIMOCHIPAOAZ.

Injn tlatolli, ilviloia in aqujn tlein amo qualli oqujchiuh: aço oyctec, aço otetlaxin: ilviloia. Quen oc timuchi-oaz: ie omachoc in motlatlacul, cujx çan cana atl yc timaltiz, ic timuchipa-oaz: tle tiez, tle oc timuchioaz: timotolinja.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Con njnguna agua te podras lauar. Por methaphora se dezia: de aquel que auja hecho algun peccado graue con que se infamo de hurto o de adulterio: el qual era ya publico dezianle: Cujx çan cana atl yc timaltiz. Qujere dezir. No te labaras deste infamia con njnguna agua.

TOIOMOTLAN, TONACAZTITECH  
MOPIPILOA IN TOTECUJO.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mijtoaia: in jquac itla topan qujmuchivilia totecujo:

Esta letra qujere dezir. Nro señor nos a pellizado en la oreja o en el hombro. Por methaphora se dize. Quando se hielan los mantenimientos

13. Read *ilviloia*.

frost consumed our maize, or there was famine. Of this it was said: "Our lord hath tugged at our ears; he hath continued to tug at our flank."

THOU HAST UNDERTAKEN TO SHOULDER  
A BUNDLE OF PEOPLE, A CARRYING  
FRAME LOAD OF PEOPLE

This saying was said of him who had been installed as a ruler or set up as a lord. Thus was he told: "Thou hast undertaken to shoulder a bundle of people, a carrying frame load of people. Thou wilt find heavy, thou wilt find tiring the common folk, for great is the burden which thou hast shouldered, which thou hast undertaken. What will our lord ordain for tomorrow, for the next day? Perhaps castigation?"

THE TORRENT HATH WASHED AWAY  
THE ROCK, THE LOG

This saying was said of a very great work, of a task, of misery; when a task and perhaps pestilence oppressed, afflicted the people exceedingly.

THE BLACK, THE RED OF  
THE ANCIENT ONES

This saying was said of the customs of the ancient ones—that which they left established, a way of life. All lived accordingly. If all lived not accordingly, it was thus said: "May the black, the red of the ancient ones, that is, the customs, perish not." Or: "Why do you destroy the way of life, the black, the red of our grandfathers, the ancient ones?"

THE TWIGS, THE STRAW BEDS  
OF THE ANCIENT ONES

This saying was said in reference to the first time the ancient Chichimeca came to arrive, when still in the forest, still in the grassy plains they laid out their twigs, their straw beds. It was said: "There for the first time our progenitors, our grandfathers, the Chichimeca, arranged their beds of straw, their beds of twigs when they departed. For they lived settling in the forest, in the grassy plains when they were still patches of brambles, patches of cactus."

aço cet quijqua in tonacaiotl, aço maianaliztli: ic mjtoia: Otonacaztitech mopillo in totocujo: toiomotlan omopipilo.

IN TLACAQUJMILLI, IN  
TLACACACAXTLLI, OYTLAN  
TONAC OTOCONMAMA.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in aquin tlatocatlalilo, anoço tecuteco: ic ilviloia. Oytlan tonac, otoconmama in tlacaqujmilli, in tlacacacaxtli tiquetiviz, ticcianmjqujz in cujtlapilli, in atlappalli: ca vei tlamamalli yn otoconmama, in oitlan tonac: quen commonequjltiz in totocujo yn muztla, in viptla, ac aço te in tetl, yn quavitz.

TETL OATOCOC, QUAVITL  
OATOCOC.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in cenza vei tequjtiliztli, in tlatequjpanoliztli, in netolinjiliztli, in cenza tetequjpanoliztli, tetolinj tlatequjpanoliztli: ioan in aço vei cocoliztli.

INTLIL, INTLAPAL IN  
VEVETQUE:

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in jntlamajtiliz in vevetque, in tlein oqujtliteoaque nemjiliztli, çan ipan nemoia, acanoçomo ipan nemoia: ic mjtoia. Macamo poliviz in jntlil, yn jntlapal in vevetque: qujtoznequj: in tlamanjiliztli: anoço. Tleica in anqujpoloa in nemjiliztli, yn jntlil, in jntlapal tocolvan, vevetque.

INTLACOUEH, INÇACAPECH  
IN VEVETQUE.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: inje iancujcan acico chichimeca vevetque, in oc quauhtla, in oc çacatla oqujtenque in jntlacoueh, in jnçacapecch: mjtoia. Vncan iancujcan oqujtecateoaque in jnçacapecch, in jntlacopech in totechiuhcaoan, in tocolvan in chichimeca: inje quauhitilan, çacatilan motetecatinenque, in oc tzivactla, in oc nequameta.

o por otra ocasion viene hâbre dizen. Otonacaztitech mopillo in totocujo: toiomotl omopipilo. Nro señor a hecho esto por castigarnos.

Quiere decir esta letra. Carga de personas o cacaxli en que se lleva personas a cuestas. Dizesse por methaphora: de aquellos que les han dado cargo de regir la republica para encarecerlos su oficio que es pesado dizenles. Oytlan tonac, otoconmama in tlacaqujmilli yn tlaca, cacaxtli. As tomado cargo de llevar a cuestas a la gente popular y a toda la republica.

Quiere decir esta letra: llevo el agua las piedras y los maderos por su gran impetu. Por methaphora se dice esto: quando algun gran trabajo se recrece a la republica con el qual muchos son affligidos.

Quiere decir esta letra. Esto dexaron escrito o pintado o por memoria los antiguos. Esto se dice: de las leyes y costumbres que dexaron los antiguos en la republica: y quando no se haze asi como ellos lo dexaron dizen: Macamo polihujz in jntlil yn jntlapal in vevetque. Quiere decir. Y no conviene que se pierdan las costumbres que dexaron los antiguos.

Quiere decir esta letra. Esta es la breña y çacatatl de los antiguos. Por methaphora quiere decir. Aqui en este lugar que era breñas y çacatiales se poblaron primeramente nuestros antepasados, aqui hicieron primeramente sus casas de mijmbres y sus camas de çacate o heno.

IT HATH RUINED ONE; IT HATH  
DIRTIED ONE

This saying was said of the evil manner of conduct, not alone of words. It was said if some nobleman or lord spoke vainly, like a dog, vainly as if assaulting one with words. It was said — he was told, that he might be restrained: "Cease thy words. Speak not like a commoner. What thou sayest hath ruined one, hath dirtied one." Or<sup>14</sup> of that which was a fault — perhaps adultery or theft — he who did it thus was admonished, was told: "It is not necessary for thee to commit this fault, for by it thou dost ruin thyself, dirty thyself. It is not the way of living, not the way of being; it is not good, not righteous. Stop it. Not thus did the ancient ones go living when they went leaving thee. Calmly, peaceably did they go living when they went leaving thee among others."

I SHALL PLACE THEE TO MY LEFT,  
IN MY OBSIDIAN SANDALS

This saying was said when some ruler thus exhorted one. He said: "Thou, thou who art either a nobleman or a lord, stand near me, at my left, in my obsidian sandals. Thou wilt be to the left of me, in my obsidian sandals. If thou takest care, if thou art discreet,<sup>15</sup> [if thou] livest well, thou wilt place thyself to my left, in my obsidian sandals." And also thus was supplicated whoever [acted in behalf of] the ruler; he was told: "Thou yet standest on the left, in the obsidian sandals of the ruler." It means: "Thou aidest him." Perhaps a judge issued the command, spoke the word of the ruler.

THEIR BOOKS, THEIR PAINTINGS  
This means the same as "their black, their red."

THE HEAVENS OPEN, THE  
EARTH IS RENT

This saying was said of the very wonderful which happened, of that which happened not very often, as when the body of Our Lord is received.

14. Read *anoço*.

15. Correct reading may be *ximozcalia*; the MS is blurred here.

TEIÇOLO, TECATZAUH.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in amo qualli nemjiliztli, aça tlatoltica: mjtoia intia aca pilli, anoço tecutli in çan iliviz tlatoa, in juhquj chichi, in çan jliviz iuhquj tequaquatiuetzi tlatoltica: mjtoia, ilviloia injc tlacaoaltiloia. Xiccaoa in motlatol: macamo ximacevallato, in tiqujtoa ca teiçolo, ca tecatzauh: anoco in tlein tlatlaculli: aço tetlaximaliztli, anoço ichtequjiliztli: ic nonotzaloia in aqujn qujchaoia: ylviloia. Injn tlatlaculli camo monequj in ticchioaz: ca ic timjçolaoa ic timocatzaoa, amo nemo-oanj, amo ielooanj, amo iectli, amo qualli: xiccaoa camo iuh nentivi in mjtzcauhiti in vevetque, ca çan jvian, ca çan iocuxca in nentivi, in mjtzcauhiti, in tetloc, in tenaoac.

NOPUCHCO, NJTZCAC  
NJMJTZTLALIZ.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in jquac aca tlatoanj ic tenonotzaia: qujtoia. In tehoatl in aço tipilli, aço titecutli: vel ximoquetza nonaoac, nopuchco, njtzcac: tinechopuchtiz, tinechitzcactiz, intla xitlachia intla timozcalia: vel xinemj, nopuchco, njtzcac, timotlaliz. no yoan ic tlatlauhtiloia, in aqujn tlatoanj: ilhviloia. Oc yopuchco, oc itzcac timoquetza in tlatoanj: qujtoznequj: ticpalevia, aço tecutlato qujhi-joqujxtia, qujtalhvia in jtlatal tlatoanj.

IMAMUX, INTLACUJLOL.  
çan ie no iechoatl qujtoznequj. Intlil, intlapal.

MATZAIANJ IN JLVICATL,  
TENTLAPANJ IN TLALLI

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtovaia: in tlein cenca maviztic muchioaia, in jtechpa in aic cenca muchioa: in juhquj iquac celilo totecujo inacaiotzin: iuh

Qujere dezir esta letra. Cosa que ensuzia y amanzilla. Y por methaphora qujere dezir. Toda mala crianza que se dice de palabra o toda obra fea que se haze al que lo haze o dice: dizenle. Ca tecatzauh, ca teyçolo in tiqujtoa in ticchioa. Qujere dezir. Esso que dizes o hazes es cosa fea, y es cosa de mal exéplo, y con ella te ensuzias y te infamas a ti mjsmo.

Qujere dezir esta letra. A mij sinjesta y debaxo de mij subacco, te pondre. Por methaphora qujere dezir. Seras el mas allegado a mij de todos seras otro yo: esto dezia el señor a algun pilli o tecutli seyme [sic] fiel que yo te hare mij següdo. Tambien la otra gëte dezia: al que vian que era mas allegado al señor y era como su ynterprete dava las respuestas de lo que el queria que se hiziesse, a este dezan: tienele debaxo de su braço izquierdo, y en su sobacco nuestro señor o nuestro rey.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Su libro y sus escrituras. Y por metaphora qujere dezir: las costúbres y leyes de los antiguos.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Abrese el cielo y rompese la tierra. Por methaphora qujere dezir: hazese vna marujlla y vn mijlagro nunca visto nj oydo eta. Vi supra.

So it is said: "Now a great marvel is come to pass. The heavens open, the earth is rent. Let no one cause laughter; let no one cause rejoicing. Let all be afraid, stand afraid, be trembling, stand trembling, before the deity, the ruler."

#### THOU TAKEST REFUGE IN THE CORNER, IN THE DARKNESS

This saying was said when someone was experienced or able, a well-known nobleman or lord, and later destroyed his renown. Perhaps he just went off somewhere. No more did he sit among the noblemen or the lords. No more did he appear anywhere; he just went about hiding himself. He who thus did was told: "Why dost thou just wander anywhere, no more showing thyself anywhere? Why of thine own will dost thou take refuge in the corner, in the darkness?" It means: "Thou goest about hiding thyself, no longer appearing in public, no longer showing thyself anywhere in order to serve, to work for, the city. Just of thine own will dost thou ruin thyself, destroy thy renown. Thou acknowledgest thyself a fool just lying in the corner, in the darkness."

This was translated into the Spanish language by the said Father, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, in this year of 1577, thirty years after it had been written in the Mexican language.

End of the Sixth Book.

mjtoa. In axcan cenza tlamaviçolli in muchioa: matzaianj in jlvcatl, tentlapanj in tlalli: macaiac vetcatia, macaiac maviltitia: ma muchi tlacatl mauhca ie, mauhca ica, viviociate, viviociatica in ijxpantzinco teoutl, tlatoanj.

#### XOMOLLI, TLAIOOALLI TICMOTOCIA.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoaia: in jquac aca ixtlamati, anoço mozcalianj, iximachopilli, anoço tecutli: auh çatepan qujpoloa in jmavizio, aço ça campa nenemj: aiocmo intlan motlalia in pipilti, anoço tlatoque: aioccan monextia, ça motlatlatitinemj: in aquin iuh qujchaoia, yn: ilviloia. Tle ipampa in ça canjn tinenemj: in aioccan timonextia, tle ipampa in ça monoma xomolli, tlaiooalli ticmotoctia: qujtoznequj: timotlatlatitinemj, aiocmo teixpan tineci, aioccan timonextia injc timotitlanjz, injc titlatequjpanoz in jtechpa altepetl: ça monoma timopopoloa, ticpoloa in momavizio, timoxolopicujtia: ça xomulco, ça tlaiooaian tivetztoc.

Esta letra quiere decir. Estaste al rrincon y al [sic] obscuridad. Por methaphora se dezia esto: de aquel que auja sido official o principal en la republica y es habil para qualquier cosa y por alguna desgracia o por su humildad se aparto de la conuersacion de los del palacio y de los senadores y del señor y se esta en su casa a este tal sus amijos le deziā tle ypampa in ça monoma xomolli tlaioalli ticmotoctia: quiere decir. Porque te escondes y huyes de la conuersacion de los principales, y no quieres parecer donde estan, nj quieres tomar algun officio de la republica: en esto te deshonras a ti mjsmo, y das a entender que no vales nada.

Fue traduzido en lengua española por el dicho padre Fray bernardino de sahagun: despues de treynta años, que se escriujo en la lengua mexicana: este año de mjll y qujnientos y setēta y siete.

Fin del libro sexto